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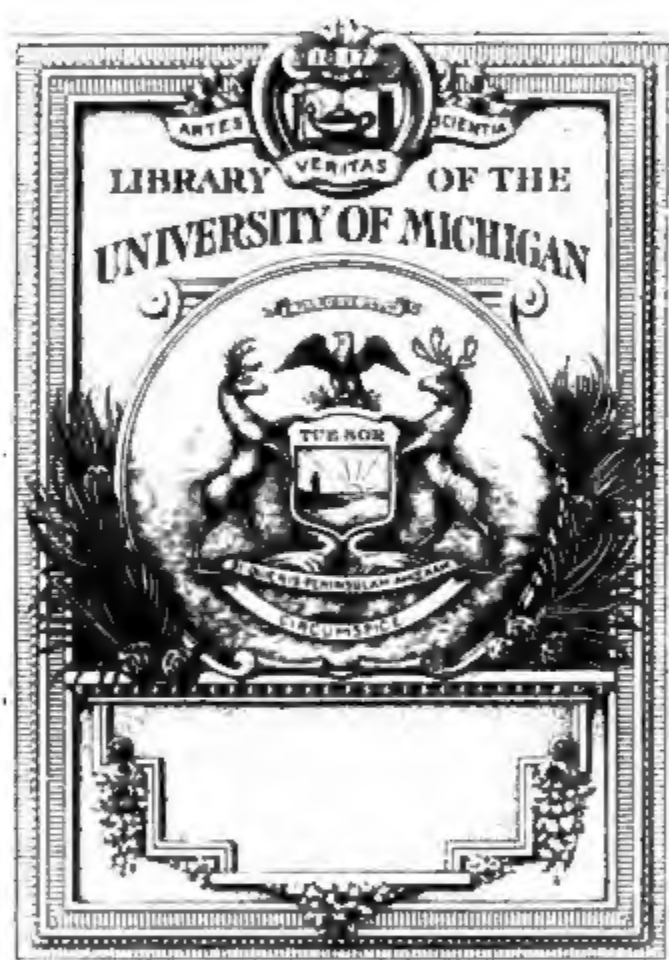
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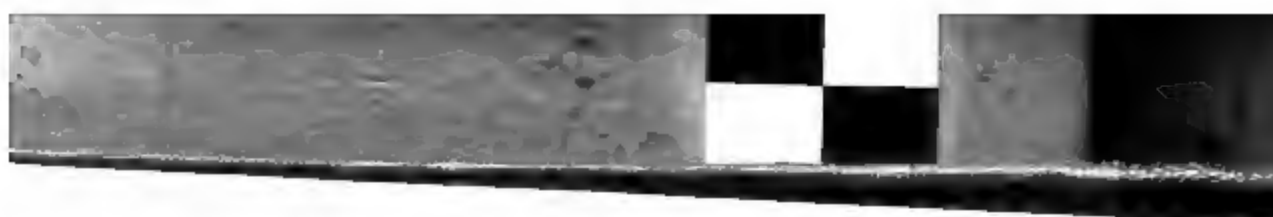
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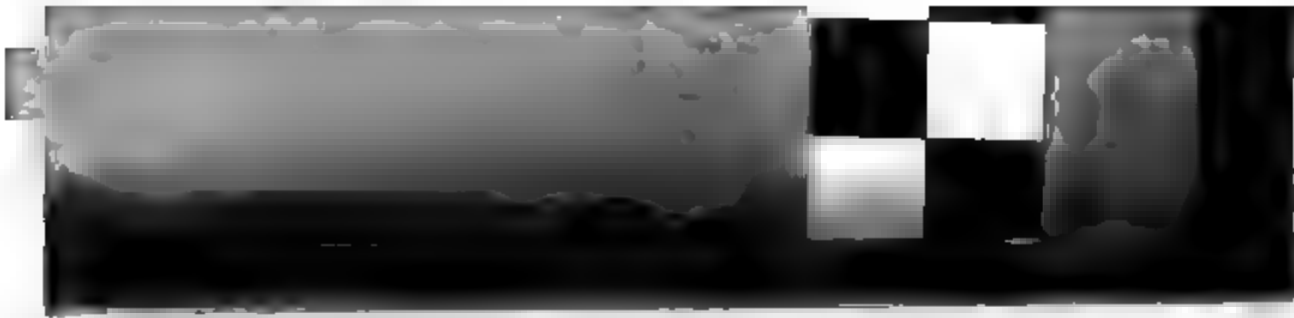
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JANUARY, 1936

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1936

PART I.—JANUARY

Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER

“ The harp (*chang*) in magic craft is great of worth,
It brings the new moon down from heaven to earth.
The pandore (*tanbūr*) pursues its humours e’er ;
If thou would have it sing, then twist its ear.
The pandore can’t grapple with the lute (*‘ūd*) ;
Then why torment itself when naught can boot ?
A spell it sings when chants the psaltery (*qānūn*) ;
It is the ruler for love’s register.
No tambourine (*daf*) deem that in the minstrel’s hand,
A target ’tis woe’s arrows to withstand.
What wonder if it all the world o’erthrow ?—
The bandit viol’s (*kamāncha*) armed with shaft and bow.
Amid the feast to call me into mind
The flute (*nai*) a thread doth round its finger bind.
Where bides one like the ghittern (*qūpūz*) sweet of say,
The chosen, the elect of the array ?
Since joy of soul doth from their voices tide,
Withouten music let no party bide.”

Rawānī (d. 1523–4), *’Ishrat Nāma*

Translated by Gibb.

ONE of the most complete and entertaining accounts of the instruments of music of Turkey is that given by the chatty and voluble, though highly imaginative writer, Ewliyā Chelebī (1611–*ca.* 1669). Although his family held high

appointments at the Ottoman court, yet young Ewliyā yearned for a literary career and, like many such Parnassian aspirants, began his public life as a *ḥāfiẓ* in Aya Sofia on the *Lailat al-kadr* of 1045 (= A.D. 1636), when he attracted the notice of Sulṭan Murād IV, who took him into the royal household. Here he was specially favoured, mainly on account of his musical and literary gifts. He had been taught music and singing by one of the best masters of the day, the *Khalwati* dervish 'Umar Gulshanī, who lived to the great age of 140 years, himself having been taught by the eminent *shaiḫ* Ibrāhīm Gulshanī (d. 1533-4) of Cairo. After two years' service as a *muṣāhib*, Ewliyā began his travels which have made him famous.¹

The Turkish text of certain extracts from the first part of his travels was published at Constantinople in 1843 (= A.H. 1259) under the title of *Muntakhabātī Ewilyā Chelebī*. Von Hammer issued part of the travels in English as a *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century by Evliya Efendi* (London, 1846-1850).² It contains two sections on instruments of music, as well as frequent references to them elsewhere.

Although Von Hammer's translation has been available for many years, and the present writer has quoted from it frequently, there were many statements in it that were not only incomprehensible but also incongruous. When a fresh text of the travels was issued (*Siyāḥa nāma*, Constantinople, 1896-1900 = A.H. 1314-1318),³ it was hoped that some of the doubtful passages in Von Hammer's translation would be cleared up. It so happened, however, that in many cases the printed text only increased the confusion. Fortunately the Royal Asiatic Society possessed a manuscript of the

¹ He may, however, have quitted the seraglio in 1636, as it appears that he was a *sipāhī* in the expedition against Erivan in this year.

² It appears to have been published in parts, the first part being issued in 1834. Vol. i, comprising parts 1 and 2, was published in 1846, whilst vol. ii appeared in 1850.

³ Cf. *Encyclopædia of Islām*, ii, 34.

Siyāḥa nāma, probably the only one in Britain,¹ and this the society was kind enough to deposit on loan at the University of Glasgow for my benefit. I was thus able to compare it with both the printed text and Von Hammer.

The collation revealed that the printed text differs widely from the R.A.S. manuscript, whilst Von Hammer's translation is only an epitome. Of course, I was only interested in the parts which dealt with music, and having altered what I considered necessary in Von Hammer's translation of these parts, I sent the results to my good friend Ra'ūf Yektā Bey, a Co-Director of the Conservatory of Music at Constantinople, who was kind enough not only to revise my work but to add a number of notes. These latter I have incorporated in this article under the rubric *RY*. Similarly the initials *VH*. = Von Hammer, *PT*. = Printed Text, *MS*. = R.A.S. Manuscript.

I have also used the *Thesaurus* (1680–87) of Meninski, who was a contemporary of Ewliyā Chelebī, because it occasionally supplements the descriptions of the *Siyāḥa nāma*.²

§ 1

EWLIYĀ CHELEBĪ AS A MUSICIAN

As we have seen, Ewliyā was a trained musician, not only in vocal and instrumental music but in the theory of music ('ilm mūsīqī). At his first appearance in the seraglio before Sultān Murād IV he astounded everyone by his ability, including the chief court musician, Amīr Guna. At first he caused some amusement by his boasting not only to sing in

¹ Nos. 22–3. Mordtmann (*Encyclopædia of Islām*, loc. cit.) is wrong in saying that the British Museum possesses a manuscript of the *Siyāḥa nāma*.

² Other authors quoted by me are : Ibn Ghaibī, *Jāmi' al-alḥān*, Bodleian Library, *Marsh* 282 ; *Kanz al-tuḥaf*, British Museum, *Or.* 2361 ; Villoteau, in *Description de l'Égypte* . . . (Paris, 1809) ; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum* . . . (Lemgo, 1712) ; Niebuhr, *Voyage in Arabie* (Amsterdam, 1776–1780) ; Farmer, *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments* (Lond., 1931) ; Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca* (Venice, 1787) ; Lavignac, *Encyclopédie de la musique* (Paris, 1921) ; Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*.

any of the accepted forms such as the *kār*, *naqsh*, *şaut*, etc., but in Arabic, Persian, Syriac, Greek, or Hebrew! However, he sang a *wārsikī* (mystic song) with a bejewelled *dā'ira* in his hand which the sultān had given him. His success was instantaneous and he was made a *muşāhib* or "companion".

Fortunately for history and letters, he did not remain long as an inmate of the seraglio, but soon began his travels, sometimes on his own account, but often attached to the suite of some pāshā or other, frequently as *mu'adhdhin pāshī* or chief of the callers to prayer. He tells us that he was "at all times delighted to be in the company of musicians and singers", and throughout his travels he manages to say a word here and there about music.

It is because Ewliyā Chelebī was a musician that his description of the instruments of music of Turkey have particular value. Further, he tells us that in giving his account of the instruments of music, he consulted a book on the subject entitled the *Sāz nāma* by the poet Nihānī Chelebī, a work that I have not been able to locate. Although he informs us that he saw many more instruments during his travels in Persia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Poland, and Bohemia, it was with those of Constantinople that he was "more conversant". These instruments of Turkey he deals with in two special chapters, viz. (a) *the makers of the instruments*, and (b) *the players of the instruments*.¹ Here we have not only the most exhaustive list of Turkish instruments of music that has come down to us, but a complete census of both makers and players based directly upon the *Awşāf kustaṇṭaniya* ("Praises of Constantinople"), a description of the city made in the year 1638 (= A.H. 1048) by order of the sultān, which includes an account of every professional and trade guild, as well as every building, in the city. Ewliyā also adds lists of the famous performers on most

¹ They are to be found in the works quoted as follows: (a) *VH.*, vol. i/ii, pp. 225-8; *PT.*, i, 620-5; *MS.*, i, 232-4v. (b) *VH.*, vol. i/ii, pp. 233-240; *PT.*, i, 632-645; *MS.*, i, 237v-242.

of the instruments mentioned by him. These will be of value when the time comes for a history of Turkish music to be written. We know, for instance, that the celebrated Turkish historian Şulāq Zāda (d. 1657–8) was a performer on the *mithqāl*, *misqāl*, or *mūsīqār*, hence his surname Mithqālī.¹

It is difficult to estimate the number of musicians in Constantinople in Ewliyā's day because, in spite of the careful figures given by him, his totals do not agree. In one place he says that the total number of musicians employed in the four districts of the capital was 4,000,² but as he says that they made their living by playing at festivals it would seem that he only refers, in this particular, to the unattached musicians. Indeed, if we reckon the number of instrumentalists alone we arrive at quite double this estimate. Further, this does not include singers. Of these there were 4,000 singers of hymns (*na't*)³ in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, their patron being Muḥammad al-Būṣirī (d. 1296–7), 300 other singers (*khwānanda*) whose patron was Ḥamza ibn Yatīm (fl. 600), as well as 700 callers to prayer (*mu'adhdhin*) who claimed Bilāl (d. 641) as patron.

Each guild had its patron saint (*pīr*). Perhaps the most important of the guilds was that of the military musicians (*chālījī mihtar*). This numbered 300 men, and they claimed the mythical Jamshīd of the *Shāh nāma* as their patron. They had their quarters at the Iron Gate near the Palace Gardens. From their tower they played a military *nauba* of three parts (*faṣl*) twice daily. In addition there was the guild of the military musicians of the Seven Towers which numbered forty men. They also played twice daily at *al-'ishā* and *al-ṣabāḥ*, a custom introduced by Sulṭān Muḥammad II (1451–1481).

We can now consider the instruments listed and described

¹ I have not seen the form *مِثْقَال* as given by Babinger in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iv, 482.

² *PT.* and *MS.* have 1,000, which is obviously incorrect.

³ The singular is given throughout this article.

by Ewliyā Chelebī which, for the sake of convenience, are classified as follows:—

(1) *Instruments of Sonorous Substances*, i.e. the bell, cymbals, castanets or clappers, harmonica, Jew's harp, etc.

(2) *Instruments of Vibrating Membranes*, i.e. the tambourine, kettle-drum, drum, etc.

(3) *Wind Instruments*, i.e. the flute, recorder or flageolet, oboe, reed-pipe, clarionet, trumpet, etc.

(4) *Stringed Instruments*, i.e. the harp, psaltery, dulcimer, lute and pandore, viol, etc.

§ 2

INSTRUMENTS OF SONOROUS SUBSTANCES

Bell

[The *chā'g* چاك (large bell) and *chi'graq* چگرق (small bell). These are not mentioned by Ewliyā Chelebī, but they are given by Meninski.]

Meninski. “*Chāng* = campana. *Chingrak*, *chang-raghū* = tintinnabulum, cymbalum, tonus quidam musicus magnificentior, globulus vestiarius.”

The larger bell, provided with a clapper, which equates with the Arabic *jaras* and the Persian *darā*, was used to hang on the necks of elephants and camels. The smaller bell, sometimes called a pellet bell, which was spherical, with metal pellets in the interior, was used on the necks of smaller animals and also on tambourines. See Gibb, *Hist. Ottom. Poet.*, iii, 11.

Harmonica

The *filjān sāz* فلجان ساز [musical bowl(s)]. Invented in India by the fireworshippers (*mughān*). One hundred players.

Meninski. Not given as an instrument of music.

RY. “It is pronounced *filjān* but written *finjān*. The celebrated Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) says that he invented [?] instruments called *kāsāt* and *tāsāt* [lit. “cups”], and I

understand that in the time of Ewliyā Chelebī these instruments were still in use by the Turks.”

The word is derived from the Persian بَنگان. Ibn Ghaibī describes the harmonica, especially with bowls of china. The pitch of each bowl was determined by the amount of water placed in it. In India the instrument is called the *jālatharanginī*. It is delineated in a Persian MS. *Dar ‘ilm al-mūsīqī* (Pers. 346: fol. 76 = 35) in the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

Cymbals

The *zill* زِيل [cymbals]. [Mentioned but not described by Ewliya Chelebī.]

Meninski. “*Zill* = tintinnabulum, genus organi musici bellici, suntque duo orbes aerei, quorum unum alteri allidunt ad modum et resonantiam.”

RY. “Classical music does not admit these instruments, but they are used in the religious ceremonies of the dervishes. See Lavignac, 3023.”

Cymbals were a noteworthy feature in the military music of the Turks. See Marsigli, *Stato militare dell’ impèrio ottomanno*, ii, 54–5, and pl.; Toderini, i, 238. They may also be seen in a well-known lithograph which has been reproduced by Lavignac (2981). For contemporary Persian instruments see Kaempfer, 740, and fig. 3. Modern examples may be seen at New York (No. 2164) which are 18 cm. in diameter.¹

¹ The various catalogues of collections of instruments of music quoted by me are: New York = *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments of all Nations* (New York, 1904, et seq.); South Kensington Museum = Engel, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum* (Lond., 1874); Brussels = Mahillon, *Catalogue descriptif . . . du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles* (Brussels, v.d.); Paris = Chouquet, *Le Musée du Conservatoire National de Musique. Catalogue . . .* (Paris, 1884), and supplementary catalogues by Pillaut (Paris, 1894; 1899; 1903).

Rattles

The *chaghana* چغنه ["Jingling Johnnie"]. Invented by Sirkhudā [of the *Shah Nāma*] in Persia. It is popular in European Turkey. Two hundred players.

VH. (a) چغانه ; (b) چغنه. PT. چغانه. MS. چغنه

Meninski. "*Chaghana, chāghana* = instrumentum musicum. *Chaghāna* = instrumentum ligneum instar sceptri, cui tria sunt inserta cymbalorum paria, quorum concussione musicus excitatur sonus."

RY. "The name of an instrument of music of old the form of which is unknown."

We know the form fairly well, since it was the "Jingling Johnnie" or Chapeau Chinois which was borrowed from the Turks by European military bands in the eighteenth century. For a design of the latter see Farmer, *Rise and Development of Military Music*, p. 76, and specimens may be seen at the United Service Institution, London, and the University of Edinburgh. Designs of the Turkish instrument are given in Wittman, *Travels in Turkey* . . . (Lond., 1803), Front., and the Egyptian instrument may be seen in Niebuhr, Tab. xxvii. A simpler form like a pair of tongs with three arms, small cymbals being attached to each arm, was known as the *zillī māshā* (jingling tongs). There are two specimens at New York (Nos. 353, 1377), 46 cm. and 51 cm. in length.

Clappers

The *chālpāra* چالپاره [clappers]. [Mentioned but not described by Ewliyā.]

VH. چالپاره PT. چاره جی رقاص MS. چالپاره قاصان

Meninski. "*Chālpāra* = cochleae ex ligno, quas inter digitos numerose pulsan Orientales, longiores Hispanicis castagnettis. Item aliud lignum cum crepitaculis aeris ad eundem usum."

RY. “Identical with castanets.”

The text must refer to the “dancer’s clappers”. The word is derived from the Persian *chārpāra* (lit. “four pieces”), which appears to stand for both clappers and castanets, whether of wood or of metal. Clappers and finger castanets are depicted in two exhibits at the Exhibition of Persian Art (London, 1931), Nos. 203 (c) and 584 respectively. Two modern examples of metal Turkish castanets are exhibited at New York (Nos. 380–1), which are 4 and 5 cm. in diameter.

Jew’s Harp

The *aghz ṭanbūrasī* اغز طنپوره سی [Jew’s harp]. Invented at Danzig. It is made of iron, of oval shape, with an iron tongue in the middle. Played by Russian and Polish boys. Two hundred players.

VH. (a) اغر hence “the heavy iron *ṭanbūr*”. (b) A blank space is left for the name, and the instrument is not identified. *PT.* (a) اغيز (b) اغز. *MS.* (a) اعر (b) اغز.

Meninski. “*Aghz ṭanbūrasī* = crembalum (*Maultrommel*).”

RY. “Unknown to me.”

I have not seen a representation of this instrument in the art of the Near and Middle East.

Comb and Paper (?)

The *shāna zammār* شانه زمار [“Comb and Paper” ?]. [Mentioned but not described by Ewliyā *Chelebī*.]

VH. Has “*zummār*” only.

Meninski. Not given as an instrument of music, although the forms شانه ساز and شانه زدن occur.

RY. “Unknown to me.”

Shāna = “a comb” in Turkish, and *zammār* = “a wind instrumentalist” in Arabic. One can only imagine that the “Comb and Paper” is meant.

§ 3

INSTRUMENTS OF VIBRATING MEMBRANES

Tambourines

The *daf* دف [round tambourine with metal plates]. The Prophet Muḥammad said: "Celebrate the wedding, and with the *daf* player." Therefore this instrument is considered lawful, but the legally permitted instrument must not have bells nor metal plates. During the Prophet's lifetime music was forbidden, but permission was granted to kings to use the *zūrṇā* (oboe), *būrū* (clarion), *ṭabl* (drum), *daf* (tambourine), *quḍūm* (kettledrum), *nāy* (flute), and *rabāb* (viol).

PT. Omits *daf* and *rabāb*.

Meninski. " *Daf* = tympanum simplex unius pellis, crotalum cum cymbalis quod manibus pulsatur, crepitacula disco inserta, cymbalum."

RY. "The *daf* and *dā'ira* are identical nowadays. Both are furnished with small metal plates."

In Persia, at the time of Ewliyā *Chelebī*, the *daf* had small metal plates whilst the *dā'ira* had small bells or jingling rings. See Kaempfer, 740, figs. 7, 8. A Turkish instrument (ca. 1600) may be seen in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lxvi. A modern Turkish *daf* is exhibited at South Kensington (No. 1012-'69), 33.5 cm. in diameter. There is another at New York (No. 1362). The *daf* is praised by Rawānī (d. 1523-4). See Gibb, ii, 342, 346.

The *dā'ira* دائره [round tambourine with bells]. It was first played at the nuptials of Solomon (Sulaimān) and the Queen of Sheba (Balqīs). It was also played at the wedding of 'Alī and Fāṭima [624] by 'Amr ibn Umayya Ḍamīrī and Ḥamza ibn Yatīm. In consequence of this the former is considered the patron of tambourine players. There are fifty-five makers with ten shops, and 500 players.

PT (b) "ten players".

Meninski. “*Dā’ira* = cymbalum, seu tympanum manuale una tantum parte tectum cum tintinnabulis.”

RY. “There is another type of tambourine called the *mazhar* which has no metal plates [nor bells].”

Obviously this instrument received this name by reason of its round shape in contradistinction from the square instrument *دف مربع* which is sometimes referred to. All these round tambourines occur frequently in Turkish and Persian art and a contemporary (seventeenth century) example may be seen in Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1668), p. 137. Modern Turkish examples of the *dā’ira* are preserved at New York (Nos. 319, 2485). The former has an octagonal shell and is 25·5 cm. in diameter. The latter is quite a large instrument being 48·5 cm.

Kettledrums

The *kūs* *كوس* [large kettledrum]. The patron of kettledrum players is the Chinese [Tatar ?] *Khāqān*, hence the reason that this instrument is called the *khāqānī kūś*. In the wars of the Prophet Muḥammad [d. 632] the *kūs* and *naqqāra* (small kettledrum) were played by the Indian Bābā Sawindīk who is buried at Mosul (Maṣīl). The establishment of the kettledrummers is a large building within the Wooden Gate. There are 150 of these military kettledrums carried by camels,¹ besides larger ones carried by elephants, as in the expedition of Sultān ‘Uṭhmān [1286–1326]² against Khotin (*Khūtīn*). They are also used during Muslim festivals and at the audiences of the ambassadors of the eighteen monarchs of the world.

Meninski. “*Kūs* = ahenotympanum majus in castris et

¹ Elsewhere in his Travels he describes a procession with eighty kettledrums being carried by forty white camels.

² It may refer to ‘Uṭhmān II, who was unsuccessful against Khotin in 1620.

palatii Regum Orientalium, immo et nostratium pulsari solitum."

RY. "It was used by the Turks in battle. Its size was enormous and the shell was made of brass. The Military Museum at Constantinople contains the kettledrums which were used by the Janissaries [who were disbanded in 1826]."

They are depicted in a Turkish MS. (ca. 1538) reproduced in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv.

The *qudūm* قنوم [medium kettledrum]. Invented by Hūshang. On the nuptial night of the Prophet Muḥammad and Khadija [595], according to the biography of the Prophet by Jarīr, the *qudūm* was used in company with the *nāy* (flute) and *rabāb* (viol). In consequence these instruments are to be found in the convents of dervishes. Five hundred players.

VH. For "trumpet" read "kettledrum".

Meninski. "*Qudūm* = tympanum exiguum geminum, quod alternatim pulsatur."

RY. "The *qudūm* is much smaller than the *kūs* and a little larger than the *naqqāra*. It is employed, in pairs, in the convents of the dervishes in company with the *nai* or *nāy* (flute). It is beaten with club-shaped sticks (*zakhma*)."

The father of Muḥammad As'ad, commonly called Ghālib Dada (d. 1799), the Turkish poet, was a *qudūm* player at a dervish convent in Constantinople. When Ewliyā was himself admitted into the dervish order a *qudūm* was one of the emblems of dervishship conferred on him. An early seventeenth century miniature depicting a dervish *dhikr* to the accompaniment of the *qudūm* and *nāy* was reproduced by Maggs Bros. in their catalogue (No. 404) entitled *Illuminated Manuscripts and Miniatures, European and Oriental* (1921), pl. cii.

The *naqqāra* نقارة [small kettledrum]. Invented in Arabia by Hārith Yamanī. It is played in the Arabian cafés. One hundred players.

VH. (a) نقره (b) نغره. PT. (a) نفرقي (b) تفرق.
MS. (a) نقره قى (b) نغره.

Meninski. “*naqāra*, vulg. *naqhara* = ahenotympanum minus ex duobus ahenis compositum quod duobus bacillis pulsatur.”

RY. “Ordinarily the *naqqāra* is held in the left hand [and played with the right], but is sometimes suspended from the neck. When played in pairs the term *chīfta naqqāra* is used. Among the gipsies of Turkey it is called the *na‘ra*.”

This was also a military kettledrum and was used in pairs. See *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv, for a design of the sixteenth century. For a contemporary instrument see also Marsigli, *Stato militare dell’ impèrio Ottomanno* (1732), ii, 54–5, pl. xviii. For seventeenth century Persian instruments see Kaempfer, 743, figs. 9 and 10, which show the respective sizes of the *naqqāra* and *kūs*. A modern Turkish chamber music *naqqāra* (a pair) may be seen at New York (No. 2487), 6·5 and 4·5 cm. in diameter.

The *ṭabl bāz* طبل باز [hawking kettledrum]. It was first played by the Prophet Ishmael (Ismā‘īl). It is therefore a lawful instrument. One hundred players.

VH. طبل instead of طبل باز.

Meninski. “*Ṭabl-bāz* = tympanum exiguum, quod equorum ephippiis fere affigitur.”

RY. “It is a mistake to think that this word is composed of *ṭabl* = ‘drum’ and *bāz* = ‘falcon’. *Bāz* signifies ‘player’, hence *ṭabl bāz* means ‘a drummer’, just as *ḥuqqa bāz* means ‘a juggler’.”

On the other hand there is considerable testimony that *ṭabl bāz* refers to a type of drum. The phrase in Ewliyā *Chelebī* سازنده طبل باز proves this. It is the name of a drum in the Persian lexicons and is specifically mentioned as such by Kaempfer, 742, fig. 11. See also Villoteau, i, 724, 994, and Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, chap. xviii.

Modern Turkish specimens may be seen at New York (Nos. 363, 1335). It is held in the hand and struck with a leathern strap.

The *chūmlak dunbalakī* چوملک دنبه‌لکی (earthenware kettledrum). Invented in Egypt and played in the procession of the *Maḥmal* going to Mecca. Five hundred players.

VH., PT., MS. have دنبه‌لکی, دونه‌لکی, and دبلکی.

Meninski. "*Dunbalak* = parvulum tympanum ex aere, etiam ex terra pelle obductum, quo pueri utuntur. *Tablak*, vulg. *dunbalak* = tympanum ex duabus ollis tergo conjunctis et corio superinductis: et mitra, pileolus vitta."

RY. "I do not know a *dumbalak* (= *dunbalak*) by this specific name, but the instrument is sometimes made of earthenware. Nowadays the Turks give the name *dumbalak* to a type of kettledrum (*naqqāra*) which they play together with the *dāwul* (common drum)."

Toderini, i, 239, says that *dunbalak* is another name for the *naqqāra*. A modern Turkish specimen may be seen at New York (No. 1538).

The *jām dunbalakī* جام دنبه‌لکی (glass kettledrum). The patron of the players on this instrument is 'Aṣim Ṭā'ifī. Two hundred players.

PT. (a) جان (b) جام MS. جام.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "I do not know an instrument by this name but possibly, in the past, a type of *dumbalak* was made with a glass shell."

The *Yaman dunbalakī* یمن دنبه‌لکی (Yaman kettledrum). It is played in company with the *dā'ira* (tambourine). Twelve players.

VH. (a) Omitted. PT. (b) Seventeen players.

Meninski. Not given. RY. "Unknown to me."

Among the instruments of the Near East, the only type of drum that may be considered peculiar to the Yaman is the

rattle drum similar to the *budbudiki* of India. It is delineated by Niebuhr, i, 146, Tav. xxvi, S., but he does not mention its name.

The *muqarran dunbalakī* مقرر دنبالکی [paired kettle-drum]. The performers on it, who come from Mecca, play it in the processions at Constantinople. Thirteen players.

VH. (a) مقرر (b) مقرر. PT. (a) مقرر (b) مقرر.
MS. (a) مقرر (b) مقرر.

Meninski. Not given. RY. "Unknown to me."

For Meccan drums see *JRAS.* (1929), p. 505, and Farmer, *Studies in Orient. Mus. Instruments*, i, 87.

The *Ayyūb dunbalakī* ایوب دنبالکی [Job's kettledrum].
[Mentioned but not described by Ewliyā.]

Meninski. Not given. RY. "Unknown to me."

The pulsatile instrument which Job places in the hands of the "wicked" is the tambourine (*toph*). Job, xxi, 12.

Drums

The *dāwul* داول [cylindrical drum]. The first of the Ottomans to use it was Urkhān Ghāzī [1326–1359], and a drum (*tabl*) still hangs at his tomb at Brusa. Fifteen makers with five shops.

VH. and MS. have طاول instead of داول, both being vulgar forms of the Arabic طبل and Persian دهل.

Meninski. "Tāwul, dāwul = tympanum."

RY. "It is the big drum. This *dāwul* (داول) with the *zūrnā* (oboe) forms the music of the peasantry in Asia Minor."

The Turks appear to have had their military drum before the time of Urkhān Ghāzī. When 'Uthmān I (1288–1326) was made a prince by 'Alā al-Dīn in 1289, he was invested with a drum, a flag, and a *tūq*. The *dāwul*, which is identical with the double headed cylindrical drum of

Europe, was known in various sizes from the small side drum to the large bass drum. The larger sizes were the more general with the Turks. One head was beaten with an ordinary oriental drumstick (*changal*) and the other with a switch (*daynak*). The *dāwul* of Ewliyā's day is shown by Marsigli, op. cit., pl. xviii, and Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 96 (ca. 1630). See also Villoteau, i, 996, and Toderini, i, 239. The illustration given here is from a MS. in the Bodleian Library. A Persian *duhul* may be seen in a MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 29, fol. 428v. For a curious example of a Turkish *dāwul* played on horseback see a plate in Coeck, *Les mœurs . . . des Turcs* (1553), reproduced by W. Stirling Maxwell, *The Turks in 1553* (1873), and by S. L. Poole, *Turkey* (1888), p. 29.

§ 4

WIND INSTRUMENTS

Flutes

The *qawāl* قوال [rustic flute]. This was the first instrument of music. Invented by Pythagoras (Fīthāghūrath) and was played on his nuptial night. It has nine holes. One hundred players.

PT. (b) قوال.

Meninski. "Qawāl, qawwāl = fistula."

RY. "It is a flute of wood, very primitive, giving faulty notes. The number of holes differ. Some have six finger holes and one thumb hole, whilst others have seven finger holes. The peasants and shepherds of Asia Minor use it whilst their flocks are grazing."

There is a specimen at Paris (No. 899).

The *nai* ناي or *nāy* ناي [generic name for a flute].

The patron of flute players is Moses (Mūsā). The legists say that the *nāy* is not forbidden because it was played by the

great Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [1207–1273]. There are various kinds, viz. the *baṭṭāl*, the *dū ahank*, the *nāy*, the *girift*, the *manṣūr*, the *shāh*, the *būl ahank*, the *baṭṭāl dāwūdī*, the *sarhank*, and the *sūpurga*. Thirteen makers with four shops.

VH., *PT.*, and *MS.* have a different classification to the above, and *PT.* has بول اهنك instead of بول اهنك.

Meninski. “*Nai*, *nāy* = arundo, calamus, fistula.”

RY. “On the *nāy* in general see Lavignac (3018). From the largest to the smallest the various types of the *nāy* are to-day named the *būl ahank*, the *dāwūd*, the *shāh*, the *manṣūr*, the *qīz*, the *mustahsin*, and the *sūpurga*. The *baṭṭāl* is no longer in use. It was a very large flute, hence its name. The *dū ahank* was, perhaps, a double flute, but is no longer used. I have not heard of the *sarhank*, but the name سرهنك سهریاری was given to the musical director of the sultān in days of old. As for the *girift*, this was not one type or size of flute, but the generic name for a family of small flutes of several sizes. They have seven finger holes and one thumb hole, but they are fingered differently from the *nāy*.”

Seventeenth century examples of the *nāy* may be seen in Rycaut, *op. cit.*, p. 137. He says that the best kinds came from Iconium and cost twenty-five dollars apiece. Another example is shown in the catalogue of Maggs Bros. (No. 404) already mentioned, pl. cii. Actual specimens of the modern *nāy* abound in our museums. There is a *nāy shāh* 82.5 cm. long at Brussels (No. 135), whilst there is a *girift* at Paris (No. 900). See also Toderini, i, 237, and Villoteau, i, 954, and pl. cc, 18, 20. The *nai* is praised by Fighānī (d. 1526–7), Fuzūlī (d. ca. 1562–3), and Bāqī (d. 1600). See Gibb, *op. cit.*, iii, 36, 92, 157.

According to the Turkish writer on music, Aḥmad Ughlu Shukrallāh (fifteenth century), the *nāy* was called the *pīsha*. See Lavignac, 3013. This work, however, would appear to be merely a resumé of a Persian treatise on music

entitled the *Kanz al-tuhaf*. We also have reference, with precise details, to the *nāy* in an Arabic work on music written for the sultān Murād II (1421–1451), a treatise which I have called elsewhere the *Muḥammad ibn Murād Treatise*. Here the flute is called the *nāy abyad* (white *nāy*), in contradistinction from the *nāy aswad* (black *nāy*), which was a reed-pipe.

Recorders and Flageolets

The *gabā dūdūk* قبا دودک (large recorder or flageolet). Invented by Ja'far Shāh at Mosul. Made of boxwood. Eighty players.

VH., PT., MS. have دودوک - دودک and دودوک.

Meninski. "Dūdūk = fistula, tibia."

RY. "As it is not in use nowadays I do not know either its form or compass."

It is the Turkomanian *tūtik* and the Persian *tūtāk*. Several modern specimens are to be found at New York (Nos. 447, 449, 450, 1487). A larger instrument, 43.5 cm. long, is at South Kensington Museum (No. 1013-'69).

The 'Arabī dūdūk عربی دودک (Arabian recorder). Invented at Nablus and played by the monks of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Fifty-five players.

Meninski. Not given. RY. "Unknown to me."

Probably identical with the Arabian *ṣaffāra*. See Villoteau, i, 951, and pl. cc, 16. Actual examples of the latter are to be seen at Paris (Nos. 874, 875).

The *majār dūdūkī* مجار دودکی [Hungarian recorder or flageolet]. Invented by a monk in Transylvania. There are fine wire cords on it. Fifteen players.

VH. "Ten players."

Meninski. Not given. RY. "Unknown to me."

The Дудук of the Southern Slavs is a flageolet whilst the Дудучица of the Bulgarians is a flute.

The *mihtar dūdūkī* مهتر دودکی [court recorder or flageolet].
Invented by Naṣīr [al-Dīn] Tūsī [1210–1273]. Used for the
musical exercise of the Imperial household. Thirty-five
players.

VH. ناصر طوسی. PT. and MS. نصیر طوسی.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. “Unknown to me, but it may refer to a recorder
used by an Armenian brotherhood, known as the Mihtarists,
in their religious ceremonies.”

The *chāqhirtma dūdūk* چاغرتمه دودک [. . . ? recorder or
flageolet]. Invented at Uskub. It is made of the bone of a
kind of crane. Sixty-five players.

VH. “the crying flute”—چاغرتمه. PT. (a) چيغیرتمة
(b) چاغرتمة. MS. چاغرتمة.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. “It is a small flute [? recorder, flageolet] of about
20 cm.”

Bone flutes and recorders are quite common in the East.
There is a Turkish double recorder of bone at New York
(No. 1486).

The *dānakyū dūdūkī* دانکیو دودکی [. . . . ? recorder].
Invented by the *lāzlar* of Trebizond. It is a reed with nine
holes.

VH. (a) دانکیود (b) دانکیو. PT. (a) دانکیا (b)
دانکیو. MS. (a) دانکیود (b) دانکیود.

Meninski. Not given. RY. “Unknown to me.”

It may have been furnished with a vibrating grain
(*dānak*) in the sound box as in our “penny whistle”.

The *dillī dūdūk* دلی دودک [double reed-pipe ?]. Invented
by the shepherds of Rumelia (Rūm). It is a double pipe of
reed. Sixty-two players.

VH. دلی. PT. یلی. MS. دیلی.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. “دیلی signifies ‘with a reed’. ديل ‘the tongue’.”

The word *dillī* leads one to suppose an instrument played with a reed and, being a double pipe, it possibly equates with the Arabian *zammāra*, for a design of which see *JRAS.*, 1929, pl. viii, No. 129. If this conjecture is right the instrument ought to be grouped under Reed Blown Instruments.

Panpipes

The *mizmār dūdūkī* مزمار دودکی [panpipes?].

It is composed of a bundle of reeds. Sixty-five players.

VH. (a) مزمار (b) مزمر. *PT.* (a) مزمار (b) مزمر.

MS. (a) مزمار (b) مزمر.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. “It was a species of panpipes. The Turks no longer use the instrument although it is to be found among the Roumanians.”

The *mūsīqāl* موسیقāl or *mithqāl* مثقال [panpipes]. The first player was Pythagoras, and then Moses, hence the surname of the latter Mūsā Mūsīqārī. There are various sizes named the *baṭṭāl* (large) and *girift* (small). Fifteen makers with six shops. Fifty-one players.

VH. موسقار : number of players omitted. *PT.* موسقار.

MS. مسقال, موسقار.

Meninski. “*Mithqāl* = Organum orale seu aliquot fistulae simul junctae, quae flatu oris inflantur.”

RY. “See *mizmār dūdūkī*.”

The term *mūsīqār* stood for “musician” among early Arabic writers. See *Mafātīh al-‘ulūm*, 236, and *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* (Bombay ed.), i, 87. *Meninski* says *mūsīqār* = “musicus”, but gives *mūsīqāl* another meaning, leaving *mūsīja* and *mūsīcha* to stand for “fistula inaequalibus calamis compacta”. This would appear to be a *lapsus*

calami, as there is sufficient evidence to show that *mūsīqāl* or *mūsīqāl* stood for the panpipes whilst *mūsīja* or *mūsīcha* stood for a kind of bird.

Whistles

The *ṣafīr* صفر [whistle]. Played by holding two pieces of bone in the mouth. Three hundred and ninety players.

PT. Omitted.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* No remarks.

The *ṣafīr bulbul* صفر بلبل [nightingale whistle]. Invented by Abū ‘Alī [ibn] Sinā [d. 1037]. An instrument for imitating the song of the nightingale. Three hundred players.

VH. ابو سينا.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* “Unknown to-day.”

This probably resembled the Persian *sūtak*, a brass bowl with a whistle attached. When the bowl was filled with water and the whistle was blown, notes resembling those of birds resulted. There is a Persian specimen at New York (No. 2455), whilst a design is given by Advielle, *La musique chez les Persans* (1885). According to Ibn Sīda (d. 1065) the Arabic word was *ṣaffāra*. He describes it as “a hollow thing in which a boy whistles to pigeons”. Al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 1414) says that was made of copper.

Oboes, Reed-pipes, Clarionets, etc.

The *zūrṇā* زورنا [generic name for the oboe]. Invented by Jamshīd who is buried at Ephesus (Ayāşülūq). He used to make music at daybreak. It is the principal instrument of the Turkish military band. [There are several kinds.] Forty makers with seven shops.

VH. (a) سورنا; (b) زورنا. *PT.* زورنا. *MS.* (a) زورنا, ظورنا and سورنا; (b) زورنا.

Meninski. “*Surnā*, vulg. *zurnā* = monaulus, lituus, scalmellum.”

RY. "A species of oboe. The tube is not of reed or cane like the *nāy* (flute) but is of wood. The gipsies of Turkey play it in a manner really wonderful."

The *sūrnā* or *zūrnā* was not a *lituus* or trumpet (*vide* Meninski), although native Turkish and Persian lexicographers contain this additional definition. The mistake is probably due to the confusion of the first letter of *صُرْنَا*, *سُرْنَا* or *زُرْنَا* with *كُرْنَا*. Strange to say, Niebuhr, i, 145, calls the trumpet the *surme*. For the general shape of the *zūrnā* see *JRAS.*, 1929, pl. viii, 30.

It is depicted in a military band in a Turkish manuscript (c. 1538) reproduced in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, lv: Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 96 (c. 1630). See also S. L. Poole, *Turkey*, 29, for another sixteenth-century *zūrnā*.

The *qabā zūrnā* قبا زورنا [large oboe]. One hundred players.

VH. (b) "the pipe" [= زرنا] instead of "the large pipe" قبا زرنا. "Two hundred players."

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "This was a *zūrnā* with a very long tube, but it is not used nowadays."

The *qabā zūrnā* mentioned here would probably correspond in dimensions to the *qabā zūrnā* or *zamr al-kabīr* of the Egyptians as described and delineated by Villoteau, i, 934. The Egyptian instrument was 58.3 cm. long. It is mentioned by Toderini, i, 238, as the baritone oboe of the Turkish military band. A modern specimen, 61 cm. long, with seven finger holes and one thumb hole, as well as three vent holes, is at New York (No. 377).

The *jūrā zūrnā* جوری زورنا [small oboe]. Invented by Jamshīd. Played with a drum (*tabl*). Three hundred players.

VH. (b) Entirely omitted. PT. (a) جورہ ; (b) جورا number of players omitted. MS. (a) جورہ ; (b) جورا.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "A *zūrnā* of small dimensions greatly favoured by the Kurds of Erzerum and Van."

It corresponds perhaps to the *jūrā zūrnā* or *zamr al-ṣuḡhayyir* of Egypt. See Villoteau, i, 937, who says it was 31.2 cm. long. See also Toderini, i, 238. There are several modern specimens at New York (Nos. 344, 1375, 1530).

The *aṣafī zūrnā* اصفى زورنا [vizier's oboe?]. Invented by Ṭayyār Muḥammad Pāshā, a governor of Baṣra. Eighty players.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "We no longer know an instrument by this name but as *aṣaf* means 'vizier' it probably refers to a 'vizier's oboe'. Formerly, each vizier had his band (*mihtar-khāna*) and perhaps the *aṣafī zūrnā* was an oboe *de luxe* used particularly by these bands."

Aṣaf also referred to *Asaph* the son of Berachiah (1 *Chron.*, vi, 39) who is claimed in Muslim tradition to have been Solomon's vizier. In this case the name would be purely honorific, just as in the case of the names *Sulaimānī* and *Dāwudī* given to flutes, in honour of Solomon and David. We know, however, that the oboe in the vizier's military band was sometimes called the *wazīrlī zūrnā*, and there is a specimen at South Kensington Museum (No. 1014-'69) which is 37 cm. long.

The *shihābī zūrnā* شهابى زورنا [*Shihāb's* oboe or reed-pipe]. Invented in the Maghrib by the *shaikh Shihāb*. It is commonly used at Fez. Forty players.

VH. (a) "The town pipe", presumably شهرى زورنا
 (b) One hundred players. *Shaikh Shihābī.* *PT.* (a) شهرى
 (b) سهابى. *MS.* (a) سهرى; (b) سهابى.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

There does not appear to be any appreciable difference between the Moroccan and the Turkish oboe. The Moroccan instrument is generally called *ghaiṭa* or *ghā'īta*. There is also a cylindrical reed-pipe played with a single reed which

carries the same name. Perhaps it was the latter instrument that was the *shihābī zūrṇā*. For a design of the Moroccan *ghaiṭa* see Höst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes* (1787), Tab. xxxi, 4, and an example of the Egyptian *ghaiṭa* may be seen at New York (No. 2824).

The 'Arabī *zūrṇā* عربی زورنا [Arabian oboe]. Invented in Syria by 'Alī Nād. Used in Syria and Egypt. Fifty-five players.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "It was probably the oboe used in Egypt."

The 'Ajamī *zūrṇā* عجمی زورنا [Persian oboe]. Similar to the Ottoman oboe commonly called the *gabā zūrṇā*, but its neck [? tube] and sound are coarser. Ninety players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

The *balābān* بلابان [Turkoman reed-pipe]. Invented at Shīrāz. It has no "bell" (*qulāq*) like the *zūrṇā*. Much used by the Turks. One hundred players.

VH. (a) بلابان; (b) بلابان. *PT*. (a) بلابان; (b) Omitted.

MS. (a) بلابان; (b) بلابان.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "The celebrated Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) speaks of a *nāy bālābān*. It was a sort of flute."

Ibn Ghaibī actually writes نای بلابان (not بلابان) and he tells us that its compass was like that of the *surṇā* (= *zūrṇā*). The instrument was not a flute but a reed-pipe, i.e. an instrument with a cylindrical tube played with a single vibrating reed. The instrument is still a favourite with the Turkomans. See Belaiev, *Muzikalnīe Instrumentī Uzbekistana* (Moscow, 1933), 40-1.

The *qurnāṭa* قرناطه [clarinet?]. Invented in England. Made of horn. Played by the monks at the Holy Sepulchre.

VH. فرندا. *PT*. قرناطه. *MS*. فراندا.

Meninski. Not given. Cf. *qurāntā* in Vahid Bey's *English-Turkish Dictionary*.

RY. "There cannot be any doubt that this is the clarionet."

The above is Ra'ūf Yektā's response to my query whether this was the clarionet, an opinion which I had already expressed elsewhere. See *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iii, 540. In Syria the term *qurnaiṭa* is given to all instruments of the reed-pipe family. See *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale* (Univ. S. Joseph), Beyrouth, vi, 29. Denner is said to have invented the clarionet about 1690, but in the above we appear to have an earlier mention of the instrument in which England is given the credit of the invention.

The *qāmish mizmār* قامش مزمار [Chinese *chēng* ?]. Invented by the Shaikh Shushtari for the Chinese shadow play (*khayāl zill*). It is made of reeds. One hundred players.

VH. (a) Omitted; (b) "the reed psalter" [= قامش مزمار].

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "Perhaps the panpipes."

As the panpipes are already represented by the *mūsīqāl* and *mizmār dūdūkī*, it is not unlikely that the *qāmish mizmār* was the Chinese *chēng*. The Chinese shadow play is said to have been introduced into Turkey by the shaikh Muḥammad Shushtari (or Tustari or Kushtari) in the fourteenth century. See Ritter, *Karagos*, i, 5. The shaikh seems to have borrowed it from China, and it is not unlikely that the Chinese *chēng* was at first used with the plays. In the European Punch and Judy show, itself possibly derived from the Orient, the panpipes are generally used. The *chēng* was known to both the Arabs and Persians as the *mushtaḡ sīnī* and *mushta sīnī* respectively, as I have shown elsewhere. See *JRAS.* (1934), pp. 333-4. Ibn Ghaibī mentions it under its Chinese name (*ch'ao-chēng*) as the *chubchīq*. This makes it all the more likely that the Turks of Ewliyā Chelebī's day also knew of the instrument.

The *tulūm dūdūkī* طلوم دودکی [bagpipe]. Invented in Russia and played by their shepherds. Five players.

Meninski. " *tulūm* = uter : *tūlūm* = uter, utriculus, tibia utricularis : *tulūm* = tibia utricularis."

RY. "A species of bagpipe composed of a skin (*tūlūm*) and a pipe (*dūdūk*). When Bulgaria was under Turkish domination their shepherds, coming to Constantinople, used to promenade the streets playing this instrument."

There is a modern specimen at South Kensington Museum (No. 1028-'69) and there are others at New York (Nos. 362, 1335).

The *urghanūn* ارغنون [organ]. An old invention. It is said that formerly David (Dāwud) accompanied his psalms with it. It is generally found in European countries. There you will find at every convent and church a large organ with three hundred pipes and two pairs of bellows, each moved by ten monks. . . . They are in the habit of castrating young boys in order to preserve the purity of their voices. These boys are made to stand upon the upper part of the bellows with which they rise and descend, singing the verses of the psalter to a mournful melody (*maqām*) called *rahāwī*. . . . This melody is so called from the town of al-Ruhā (Edessa), where David invented this instrument, which absolutely must be heard to have an adequate idea of it. . . ."

Meninski. " *Urghanūn* = organum." *RY.* No comment.

Ewliyā Chelebī does not say, in the above, that the organ was used at Constantinople. Yet he mentions the organ several times elsewhere when describing the mock battles, on procession days at Constantinople, between Muslims and Christian, when organs are placed in the hands of the latter. It is also described by Tāshkupri Zāda (d. 1560) and Hājjī Khalifa (d. 1658). See Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*, 77.

Trumpets and Horns

The *darwīsh būrūsī* درویش بوریس [dervish horn]. Invented by Manūchīhr (the Persian king) for his hunting parties. It is of horn. Five hundred players.

Meninski. “*Būrī* = tuba. *Būrū* = tuba, buccina.”

RY. “Unknown to me.”

Niebuhr (i, 146) speaks of dervishes of the *qalandar* order blowing a horn. See also Rycaut, op. cit., 145. A Persian instrument of this type, but called a *nafīr*, may be seen at New York (No. 2454), its length being 37 cm. See also Advielle, op. cit., 14 and pl.

The *Ayyūb būrūsī* ایوب بوروسی [Job's cornet]. Invented by Sinān Shāh. It is made of reed. Thirty-five players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* “Unknown to me.”

VH. “Sinān Pāshā.” *PT.* and *MS.* Sinān Shāh.

There were three pashas who bore this name, but it must refer to someone who lived earlier than these. I have called it a “cornet” because it may have resembled the Mediaeval cornet, but made of reed. Bonanni, op. cit. (1722), pp. 56–7, pl. xiii–xiv, gives a *corno* [? *cornetto*] *delli Turchi*, with six finger holes and the thumb hole. See also La Borde, op. cit., i, 256. The *ayyūb būrūsī* may have been the *nāy chādūr* mentioned by Ibn Ghāibī as being favoured by the Turks.

The *Afrāsiyāb būrūsī* افراسیاب بوروسی [Afrāsiyāb's trumpet]. Invented by the Persian king Afrāsiyāb. It was used at the court of the *khāns* of the Crimea. One hundred players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* “Unknown to me.”

Elsewhere Ewliyā says that it was called the ‘*Ajamī būrū* or Persian trumpet.

The *pirinj būrū* پرنج بورو [brass trumpet]. Invented by the Saljuqid Arslān Shāh at Konia. It is used also by the Ottoman Turks. Forty players and one maker, an obstinate Greek who dwells at the Flour Hall.

VH. پرنج بوروسی (*sic*). Elsewhere (i/ii, 194) he terms it the “brass flute”.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* “The brass trumpet.”

Two kind of metal trumpets are shown in a Turkish MS. (c. 1538) reproduced in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv. One has

a straight tube (possibly the *naḡīr*) and the other a folded tube (possibly the *pirinj būrū*). The *būrū* of Marsigli, pl. xvii, is a small folded trumpet.

The *shīsha būrūsī* شیشه بوری [bottle-shaped trumpet]. Invented at Venice. It has the form of a crooked bottle. Forty players.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

See the Persian *shākh naḡīr*, a crooked trumpet, described and delineated by Kaempfer, 744, fig. 15, which might be likened to a crooked oriental bottle.

The *naḡīr* نغیر [straight trumpet]. Invented by *Khūdādād* at Iṣfahān. Ten players.

VH. and *PT*. نغیر. *MS*. (a) نغیر; (b) نغیر.

Meninski. "Naḡīr = certum instrumentum musicum militare, tuba aenae."

RY. "Nowadays this name is given to a cow's horn which is played by the dervishes of the *baktāshī* sect."

In *Ewliyā Chelebī*'s day the *naḡīr* was doubtless a straight metal trumpet. *Ibn Ghaibī* (d. 1435) says that it was 168 cm. long. That it was distinct from the *būrū* in the seventeenth century we know from *Hājji Khalifa*, i, 400). See *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv, for an example of the straight trumpet. As there were only ten players it would seem that the *naḡīr* was being superseded by the European instrument.

The *tūrumpata būrūsī* تورمپته بوری [European trumpet]. Invented at Prague. Seventy-seven players.

VH. (a) تورمپته; (b) تورمپته. *PT*. (a) رانپه تا (b) Omitted. *MS*. (a) توردمته; (b) تورمپته.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "The European trumpet."

For the European instrument of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries see *Virdung*, *Musica getutscht* (1511), *Luscinus*, *Musurgia, seu Praxis Musicae* (1536), and *Mersenne*, *Harmonie Universelle* (1648). The Turkish word is derived from the Italian *trombetta*, the diminutive of *tromba*. About

the same time we find the European trumpet being adopted as the *tarunbata* in Morocco. See *Tadhkirat al-nisyān*, 117. It was probably the ordinary folded trumpet still used by European armies. See two seventeenth-century examples in Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, opp. 204.

For the Turkish instrument (c. 1630) see Arnold and Grohmann, *The Islamic Book*, pl. 96, and for the Egyptian (= Turkish ?) see Niebuhr, i, 145, and Tav. xxvi.

The *Inkiliz bürüsî* انگلیز بوروسی [English (slide ?) trumpet]. It is a crooked trumpet of brass. Forty players.

PT. انگلیز. *MS.* انکلیس.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

Von Hammer says further that it had "thin threads of wire within". The sentence does not occur in the *PT.* so that its precise meaning cannot be probed, but it may mean that there were *inner metal tubes* such as in the English "flat trumpet" or slide trumpet. The latter instrument was used in England about this time as we know from the music which Purcell wrote for the funeral of Queen Mary (1694-5).

The *lūtūriyā* لوطوریان or *lūtūriyān bürüsî* بوروسی لوطوریان [Ship's trumpet]. Dutch. Made of brass and played by Christian sailors. Ten players.

VH. (a) لوطورنان ; (b) لوطوریا. *PT.* (a) لوطوریان (b) لوطوریا. *MS.* (a) لوطوریان ; (b) لوطوریا.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

Von Hammer surmised that it was the speaking trumpet, but the text *کملرده نصارا چالارلر* scarcely admits this. It is more likely to have been the very short trumpet used on ships to convey commands.

The *urghanūn bürüsî* ارغنون بوروسی [organ trumpet]. Made of German buffalo horns. . . . Fifteen players.

VH. says that "they put thin thread into them". Number of players omitted.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

I cannot imagine what type of instrument this was, unless it refers to the *urghīn al-būqī* or *urghamun al-būqī* which I have described in my *Organ of the Ancients from Eastern Sources*, 60, 127 et seq., and *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 27-30.

The *karranāy* کرنا [long bent trumpet]. It has silver tubes and has the sound of an ass's bray. Introduced by Murād IV [1623-1640] from Erivan when he returned to Constantinople with its *khān* [1635].

Meninski. "Karnā, karnāy = tuba."

RY. "The karnā."

From Ibn *Ghaibī* (d. 1435) we know that the *karranāy* was a trumpet with its tube bent back, and the Turkish instrument of this type may be seen in *Ars Asiatica*, xiii, pl. lv. The Persian instrument of the seventeenth century is shown and described by Kaempfer, 743, fig. 13, who writes the word کرنا. Here it is a straight instrument as it is of modern times. See *Advielle*, op. cit., 15 and pl., where the term *karnā* is used.

§ 5

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

Harps, Psalteries, and Dulcimers

The *chang* چنگ [harp]. Invented by Pythagoras to solace Solomon. It is a great instrument in the form of an elephant's trunk. It has forty strings and its sound is astonishing. There are but few who play it because it is a difficult instrument. Ten makers with two shops and ten players.

Meninski. "Chang = trigonum nablium, cithara, sambuca, psalterium."

RY. "According to the Turkish writer *Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrallāh* (fifteenth century) the Turkish *chang* had twenty-four strings. See *Lavignac*, 3013."

It is often quoted by the Turkish poets and Nizāmī of Konia (fifteenth century) says: "Let us make his face a *daf* (tambourine) and his form a *chang* (harp)," meaning a flat face and a humped back, the latter agreeing with Ewliyā description. A large Turkish *chang* of the sixteenth century (not seventeenth) is delineated by Engel (p. 59), and it would seem that the instrument had become greater in both size and compass since the fifteenth century. A smaller instrument is shown, a Turkish version of the *Kitāb al-adwār* (sixteenth-seventeenth century) of Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) at Leyden University (Or. 1175), and it has seventeen strings. The *chang* must have fallen into desuetude shortly after Ewliyā Chelebī's day, as it is not mentioned by Toderini or Niebuhr. Hājji Khalīfa includes it among his instruments, i, 400.

The *qānūn* قانون [psaltery]. Invented by the famous psaltrist 'Alī Shāh.

Meninski. "Qānūn = psalterium, sambuca, decachordum, instrumentum musicum fidibus jacentibus instructum triquetra forma; quae genibus pone incumbit, ad minimum novem, etiam 50 aut 60 aenis chordis, quae digitis utriusque manus testudinis more pulsantur: aut chordae, quae duobus ponticulis incumbunt, et foramen, quod ultra utrumque situm est, in cavum ventrem reflexae deligantur."

RY. "It was used by the Turks as early as the fifteenth century, but in the eighteenth century it fell into neglect. In the early nineteenth century, however, it was reintroduced by an Arab of Damascus. See Lavignac, 3020."

It is another of the instruments praised by the Turkish poets Aḥmad Pāshā and Nizāmī (fifteenth century) as well as Rawānī (sixteenth century). Whether it fell into neglect in the eighteenth century is a debatable point. Toderini, who was in Turkey in 1781-6, mentions it. A design of the Turkish *qānūn* may be seen in an engraving c. 1700 by G. Scotin entitled *Fille Turque Jouant du Canon*, which has been copied by Bonanni, *Gabinetto Armonico* (1722).

Modern Turkish specimens may be seen at South Kensington Museum (No. 1032-'69) and New York (Nos. 330, 342, 1248), the first mentioned being the largest (96 cm. long), having seventy-two strings which are mounted tricordally. The *şantūr* صنتور [dulcimer]. [Mentioned but not described.]

VH. Omitted. PT. صانطور.

Meninski. "*şantūr* = cymbalum."

RY. "It is of Jewish origin and is still played by the Jews in the Orient. Modern Turkey has two types, the Turkish and the European. See Lavignac, 3021."

It is not given by Hājji Khalīfa, i, 400, but it was popular in Toderini's day, i, 238. A modern specimen may be seen at New York (No. 370). It has seventy-two wire strings arranged tricordally.

Lutes and Pandores

The *shashkhāna* ششخانه [Tartar one-stringed ? pandore]. Invented by Riḍā al-Dīn of Shīrwān. It has an angular neck like the 'ūd, but the neck is longer. It is difficult to play.

VH. Cf. *shahtā*. MS. (a) ششخانه ; (b) ششخانه.

Meninski. Not given as an instrument of music.

RY. "Unknown to me."

Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) describes a six-sided instrument which he calls the *tarantār* تارتار (the desert *tār*). It had one string of silk. The neck was about 54 cm. long, and the sound-chest was hexagonal. I have seen a six-sided instrument in Persian art but cannot locate the reference. A seven-sided instrument may be seen in a MS. of Muḥammad Aṣafī, *Dāstān-i jamāl wa jalāl* (dated 1502) in the University Library of Uppsala.

The ordinary one-stringed instrument described by Ibn Ghaibī is called the *yaktār* يكتار (يک = "one" + تار = "string"). The poet Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1389) speaks of the *dūlār* or *dūlā*, a two-stringed instrument, and the *sihtār*

or *sihtā* (vulg. *sitār*), a three-stringed instrument. Both of these instruments have remained favourites in Persia and Turkestan. See Advielle, 13 and pl., Lavignac, 3074, and Belaiev, 88.

The [*turkī*] *ṭanbūr* [ترکی] طنبور [(Turkish) two-stringed pandore]. Invented at Mar'ash by the pandorist Muzawwir Aḥmad. An excellent instrument on which I play myself. Five hundred players.

PT. (مزور ?) مزوو. Number of players omitted.

MS. موزور.

RY. "It is the favourite instrument of the Turks. See Lavignac, op. cit., 3015."

Meninski. "*ṭunbūr* = cithara turcica, longo collo, et rotundo ventre, sex fidium aeneorum."

Ewliyā refers to the *ṭanbūr* under two separate headings, but does not distinguish between them by name. Following Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), I have adopted the names of the two pandores mentioned by him, viz. the *ṭanbūr turkī* and the *ṭanbūr shirwīnān*. According to the latter, the *ṭanbūra turkī* had a smaller sound-chest than the *ṭanbūr shirwīnān*, but had a longer neck. It was strung with both two and three strings. The two-stringed form remained popular until the mid-eighteenth century, as we know from Niebuhr (i, 143, Tab. xxvi, A) in an instrument which the Greeks called *içitali* (Turk. ایکی + Greek τέλι). Toderini (i, 237, Tav. 1) and Villoteau (i, 861, Pl. AA), however, delineate and describe an eight-stringed instrument strung bicordally. Its sound-chest was hemispherical.

The poet Rawānī (d. 1523-4) refers to the *ṭanbūr* in his '*Ishrat nāma*, and a three-stringed instrument of the same period may be seen in a Turkish MS. that was exhibited at the Exhibition of Persian Art (London, 1931), lent by Mrs. Macey, but not catalogued. Modern specimens of the instrument may be seen at South Kensington (No. 576-'72), New York (No. 338), Brussels (No. 163).

In view of the reputed origin of the *tanbūr* amongst the people of Sodom and Gomorrah (Al-Mas'ūdī, *Prairies d'or*, viii, 89), the name of the so-called "inventor" has interest, since *muzawwir* means "a rogue, cheat", and *mawzūr* means "a criminal".

The [*shirwīnān*] *tanbūr* [شروینان] [(Shirwīnian) two-stringed pandore]. One hundred players.

VH. 100 players. PT. 300 players. MS. 200 players.

Meninski. Not given. RY. No comment.

According to Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), the *tanbūr shirwīnān* had a pear-shaped sound-chest and two strings. Turkish and Persian art have many representations of instruments of this shape. For modern times see Niebuhr, *Tav.* xxvi, and Villoteau, *Pl.* AA. Specimens abound in our museums.

The *tal tanbūr* [تل طنبور] [wire-strung pandore]. Invented at Kutsiah by Afandī Ughlū. It has three wire strings and frets, and resembles the other *tanbūr* but is smaller. It is an inflaming instrument.

PT. Number of players omitted.

Meninski. "*Tal tanbūrasī* — cithara fere nostrae similis, sed plerumque trium fidium aeneorum."

RY. "Unknown to me."

The other pandores seem to have had gut or silk strings and were played with the fingers and thumb. The *tal tanbūr*, having wire strings, was probably played with a plectrum. Meninski says that the *tal tanbūr* of the Turks was similar to our instrument. See the seventeenth century *turkī tanbūr* in Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), ii, 99, 228; *Harmonicorum* (1636), ii, 35, 111; Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* (1650), i, 477; *Phonurgia nova* (1673), 157. For an eighteenth-century instrument see Bonanni, *op cit.*, 100, pl. lv.

The *qūpūz* [قوپوز] or *qūpūz* [Turkish lute]. Invented by Harsak Zāda Aḥmad Pāshā, one of the viziers of Sultān Muḥammad II [1451-1481]. It may be considered as a *shashtār* on a diminutive scale, but with only three strings. It is

much played on the frontiers of Bosnia, Buda, Temesvar, . . ., but I never saw it in Anatolia. Forty players.

VH., *PT.*, and *MS.* have قُبُوز. *PT.* alone gives the number of players. *MS.* and *PT.* have *shashkhāna* instead of *shashtār*.

Meninski says: “*qupūz* = instrumentum musicum: *qūpūz* = species citharae vilioris.”

RY. says: “This is an instrument which the Turkish minstrels (*awzān*) played in olden days. Its form is not known, but I believe that it was little different from that of the ‘ūd.”

The Turkish poet Rawānī (d. 1523–4) writes both *qupūz* and *qūpūz*. See Gibb, vi, 105, 107. Ewliyā’s date must be wrong since the *qūpūz rūmī* (Turkish or Byzantine lute) is mentioned by Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), who says that it had a skin “belly” and five double strings. This author also mentions another Turkish instrument of the lute class called the *awzān*, and says that it was specially used to accompany Turkish tales in verse and prose (fol. 77). We also read of the *awzān* being used for Turkish songs with the Mamlūk sultāns of Egypt. (Al-Maqrizī, i, i, 136. Quatremère wrongly calls it a “tambour”.) From Ewliyā (see next instrument) we learn that the *qupūz* had its head bent. For this feature in the modern Meccan *qabūs*, the Ḥadramī *qanbūs*, and the Malay *gambus*, see the authorities quoted in my article “ŪD” in the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iv, 986, and my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 72.

The *qaradūzan* قَرَّة دُوزَن [bottle-shaped lute]. Invented by Qūdūz Farhādī at Iṣfahān when he was with Prince Bāyazīd, the son of Sultān Sulaimān I [1520–1566]. It has frets and three strings, and is in the form of a bottle. It is favoured by shoemakers. Fifty players.

VH. (a) درنج; (b) قَدَا دُوزَن. *PT.* (a) قَرَّة زُورَنَا; (b) قَرَّة دُوزَن. *MS.* (a) دُورَن; (b) قَرَّة دُوزَن.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* “Unknown to me.”

An instrument called the *duzan* was used in Albania of modern times.

The *yūnqār* یونقار [small Turkish three-stringed pandore]. Invented by Shamsī Chelebī, the son of Hamdī Chelebī [d. 1509], the author of *Yūsuf u Zulaika*. It is played in the households of the pashas. Five hundred players.

VH. Omits number of players. PT. (a) یونقار; (b) یونقار. *Meninski*. "Yūnqhār, yūnqhar = species citharae Turcicae parvae trium chordarum, et si major sit vocatur *chūkūr*."

RY. "Unknown to me."

Niebuhr, i, 145, Tav. xxvi, C, has shown a small pandore of three strings which he calls a *bag[h]lama*. Cf. the *tanbūr baghlama* of Villoteau, i, 880, pl. AA, 12. A modern Turkish pandore of this size may be seen at South Kensington Museum (No. 1011-'69). It has six strings which, if tuned bicordally, would approximate to the *yūnqār*. This particular instrument is called a *sāz*, and it is very popular with the minstrels known as the *sāz shā'irlarī*.

The *yallama* یالما [Turkish double-chested three-stringed pandore]. Invented by Shamsī Chelebī. It is similar to the *tanbūr*, only shorter. It has a double sound-chest and three strings, the middle string being of metal.

Meninski. Not given. RY. "Unknown to me."

The double-chested pandore, although no longer used in Turkey, is still favoured in Persia, Turkestan, and Caucasia. A Turkish specimen (model) with four strings may be seen at New York (No. 2482). For Persian designs see Lavignac, 3073: Advielle, op. cit., 12 and pl.: 'Alī Naqī Khān Wazīrī, *Ta'tīmāt Mūsīqī*.

The *chārtār* چارتنار [Persian four-stringed lute or pandore]. Invented recently in Persia by the shaikh Haidar Ṣafawī (d. 1488). Fifteen players.

VH. چارتاب. PT. (a) چارطاب; (b) چارطا (چارتنار).

MS. (a) چارطاب; (b) چارطا.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

As we have seen (*vide shashkhāna*) there were the one-, two-, and three-stringed *tār*. The *chārtār* (short for *chahārtār*) had four strings. It is no longer favoured in either Persia or Turkey, but only by the Uzbeks of Turkestan, with whom, however, it has five strings. See Belaiev, *op. cit.*, 89.

The *sharqī* شرقی [Turkī pandore]. It is like the *chārtār* and is played by the Turkomans. Two hundred players.

VH. (a) شرقی ; (b) شارق. *PT*. (a) شرقی ; (b) شارقی.

MS. (a) شرقی ; (b) سارق.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

Being similar to the *chārtār*, as Ewliyā says, the *sharqī* was probably a four-stringed instrument. The modern *tanbūr sharqī* which Villoteau found in Egypt among its Turkish and other foreign residents was a four-stringed instrument (bicordal) according to the plate, but described as a five-stringed one (i, 869, pl. AA, 7).

The *chashda* چشده [five-stringed round-chested lute]. Invented by Binaklī Shāh of Salonica. Like the *chūkūr* it has five strings, but it has a small round sound-chest and a short neck with frets which are very close together. It is a noisy instrument played by the gipsies. Three hundred players.

MS. (a) چشده ; (b) چشده.

Meninski. Not given. *RY*. "Unknown to me."

Round-chested lutes frequently occur in Persian and Mesopotamian art. Perhaps the *chahazda* چهزده given by Kaempfer, 744, fig. 17, is the Turkish *chashda*.

The *chūkūr* چوکور [Janissaries' five-stringed pandore]. Invented by Ya'qūb Kirmiyānī in Kutaiah. It has a wooden "belly", five strings, and twenty-six frets. Commonly used by the Janissaries. Three hundred players.

VH. چکور. *PT*. چوکور. *MS*. چوکور 3,000 players.

Meninski. "*Chukūr*, *chūkūr* = instrumentum musicum cithara crassus."

RY. "An instrument with a long neck and a pear-shaped sound-chest, used by the popular minstrels known as the *sāz shā'irlarī*."

The modern Turkish *chūkūr* has six strings and frets. The modern Persian *chūgūr* has a much shorter neck and a larger sound-chest. For a design of the latter see Advielle (14, pl.) and Lavignac (3074). Specimens may be seen at Paris (Nos. 1253, 1438).

The *sūndar* سوندر [Turkī pandore with sympathetic strings]. Invented in Turkestan but I do not know by whom. It resembles the *chūkūr* but has ten metal sympathetic strings. Twelve players.

VH. (a) سوندار; (b) سندر. *PT.* (a) صوندار; (b) سوندر.

MS. (a) سوندار; (b) سندر.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

Ibn *Ghaibī* (d. 1435) mentions the use of sympathetic strings on several instruments.

The *rūda* روضه [four- or five-stringed lute or pandore]. Invented recently by *Shukrallāh* Beg of Arabgir. Used in a similar manner to four- and five-stringed instruments.

VH. (a) روضه; (b) راضه. *PT.* روضه. *MS.* (a) روضه; (b) روضه.

Meninski. Not given. *RY.* "Unknown to me."

rūd رود, *rūda* روده, and *rūdak* رودك (dim.) occur in Persian literature as the names of musical instruments. Ibn *Ghaibī* mentions a *rūd khānī* رود خانی (*khān's* lute) which was used by the people of *Shirwān*. Half of its belly was of skin. In Moorish Spain we read of a *rūṭa* روطه (Al-Maqqari, *Analectes*, ii, 143-4) in the thirteenth century. A *shāhrūd* شاهرود is quoted in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 237, and is described by Al-Fārābī (Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 43), both in the tenth century. The last named was certainly different from *Ewliyā's* instrument. *Kiesewetter* (91) says

that the *rūd* was a low pitched *kamāncha*, and Advielle (14) likens it to a harp.

The *barbat* ربط [Persian lute]. Invented at Muntashā, I do not know by whom. It resembles the *qupūz*, but with a straight neck. It has both metal and cord [or gut or silk] strings. Fifteen players.

VH. ربود. PT. ربط. MS. (a) باربود; (b) باربوط.

Meninski says: “*barbat* = pandura.”

RY. “The body of the instrument resembled the breast (*bar*) of a duck (*bat*), hence the name of the instrument.”

For the history of the *barbat*, see my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, 92 et seq., and my article in the *Ency. of Islām*, iv, 985. It is highly probable that the *barbat* and the *qupūz* were pear-shaped and had no separate neck, the entire instrument, from the “nut” downwards, being in one graduated piece, perhaps hollow throughout like the modern Arabian *qabūs*. Further, the “belly” in both instruments was of skin. They differed, however, as stated above, in the shape of the “scroll” or head, and in the strings.

An example of what I consider to be a *barbat* is to be found in a fragment of a dish from Rhages (c. 1200) in the British Museum.

The ‘*ūd* عود [Arabian lute]. Eight players.

VH. Omits the number of players. MS. Six players.

PT. Eight players.

Meninski says: “‘*ūd* = chelys, testudo.”

RY. “A Turkish writer on music, Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrallāh (fifteenth century), describes a five-stringed ‘*ūd* of the Turks, giving a curious design of the instrument. See Lavignac, op. cit., 3012.”

A rude design of a five-stringed lute is given in a sixteenth-seventeenth century Turkish MS. attributed to Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), at Leyden University (Or. 1175). The ‘*ūd* differed from the *barbat* and *qupūz* in that it was made

entirely of wood ('ūd), the parallel neck being distinct from the body. The "scroll" or head was generally at right angles to the neck.

The small number of players mentioned by Ewliyā shows that the 'ūd was declining in popularity, and by the time of Toderini's stay in Turkey (1781-6) it had quite disappeared (op. cit., i, 236-8), the *tanbūr* having completely ousted it from public favour. In the nineteenth century, probably through Italian influence, a small type of lute, known as the *lautā*, was introduced. This, with the older type of 'ūd, now forms an integral part of modern Turkish orchestral music.

Examples of the 'ūd occur in Turkish art. See Blochet, *Les Enluminures des MSS. orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pl. xlv.

The *shashṭā* شش‌تار or *shashṭār* شش‌تار [six-stringed lute or pandore]. Invented by 'Alī Khān of Tabriz. It has frets like the *chārṭā* and six metal strings. Number of players unknown.

VH. Details omitted. What is given under *shashṭā* concerns the *shashkhāna*. MS. (a) شش‌تار; (b) سستار.

Meninski says: "*shashṭā* = testudo magno ventre. Instrumentum musicum, sex fidium."

RY. "To-day only used in Persia, Azerbaijan, and Caucasia. The 'belly' is of skin."

Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) describes three kinds of *shashṭār*. (1) A pear-shaped instrument, the body being half the size of that of the 'ūd. (2) One similar to the preceding but with a longer neck. In both of these instruments it was sometimes the custom to make these six strings bicordal, i.e. two tuned to the one note. (3) Another, similar to the last mentioned but with thirty [sympathetic] additional strings which were made bicordal, giving two octaves. He says that the last instrument was popular in European Turkey (Rūm). The Turkish poet Aḥmad Pāshā (fifteenth century) sings in praise of the *shashṭā*. See Gibb, No. 77. A Turkish

manuscript at Berlin (dated 1538) entitled *Kitāb al-matla' fī'l-adwār wa'l-maqāmāt* describes the *shashtā*, 'ūd, *chang*, and *nāy*.

The *mughnī* مغنی [lute-psaltery]. Invented at Magnesia. It is made in the form of a *qānūn* (psaltery) with twenty-four strings, but it is not described by Nihānī *Chelebī* in his *Sāz nāma*. The irregulars (لوند) of Magnesia, Tireh, Aidin, Sarukhan, . . . play this instrument. Forty players.

VH. (a) مغاج; (b) مغن. PT. (a) موغی; (b) موغنی.

MS. (a) موعن; (b) موغن.

Meninski. Not given.

RY. "It is described by the above-mentioned Aḥmad Ughlu Shukrallāh who says that it was invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294) in Persia. It was a combination of the principles of the *rubāb* (another type of lute), the *qānūn* (psaltery), and *nuzha* (another type of psaltery), and possessed thirty-nine strings, according to this author, but as he does not give a design of the instrument I cannot say how these were arranged."

An identical account of this instrument is to be found in the Persian *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century), where the instrument is delineated. For a reproduction of the latter see my *Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments*, i, frontispiece.

Viols

The *rabāb* رباب [rebec or lyra]. It was played by Solomon (Sulaimān) and was perfected by 'Abdallāh Fāryābī. It has three strings. Before the time of the Prophet Muḥammad (d. 632) it was considered a lawful instrument. Nine makers with three shops.

Meninski. Not described. The *rabāb* mentioned by him is actually the *rubāb*, a species of lute. See ante.

RY. "The modern instrument [of the rebec or lyra type] is called the *kamāncha*."

The pear-shaped rebec or lyra is now known in Turkey as the *kamāncha*, whereas the instrument with a hemispherical sound-chest was then known by this name. See *infra*. It had been known to the Byzantines since the tenth century as the *lyra* and Al-Mas'ūdī (d. c. 957), the Arabic historian, says that the Byzantine *λύρα* is the Arabian *rabāb* (*Prairies d'or*, viii, 91). *Rabāb* = *lyra dicta* in the *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (eleventh century). See also Gerbert, *De Cantu*, fig. 18, and for the eighteenth-century instrument, Niebuhr, i, Tab. xxvi, D. Modern specimens may be seen at Paris (No. 1233), New York (No. 416, 418), South Kensington (1009-'69).

The *kamāncha* كمانچه [viol with hemispherical sound-chest]. Invented by Fāryābī, who is buried at Nakhichevan. Eighty players.

Meninski. " *Kamāncha*, *kamāna* = pandura, lyra, tetra-chordum, fides, chelys."

RY. "The modern instrument is called the *rabāb* and it resembles the *iqliq* but has two instead of three strings. It has fallen into desuetude although it may be found among the *maulawīyya* dervishes."

A contemporary Turkish *kamāncha* of this type may be seen in the English MS. of Dr. Edward Browne in the British Museum (Add. 5234). He says that it was called the *kimcheh* or *kimchi* (= *kamāncha*). "It has three strings," he says: "the body is of a gourde with a hole behind it and the belly is of brasse." It was played "with a bowe like that of a violin". The Turkish poet Rawānī (d. 1523-4) speaks of this *kamāncha* with its iron foot (Gibb, *Ott. Poet.*, No. 147). Actual specimens may be seen at New York (No. 337).

The *iqliq* اقلق [viol with hemispherical sound-chest]. Invented in Egypt by Maṣṣūr Rashīdī. Although popular in Turkestan and Arabia it is not common in Rumelia. It is a small viol and has three strings. It was introduced at the time of Murād IV (1611-1640). One hundred players.

VH. (a) ? افلج ; (b) اقلق. PT. افلق. MS. (a) افلف ; (b) اقلق , افلق.

Meninski. " *Iqligh* اقلغ = lyra, fides."

RY. " The *Iqlīghī* is mentioned and delineated by the Turkish writer Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrallāh (fifteenth century). It had two strings. See Lavignac, 3012."

If we can accept the authority of Aḥmad Ughlū Shukrallāh, the Turks must have known of the *iqliq*, *iqligh*, or *iqlīghī* two centuries before Ewliyā Chelebī's date. As the latter says that it was a small instrument, it is possible that it was merely a small *kamāncha* and that the *kamāncha* and *iqliq* correspond to the Egyptian *kamānja* 'ajūz and *kamānja farkh* respectively, as described and delineated by Villoteau, i, 900, 909 : Pl. BB, 5-10. Meninski equates the *chaghana* or *chaghāna* with the *iqligh*, hence, perhaps, the reason why Raverty (*Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, i, 354, 356) likens the *chaghāna* to a violin. This is another example of an erroneous definition having crept into Oriental lexicons owing to the carelessness of copyists. In this case the similarity of چغانه to کانه (another form of کانه) has been the cause, and as the کانه was a species of اقلغ therefore *iqligh* was equated with *chaghāna*.



The Cas-chrom v. the Lei-ssũ

A study of the primitive forms of Plough in Scotland and Ancient China

PART II

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE I)

THE curious ancient figure illustrated in the last paragraph of Part I of this paper, ingeniously conjectured by Mr. Hsü-Chung-shu to stand for the modern character 爵 *chüeh*, in its sense of nobility, serves to introduce us to a peculiar word and its character, often used in Chinese texts dealing with the old-time agriculture.

This word is *ou* or *you*, and is written 耦. Marked by the Determinative 耒 *lei*, plough, it is merely a specific application of the commoner character 偶 *ou*, of more generalized usage. This syllable *ou* possesses and expresses the fundamental idea of *duality*. It is therefore fitly rendered in English by any one of the words “double”, “pair”, “mate”, “match”, “fellow”, or “partner”, or, when Numbers are concerned, by *even*. What then is the correct sense of the binomial phrase 耦耕 *ou kêng*, “double ploughing”? It is generally agreed that this implies two ploughmen, but what is less clear is in what way the two men worked together. Were they “two farmers working as associates” (as Karlgren puts it),¹ and, I presume, he means simultaneously; or, as Fraser supposed, “a pair (originally of ploughmen working alternately)”²?

But before giving what I believe to be the answer to this question, I should point out that this partnership of ploughing, this labour shared in common, had in the eyes of the people of that age, a certain symbolic and ethical significance. Together these farmers sweated and toiled, together they

¹ *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, p. 210.

² *Index to the Tso Chuan*, p. 301.

fed and rested, and the plough-share that tore apart the soil formed in so doing the bond of a fellowship of testing endurance.

That such a bond of friendship did result from such close sharing of the labours of the field is shown by a passage in the *Tso Chuan*, where we find one of those narrative insets, as it were, in the main framework of the *Spring and Autumn Classic*, that to me at least, have the savour of credible tradition, and support the historicity of that Classic. It is also relevant to the particular point in hand. The passage occurs in the *chuan* in the 16th year of Duke Chao.¹

As briefly as possible, I summarize the episode. Han Tzū, an envoy from the powerful State of Tsin, came to the small State of Chêng on public business. Now he possessed a valuable jade ring *huan* (環), and knew that a certain merchant of Chêng owned the fellow to it, and Han much desired to acquire it. To that end, he privately requested the good offices of Tzū-ch'an, the chief minister of Chêng, but the latter declined this request. Han, therefore, applied direct to the merchant. The price having been settled, the merchant said he must duly report the transaction to his government. This led to the envoy from Tsin again personally requesting Tzū-ch'an to give his sanction to this private purchase. (Then follows the curious little piece of history I appeal to in support of my view.) The Minister Tzū-ch'an replied as follows: 昔我先君桓公與商人皆出自周庸次比耦以艾殺此地 * * * 而共處之, *Hsi wo hsien chün Huan Kung yü Shang jên chieh ch'u tzū Chou pi ou i i sha tz'ü ti * * * erh kung ch'u chih*. That is "In former years our late Ruler, Duke Huan, and (the ancestors of) this merchant both emigrated from Chou territory, and in turns as a pair of ploughmen cleared and opened up this region, * * * and settled on it as joint holders."

I have slightly varied from Legge's rendering, "Thus they

¹ Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. 5, part 2, p. 662 for the Chinese text, and p. 664 for the English rendering.

were associated in cultivating the land, together clearing and opening up this territory." It is an interesting little glimpse into the spread of Chinese agriculture, for "this territory", as Tzŭ-ch'an called it, the small Fief of Chêng, part of modern Honan Province, must have been wilderness when the pair of ploughmen settlers began to open it up.¹

This passage from the *Tso Chuan*, together with several others from different works, is cited by Hsü Chung-shu, and occasions the following comment on his part, which I must cite in his own words: 甲骨銅器中的 𠂔 字, 兩耒並列, 正象其比耦之形, *chia ku t'ung ch'i chung ti li tzŭ, liang lei ping lieh, chêng hsiang ch'i pi ou chih hsing*, that is, The character 𠂔 *li* occurring on the Bones and Bronzes, two ploughs side by side, exactly pictures the "pair of ploughs" (previously quoted).

Here at last we have a refreshingly explicit statement, although a pregnant one, for as here written, more is meant than meets the eye. For the form of the seventh character in the above sentence, as reproduced by Hsü, does not occur in either the Honan Bones or the old Bronzes, nor does Hsü really mean that it does so. He assumes that his readers will remember that he has already explained fully² his view that 𠂔, the *Shuo Wên*'s alleged ancient form of the later character 麗 *li*, is only a misformed version of the earlier type 𠂔 or 𠂔 or 𠂔, found in various compound characters both on the Bones and Bronzes.

In that earlier page, Hsü had laid it down that this duplicated figure of the plough 象兩耒並耕形, 古者耦耕, *hsiang liang lei ping kêng hsing, ku chê ou kêng*, that is, Represented a couple of ploughs ploughing abreast—the double ploughing of the ancients.

But now to resume Mr. Hsü's comment as quoted on the previous page, from the words "pair of ploughs", we read,

¹ See note at end of this paper.

² See *Academia Sinica*, vol. ii, part i, p. 14, and p. 49.

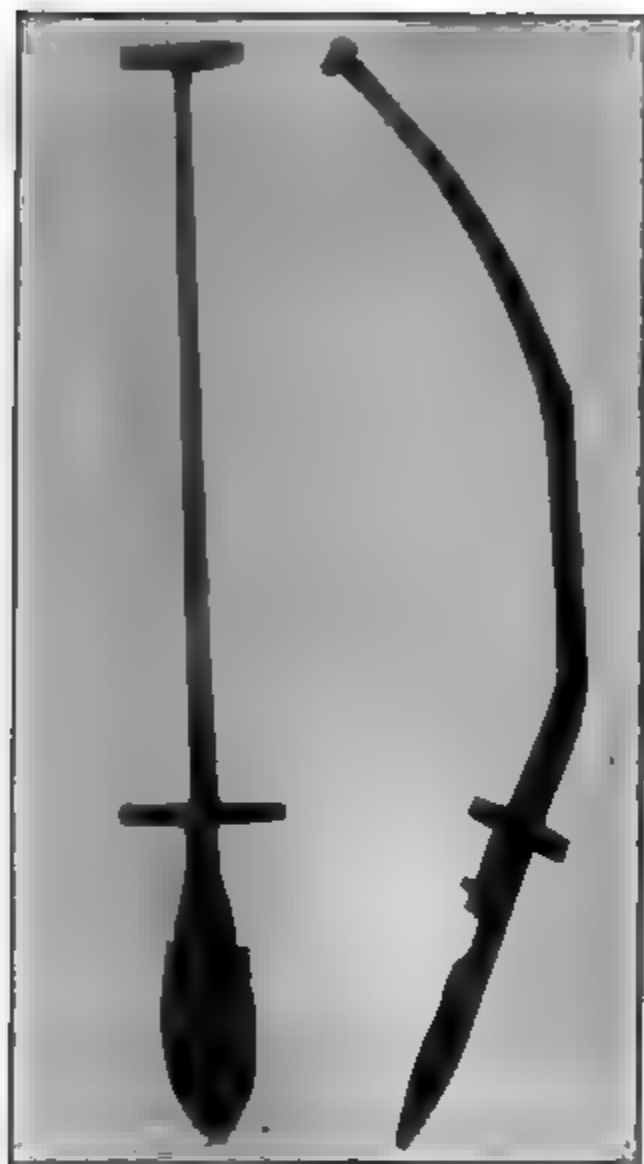
And what was it that in ancient times rendered double-ploughing (*ou kêng*) necessary? There were, he thinks, two different reasons, and he cites a passage from the writings of Ch'êng Yao-t'ien 程瑤田, which is much to the point—
 一人之力能任一耜而不能以一人勝一耜之耕, 何也? 無佐助之者力不得出也。故必二人並二耜而耦耕之, 合力同奮刺土得勢, 以終長畝不難也。
 "One man's strength can support one plough (耜 *ssü*), but it is beyond one man's strength to cope with the task of driving one plough. How is this? Without the help of someone at his side, his full strength cannot be exerted. Hence it requires two men *and* two ploughs for double-ploughing and their combined strength and mutual emulation give success in driving the shares into the soil till the full length of the furlong is finally achieved."

Mr. Hsü concludes his dissertation on the obsolete practice of "double-ploughing" or plough-partnership thus:—

Under the feudal system of society, families of hereditary rank, and the plain masses of the people, were sharply divided into two grades, so that the sons of agricultural labourers were always labourers. The system of ploughing-partners (耦耕制 *ou kêng chih*) under this phase of society, made it impossible to have any change of status. Subsequently to the period of the Contending States, persons of hereditary rank were sometimes reduced to the position of underlings, while a man of a thatched hut sometimes rose to be a Minister of State. When that happened, the son of a labourer would not always remain a labourer. And when that point was reached, there was given the first inkling of the break-up of the status of plough-partnership.

THE 耜 *Ssü*

We must now pass on to the farming implement called 耜, a character and sound which, like some Welsh names, such



(正面) (側面)

奈良正倉院所藏子日手辛鋤

[To face p. 48.]



as Llanuwchllyn, it is easier to peruse in silence than to try to pronounce aloud.

The character shown above consists of 耒 *lei*, a plough, as the Determinative, and another element having the sound *ssũ*, and the form in modern writing 𪛗, more correctly 𪛘. But the earlier shape was 𪛙 (Mr. Hsü illustrates sixteen variants), which the latter claims, no doubt rightly, is a diagrammatic figure of the implement, and the original way of writing the word *ssũ* meaning plough,¹ now augmented to the compound form 耜. As we have seen, Hsü argues that the *lei* and the *ssũ* were two kinds of different implements. The lower end of the *lei* was forked, that of the *ssũ* consisted of a single blade. The *lei* was modelled on the branch of a tree, the *ssũ* copied the shape of a wooden club, 木棒 *mu pang*, and its lower part being bevelled could be utilized to cut into the soil 刺地 *tz'ũ ti*. At this point Hsü introduces a fresh and rather conjectural factor in the sequence of development of his thesis. This is the 弋 *i*, which he regards as being the earlier form of 杙 *i*, a stake, quoting from a passage in the *Tso Chuan*, 以杙抉其傷 *i i chieh ch'i shang*, "On this, he drove a stake into his wound and died."

Now the early scription of 弋 *i* is, I think, rather uncertain, and the two variants cited from the same compound character 𪛙 *i*, are from Bronzes, and are written 𪛚 and 𪛛. In his opinion they represent the 木棒 *mu pang*, mentioned above. Well, perhaps, but I must not go off at a tangent. Hsü now suggests that it is from this shaped object that the 耜 *ssũ* was probably "metamorphosed" 蛻變 *t'o pien*, as he phrases it. It is clear, I think, that what Hsü describes as a *mu pang* or wooden

¹ In a rather long and tiring entry on this and some of its variants in "Pict. Reconn.," part 3, in the *JRAS.*, 1919, p. 380, I had suggested that the figure of a bent-handled spoon or ladle was the original, but at some later date had pencilled a note "unless it is the original form of *ssũ* a plough-share".

stake, is nothing else than the digging-stick. He says, The 𠂔 (the digging-stick) was the very earliest implement of tillage, capable of cutting into the soil, 刺地 *tz'ü ti*, but not of turning it over 發土 *fa t'u*. And so in later times they added at the lower end of the 𠂔 a rounded, flat, wooden blade, made by hewing it from wood. It thus differed from the *lei*, which was prepared by bending wood by fire.

Our author has had the happy idea of demonstrating the configuration he believes what I may term this reinforced 𠂔 to have had, by a photograph of an exhibit in a Japanese museum, which I have ventured to reproduce in Plate I. This object is described in Japanese as a hoe, 子日手辛鋤, and is preserved in the Shōsōin Treasury at Nara. Its record shows that it was presented to the Buddhist Temple by a Japanese Sovereign in a year corresponding to A.D. 758, and Hsü concludes that it must have been brought into Japan in T'ang or pre-T'ang times as an offering, 當爲唐或唐以前輸八日本之物 *tang wei t'ang huo t'ang i ch'ien shu ju jih pên chih wu*. It is, he says, an extant relic of the *ssü* 耜 in the fashion of ancient times.

Coming to another point rather elaborately illustrated with figures in this essay, here in his pages 35 to 40 he has shown no fewer than thirteen examples of more or less horse-shoe shaped objects, of which I have copied two below.

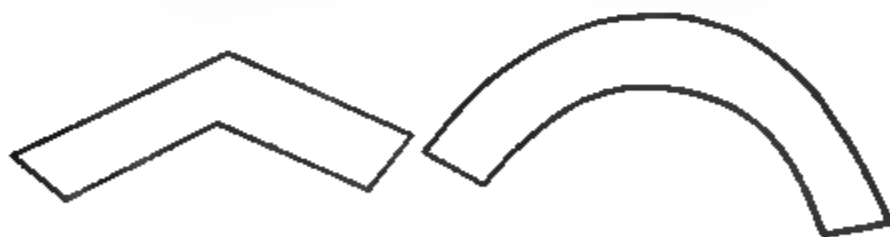


FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

Now Mr. Hsü Chung-shu lays it down as an axiom that all the Chinese early coins were by origin models of implements of tillage, 錢幣原爲農具的做製品 *ch'ien pi yuan wei nung chü ti fang chih p'in*. And it is also equally credible that all the objects illustrated were in their time coin

of the realm, though that realm may have had definite local limits.

We have also to remember that the modern Chinese term for a plough is not *lei-ssü*, nor either of these two syllables alone, but *li* 犁, a character containing *ox* as a Determinative, and significant of a vital change in agricultural methods. I have only introduced this new term for plough, in view of our essayist's further statement that the earliest 犁 *li*, or modern plough, was a much enlarged form of "this kind of *ssü*", viz. the type he had just figured in numerous variants. When fastened upon wood, its shape was like a cap, 冠 *kuan*, hence the term *li-kuan*, lit. plough-cap, sometimes, however, written 犁 館 *li kuan*, viz. plough-share. But whether called *li* or *li-kuan*, the implement is the same, and such a shape of plough-share was in use until the age of the Western Tsin 西 晉 *hsi Tsin*, A.D. 265 to 313. And Hsü considers that the present plough, *li*, descends from the *li-kuan* of the Han Tsin 漢 晉 age (viz. from early in the first to early in the fourth century) with some measure of development.

So, then, the line of descent is, if this theory holds good, from the digging-stick, through the rounded and flat-bladed *ssü*, hoe or early plough, whichever term may be deemed to fit it best, to the modern ox-drawn plough.

The author has felt it necessary to account for the co-existence in early China of two implements so similar in form and function. Let us hear what he says:—

The reason why these two implements of different pattern, the *lei* and the *ssü*, although not *both* of them needed by the same farmer, were yet always able, each to follow its own path of development, was because each of the two had its own "area of allegiance" where it was in general use, 各有其通行的領域之故 *ko yu ch'i t'ung hsing ti ling yü chih ku*. And his argument now proceeds another step, set upon a further example of his axiom that the early forms of Chinese money were miniature copies of agricultural implements. Those that he now adduces are in Chinese

numismatic works styled 兩足布 *liang tsu pu* "two-footed money", Figs. 3 and 4, and 空首布 *k'ung shou pu* "hollow-headed money", Fig. 5. Hsü asserts that the "area of allegiance" of this type of coins, where they were the usual currency, was just that region where the *lei* was in use. And from evidence of an independent kind, we know, he says, that in the State of 齊 Ch'i (roughly Shantung Province),



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.

during the Contending States period, and that of the Eastern Han, the *lei* was the implement used. We do in fact see the two prongs or blades of the *lei* still indicated in these odd coins.

In the culture prevailing in antiquity, writes Hsü, the use of metal in making implements of tillage came, as we have seen, later than its employment for the weapons of warfare. The *lei* as described in the Honan Bone inscriptions and on the older Bronzes, and as shown also in certain compound characters, seems to have been of wood. And the casting of the "two-footed money", and the "hollow-headed money" appears, by their inscriptions, to point to the later part of the Ch'un-ch'iu period, thus making them artefacts of the Contending States age (say, from 475 to 255 B.C.), and so of comparatively late date. Now during the decadence of the Shang-Yin Dynasty, the fortunes of the Chou State were rising in the west, but the latter's material resources and general culture would both have come into being later than did those of Yin. Nevertheless, the application of metal to the Chou implements of tillage seems to have been made rather earlier than it was in the Eastern regions.

Thus at a time when in the east they had not yet acquired farm implements of metal, the special feature of the *ssü*, and what distinguished it from the *lei*, was just its metallic

point. Hence arose the mode of speaking of the 耒 *lei* as a wooden object, and of 耜 *ssũ* as one of metal. Later on, for the *lei* of the east they likewise chose to make use of metal in their construction, and the *lei* and the *ssũ* having become confused under one name (*lei-ssũ*), the result was that the bent wood handle above the *ssũ* became the *lei*, while the metal extremity below the *lei* was known as the *ssũ*. Although in this there may appear to be only a modification of the meaning inherent in a couple of designations, a mere question of terminology, yet in fact there was involved a complete revolution in the productive resources of ancient society. 此事看來雖是一兩個名稱含義的演變, 而實是古代社會生產上一大改革, *tz'ũ shih k'an lai sui shih i liang ko ming ch'êng han i ti yen pien, erh shih shih ku tai shê hui shêng ch'an shang i ta kai kê.*

For as soon as the people of Chou possessed these two kinds of metal tillage implements, then they were able to exploit their new agriculture, with its crops, as their ballad has it, dense “like thatch, like a hood, like islands, like mounds.”¹

Written tradition shows that the tribes under the Hsia dynasty were manifestly occupied with agriculture. Even more so were the Chou tribes who sang of 后稷 Hou Chi, as the Chief who taught them the practice of agriculture. In later ages it has been common to assert that Hou Chi had no male parent, which should by implication mean that he was a man living in a matrilineal society, that is to say, a descendant of the Kiang clan 姜 姓, which was itself descended from Yen Ti 炎 帝 (otherwise styled 神農 Shên Nung), who, according to tradition, was the Founder of Agriculture in China.

We may conclude this summary of the more immediately relevant paragraphs of Mr. Hsü's sketch of early Chinese agriculture with the following observations.

¹ See Legge's Chinese Classics, *The She King*, vol. 4, part 2, p. 379. I have slightly altered the wording.

In the business of ploughing and sowing, writes the author, hand and foot must work together. Besides the action of pressing with the foot, a simultaneous use of the hand is needed to thrust down the share and throw up the soil. In ancient times the operation of ploughing consisted of repeated acts of such thrusting downwards and throwing upwards until all the soil of the field was finally thus thrown up into heaps. This mode of repeated thrust-and-throw-up in turn was, before the period of the Contending States (say, previous to 475 B.C.), work for the most part done by two men together, and was known as 耦耕 *ou kêng*, ploughing in pairs.

From authors of dates during the Two Han dynasties (say, 220 B.C. to A.D. 220) who treat of the agriculture of their time, we learn that the method of plough-partners had already disappeared. Nevertheless, that method was one that had been practised for a very long time, and could not have fallen suddenly into disuse. And if under the Emperor Wu (漢武帝 *Han Wu Ti*) Chao Kuo 趙過 taught the peasantry how to plough with two oxen and three men, 教民耦犂二牛三人, *chiao min ou li erh niu san jên*, this two-oxen ploughing was simply one method of tillage by the "double-ploughing" of that time, plus some slight change and addition thereto.

It will be well to add here a note upon the short narrative related on p. 46 above, concerning Duke Huan of Chêng and a certain "Merchant", 商人 *Shang jên*. Mr. Hsü maintains that this expression does not mean as has hitherto been supposed, a merchant or trader 商賈 *Shang chia*, but a "man of Shang", presumably, one of the "refractory populace" 頑民 *wan min*, of Yin, removed to Lo-yang (in modern Honan) by King Ch'êng of Chou in his fifth year, according to the Bamboo Books.

The MS. Bodl. Marsh 384

By A. AHMEDALI

THE MS. consists of 203 folios ; but the first leaf bears only the title of the work. Size of the written page is $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. : thirty to thirty-one lines to a page. On the title-page appear the words **كتاب تاريخ اخبار قريش ونسبهم وهو المسمى بالجمهرة تصنيف ابى عبدالله بن مصعب رواية ابى عبدالله احمد بن سليمان الطوسي رض**, which are of a much later date than the MS. itself, and added probably by some bookseller. The colophon, which is written in the same hand as the text, contains the date 7th Sha'bān, 547. The whole MS. is very closely written and with hardly any diacritical points or vowel-signs. The absence of these and the peculiar style of the writing make it rather difficult reading. Unfortunately the work is not complete in this MS. The whole work was divided into twenty-three sections (اجزاء), of which the last ten sections (14-23) are given here complete and the greater part of section 13, of which only a page or two seem to be missing. Thus the first portion of the MS. comprising more than half the work is missing.

Both the name of the work and the name of the author as given on the title-page are erroneous. The correct name of the work is **كتاب جمهرة نسب قريش واخبارها** or shortly **كتاب نسب قريش** ; for every new section begins with the words **الجزء (الرابع عشر) من كتاب جمهرة نسب قريش واخبارها**, while the colophon begins with the words **هذا اخر كتاب نسب قريش**.¹ The author of the work is Abū 'Abdullāh az-Zubair b.

¹ See also Fihrist (Leip.), p. 110, **كتاب نسب قريش واخبارها**. See also Haj. Khal., where it is differently given ; in Yāqūt, iv, 219, it is **كتاب انساب قريش** ; in Ibn Khall. **كتاب انساب قريش واخبارها** ; but I regard the MS. itself and the Fih. as more accurate in this respect. See also Ibn al-Khair al-Ishbīlī's Fihrist, p. 239.

Abī Bakr Bakkār b. ‘Abdullāh b. Muṣ‘ab az-Zubairī, and not Abū ‘Abdullāh Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abdullāh b. Muṣ‘ab, as given on the title-page. The relation in which these two persons stand to each other will be shown later.

Both the work and the present MS. are very important. It is one of the earliest works on the *nasab* of Quraish, and one of the very few that are extant,¹ the earliest works on the subject being *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* by Abū’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā’inī, d. 225,² *Kitāb Nasab Quraish*, an abridgment of a greater work *Kitāb an-Nasab al-Kabīr* or *al-Jamhara fi’n-Nasab*, both by Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī, d. 206,³ and *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* by Abū ‘Abdullāh Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abdullāh b. Muṣ‘ab, d. 233.⁴ To the last work and its author reference will be made later. But the *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* of Abū ‘Abdullāh az-Zubair in course of time superseded them all in importance and served as the main source of information on the subject: “وعلى كتابه في انساب قريش
والاعتماد في معرفة انساب القرشيين”⁵

At the beginning of most of the sections the name of the book, the name of the author, and the *riwāyah* are given thus :

الجزء (الخامس عشر) من كتاب جمهرة نسب قريش واخبارها
صنعة ابن عبد الله الزبير بن بكار بن عبد الله بن مصعب
رواية ابي عبد الله احمد بن سليمان الطوسي عنه
رواية ابي طاهر محمد بن عبد الرحمن المختص عنه
رواية ابي عبد الله الحسين بن جعفر بن محمد السماسي عنه

Reference will be made to this *riwāyah* later. The author of the work, to mention his full *nasab*, is Abū ‘Abdullāh az-

¹ See Brockel., i, 139-141; and Muṣ‘ab’s work referred to above, Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 11336.

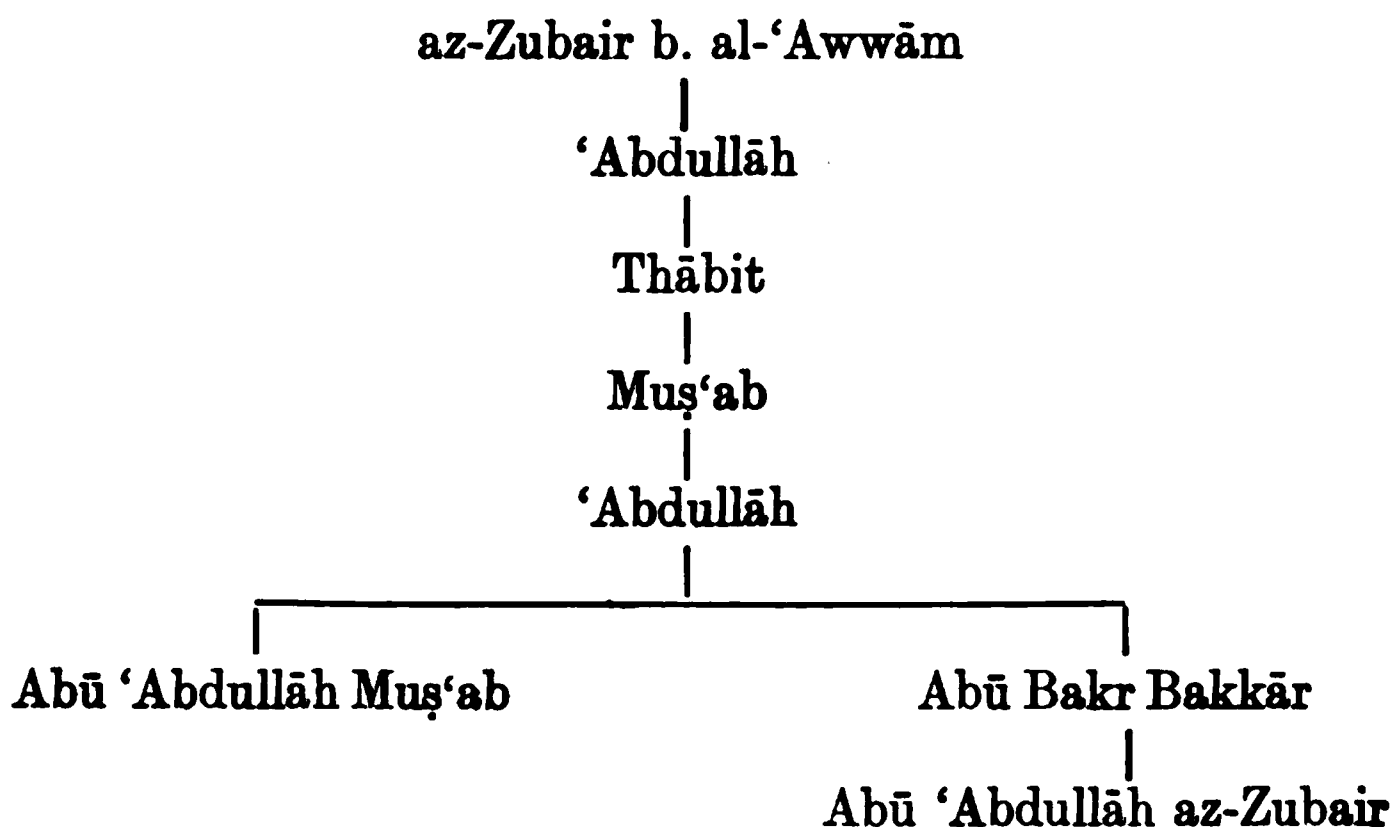
² Fih., 101.

³ Ibid., 97.

⁴ Ibid., 110.

⁵ Yāqūt, iv, 218. See also Ibn Khall. (Cairo), i, 336: وعليه اعتماد الناس في معرفة نسب القرشيين. Also Brockel., i, 141, where both the author and the work are mentioned. Another MS. exists in the Köprülü Library, Istanbul, but it also consists of the second half of the work.

Zubair b. Abī Bakr Bakkār b. Abdullāh b. Muṣ‘ab b. Thābit b. ‘Abdullāh b. az-Zubair b. al-‘Awwām al-Qurashi, who came from Medina, was a great scholar and author of several works, and was appointed the *qāḍī* of Mekka where he died in 256.¹ Now Abū ‘Abdullāh b. Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Abdullāh, the author of the other *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh* mentioned above, is the uncle of Zubair :—



The source of the information of our author is the *riwāyah* of his uncle Muṣ‘ab ; for most (not all) of the *riwāyāt* in the book begin as حدثنا الزبير قال وحدثني عمي مصعب بن عبد الله, while some go back to his grandfather : حدثنا الزبير قال واخبرني عمي مصعب بن عبد الله عن جدي عبد الله بن مصعب.

The fact that Zubair relates on the authority of Muṣ‘ab and that both these works are named alike might have led some to think that they were one and the same and even to identify Zubair’s work with that of Muṣ‘ab.² But they are two different compilations by two different authors, viz. Muṣ‘ab and Zubair, and handed down through entirely different channels. The *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh* of Muṣ‘ab comes to us

¹ Yāqūt, iv, 218 ; Ibn Khall., i, 236 ; Fih., 110.

² As appears from the title that has been given to the Bodley MS.

through Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Jamīl al-Andalusī through Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Zuhair b. Ḥarb b. Shaddād al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn Abī Khaithama¹; while the *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* of Zubair comes to us through Aḥmad b. Sulaimān at-Ṭūsī through Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mukhalliṣ through al-Ḥusain b. Ja'far as-Salmāi as stated above. Both Aḥmad b. Sulaimān and his father Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd at-Ṭūsī got the work first-hand from the author himself, as mentioned in a note appended at the end of the MS. in the same hand as the text:—

حدثنا ابن شاذان قال حدثنا ابو عبدالله محمد بن طاهر
المباشر المعروف بابن قينة قال سمعت الخضر بن داود بمكة يقول
قدم سليمان بن داود الطوسي وهو على البريد وكان قد اصطنع
ابو عبدالله الزبيري كتاب النسب فاهدى اليه هدايا مكية واهدى
اليه ابو عبدالله الزبير بن بكار كتاب النسب فقال له احب ان
تقرأ عليّ فقرأ عليه وسمع ابنه ابو عبدالله أحمد بن سليمان مع
ابيه الكتاب.

¹ The reference is to the Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 11336. It is in 110 folios. The written page is 8 in. by 5½ in., with twenty-four lines to a page. It is written in Moroccan Arabic script, and is dated 1131 in the colophon. The title-page bears the name *انساب قريش او جهرة انساب قريش* in pencil, which is erroneous and which again shows some confusion with Zubair's work; for inside the book at the beginning of every new section (جزء; there are twelve sections in all) the name is given as *كتاب نسب قريش* (see also *Fihrist* 110). The *isnād* is given more clearly at the beginning of section ii: *حدثنا ابواسحق ابراهيم بن موسى بن جبل الاندلسي بمصر قال حدثنا ابوبكر احمد بن زهير بن حرب بن شداد البغدادي المعروف بابن ابى خيثمة قال قرأ عليّ ابو عبدالله* (note *مصعب* is written here and throughout the book with the article, a sign of decadent scholarship). For life of Aḥmad b. Zuhair, Ibn Abī Khaithama, see Yāqūt, i, 128, where, however, instead of *ابن ابى خيثمة* he is called *ابوخيثمة* which is obviously wrong (for he is Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Abī Khaithama Zuhair b. Ḥarb) and where it is confirmed that Ibn Abī Khaithama *أخذ علم النسب عن مصعب بن عبدالله الزبيري*. He died in 279. See also T. Baghdād, iv, 162. For a full biography of Muṣ'ab b. 'Abdullah see T. Bagh., xiii, 112 seq. As the Brit. Mus. MS. was copied as late as A.H. 1131, it is very probable that an earlier MS. of Muṣ'ab's work might be in existence somewhere in the Maghrib. So far perhaps this is the only known MS.

This incident is also given by Yāqūt in the biography of Aḥmad b. Sulaimān at-Ṭūsī in more or less the same words. He, however, adds further : فروى عنه أبو بكر بن شاذان وأبو حفص بن شاهين وأبو عبد الله المرزباني والمخلص¹ Of the *rāwīs* mentioned here, al-Mukhalliṣ is the same as Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān mentioned in the *riwāyah* of the book given above, while reference will be made to Abū Bakr b. Shādhān later. The *Kitāb Nasab Quraish* of Zubair as judged from the present MS. was more voluminous than that of his uncle Muṣ‘ab as judged from the MS. in the British Museum. About half of the former (about eleven sections out of twenty-three) as represented in this MS. covers 202 folios while Muṣ‘ab’s complete work as represented in the British Museum MS. covers only 110 folios, the size of the page and the amount of the written text on each being almost the same in both cases.

Now I come to the MS. itself which is very important and interesting in more than one way. It is not written by an ordinary copyist. It was written by Abu’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Bakhtiyār al-Māndā’ī himself who was a great *faqīh*, and, learned in *adab* and philological sciences, a *qāḍī* at Wāsiṭ and an author. He died in 552 in Bagdad.² The colophon in his own handwriting runs thus :—

هذا اخر كتاب نسب قریش والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته
على سيدنا محمد النبي وآله الاكرمين فرغ من كتبه احمد بن

¹ Yāq., i, 135-6, where, however, instead of *باب قنية*, is given *بقنية*, which is erroneous. This passage also incidentally proves Zubair’s authorship of the work. See also T. Bagh., iv, 177, where the same incident is described (in fact, Yāqūt took it from the *Khatīb al-Baghdādī*) and where in the biography of Aḥmad at-Ṭūsī is mentioned that *وكان عنده عن المباشر المعروف بابن قنية* is given *الزبير كتاب النسب*. Here, however, instead of *باب قنية* is given *الناشي المعروف بابن قنية* which is doubly wrong.

وقد ولي القضاء بواسط وكان فقيها فاضلا معرفة تامة بالادب واللغة ويد باسطة² Yāqūt, i, 379, where his full biography is given ; see also Ibn al-Jauzi’s *Muntazam*, MS. Aya Sofia 3098, p. 157 ; photographs with Dr. Krenkow, Cambridge.

بختيار بن علي بن محمد الماندائي الواسطي في سابع شعبان من
سنة سبع واربعين وخمس مائة بمدينة السلام حماها الله

Now at the time of copying out this MS., or shortly afterwards, he had the advantage of having before him, or collating it afterwards with, at least three different MSS., the one belonging to Abū Ṭāhir al-Faṭḥ, the second to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Farrā' al-Ḥanbalī,¹ d. 526, and the third to Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir as-Salāmī,² d. 550, all men of letters. For on the margins there are notes which refer to these MSS. It seems that the division of the work into sections was either not made by the author, or the division made by him was not adhered to by the later copyists, every one of whom seems to have made his own sectional division; and these notes on the margin refer to the sections as found in those three MSS. For instance, on p. 2 which is about the beginning of section 13 in the present MS. there is the note: آخر الرابع عشر من نسخة ابن الفراء وأول الخامس عشر: on p. 236: آخر جزء الثاني عشر من نسخة الشيخ الإمام أبي الفضل: and on p. 446: آخر الرابع عشر من نسخة أبي طاهر: بن ناصر الفتح. The notes with regard to the MSS. of Ibn Farrā' and Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir are more frequent than those with regard to that of Abū Ṭāhir.³ There is

¹ For his biography see *Shadharāt adh-Dhahab*, iv, 79. He is the author of *Tab. al-Ḥanābila*, Damascus, 1350.

² His name occurs incidentally in Yāqūt, vi, 32, 338, etc., and his biography is given by Ibn Khall., i, 618. He died in Baghdad in 550. He was the sheikh of Ibn al-Jauzi, and is mentioned by him as authority on most pages of his *Muntazam* (MS. Aya Sofia 3098, biography on pp. 143-4; photographs with Dr. Krenkow).

³ The notes with regard to the MS. of Ibn Farrā' occur on pp. 2 (14th), 166 (15th), 31 (16th), 47 (17th), 74 (19th), 132b (23rd), 145b (24th), 155 (25th), 167b (26th), 179b (27th), 192 (28th); Abu'l-Faḍl, pp. 4 (11th), 23b (12th), 61 (14th), 78 (15th), 96 (16th), 115 (17th), 130 (18th), 147 (19th), 159 (20th), 174b (21st), 189b (24th); Abū Ṭāhir, pp. 44b (14th), 79 (16th), 148b (20th), 164 (21st), 193 (23rd). I take the note on p. 4 where the name is illegible as referring to the MS. of Abu'l-Faḍl. The name Abū Ṭāhir al-Faṭḥ is not certain as it is differently written all through. At first I was inclined to

a note on p. 178b which, though only one of its nature in the whole MS., is of great importance and which runs
 اخر السابع من اجزاء المخلص¹ This shows that the present MS. was compared with the MS. belonging to Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Mukhalliṣ, and the fact that the learned copyist had at his disposal the original MS. of the first but one *rāwī* of the work imparts special importance to his MS. On the margins, besides these notes, there are a few corrections made here and there probably by the learned copyist himself at the time of the collation.

There are two notes on p. 196 and p. 203b which are important inasmuch as they give the different *isnāds* through which the work reached Abu’l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Bakhtiyār al-Māndā’ī, the learned copyist. The first note is by Abu’l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir (mentioned above) and is dated 19th Dhu’l-Hijja, 547. It is to the effect that this MS. was read to him by its owner and compared with the MS. in his possession in which were the *isnāds* of his teachers.² Here he gives two *isnāds*, both going to Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ, the one through Muḥammad b. al-Farrā’ > Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Maslama, and the other through Abu’l-Husain al-Mubārak b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār aṣ-Ṣairafī³ >

think that he was no other than Abū Ṭāhir al-Mukhalliṣ, but such forms as الى المع, p. 164, coupled with the fact that the words اخر السابع من اجزاء المخلص occur on p. 178b, dissuaded me from holding that view. On p. 44b I read الى طاهر المع as ابى طاهر as in other places the ابى is clearer.

¹ The name of al-Mukhalliṣ occurs in one more marginal note (p. 187b) but it refers only to a reading.

قد سمع منى وعلى جميع كتاب النسب عن الزبير بن بكار الزيرى رح²
 صاحبه القاضي الاجل الامام العالم الاديب الفقيه جمال العلماء ابوالعباس احمد بن
 بختيار بن على بن محمد بن الماندائي الواسطى الشافعى ادام الله جماله ونفعه بعلمه
 عرضا بالاصل الذى فيه سماع شيوخنا وسماعنا منهم . . .

This passage also shows incidentally the esteem in which Aḥmad b. Bakhtiyār, the copyist of the MS., was held by his contemporaries.

³ Yāqūt, vii, 247, where he is incidentally mentioned as a traditionalist, but where his *kunya* is given as ابوالحسن, which is wrong. (Cf. v, 176 and 291.) See also *Shadharāt*, iii, 412, where his full biography is given in

{ ابن الفراء { ابي جعفر ابن مسلمة
 ناصر { ابو عبد الله السلماسي { ابي طاهر المخلص { احمد الطوسي
 المبارك { علي التنوخي { ابوبكر ابن شاذان { ابن سعيد الدمشقي
 الزبير

⁴ Yāqūt, i, 133, where in the course of his biography it is mentioned that "وحدث عن الزبير بن بكار . . . من مصنفاته." See also T. Bagh., iv, 171, where in his biography the *isnād* علي بن الحسن ابى بكر بن شاذان is given. Here 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin is the same as al-Qāḍī Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī (see the above table).

There is another note which is repeated almost verbatim at the end of every section. It is to the effect that this MS. was read to Abu'l-Fath Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mandā'i (المندائي) who is no other than the son of the learned copyist himself, الماندائي being another form of المندائي.¹ The first of these notes is dated 8th Ramaḍān, 583, while the last 15th Muḥarram, 584. There are some other very short notes at the beginning and at the end of every section written by 'Abd ar-Razzaq b. Aḥmad b. ash-Shaibānī, an historian, died 723.² These, however, are of no importance inasmuch as they only mention that he read the MS. and prepared a genealogical tree out of its contents. The last of these notes is dated Ṣafar 696.

PS.—p. 58, note 1. There is another, though incomplete, MS. of Muṣ'ab's work in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. See *Catalogo de los codices arabigos*, Madrid, 1862, p. 58, No. 151, which contains the last portion of chap. i, ii-vi complete, a great part of vii, last portion of viii, ix complete, and greater part of x: 8°, 108 fols. See also Derenbourg, *Notes sur les MSS. Arabes de Madrid* in *Homenaje à F. Codera*, p. 600, No. cccl.

See also Fih., p. 321, where both Abū Khaithama Zuhair b. Ḥarb (d. 234) and Ibn Abī Khaithama are mentioned. Also Dhahabī, Tadh. Ḥuff. ii, 24, where the former is described as الحافظ الكبير محدث بغداد, and p. 172, where the latter is mentioned as الحافظ الحجة الامام . . . صاحب تاريخ الكبير. According to Ibn Athīr (vi, 298) Abū Khaithama was one of the seven to whom the Miḥna was first issued.

¹ His name is incidentally mentioned in Yāq., vi, 186, where he is mentioned as one of the philologists, grammarians, and traditionalists.

² For biography, see Fawāt, i, 348; *ad-Durar al-Kāmina*, ii, 364; and *Shadharāt*, vi, 60. He is the author of *al-Ḥawāidh al-Jāmi'a*, Baghdād, 1351.



The Forerunner of al-Ghazālī

• BY MARGARET SMITH

IN his *al-Munkidh min al-Dalāl*¹ al-Ghazālī states that he studied the works of al-Muḥāsibī, together with those of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, al-Junayd, Shiblī, and Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī, and of these Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (ob. 243/857) was the earliest and the most prolific writer, and to him al-Ghazālī owes more of his teaching than has been generally realized, and much that has been attributed to al-Ghazālī as representing his original ideas, is in fact based upon the earlier teaching of al-Muḥāsibī and, in many instances, is directly borrowed from him.

This seems to have been the case with a good deal of al-Ghazālī's eschatological teaching, for passage after passage in, e.g. the *Durrat al-Fākhira* shows a close resemblance to the contents of al-Muḥāsibī's *al-Ba'th wa'l-Nushūr* (MS. Paris, 1913) and the *Kitāb al-Tawahhum* (MS. Oxford Hunt. 611). But it is in his ascetical and mystical teaching that al-Ghazālī has built most obviously upon the foundations laid by al-Muḥāsibī, with an occasional acknowledgment of his indebtedness, but more often by the simple appropriation of al-Muḥāsibī's definitions, doctrines, and illustrations, to serve his own purposes. In the account which al-Ghazālī gives of his own religious experience, culminating in his conversion, he has very obviously taken al-Muḥāsibī's account of his spiritual difficulties and experiences as his model.²

In his *Iḥyā' fī 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, al-Ghazālī seeks to set forth a rule of life which will enable the believer to carry out the law of God, first of all in regard to the outward conduct, the "actions of the members",³ and then in regard to the inner life, the "actions of the heart", which he divides into those

¹ p. 20 (ed. Cairo, A.H. 1309).

² Cf. *Munkidh min al-Dalāl*, pp. 1 ff., and al-Muḥāsibī's *Waṣāya (Naṣā'ih)*, fols. 1b ff. (MS. Br. Mus. Or. 7900).

³ *Iḥyā'*, parts i and ii.

which are pernicious, requiring the discipline of asceticism to counteract them, and those which are wholesome, the virtues, which can be acquired by the help of the Divine grace and will render the soul fit, if God so will, to attain to the rank of the saints, the lovers of God who enter into fellowship with Him.¹ The chief of the things which corrupt the heart, which make for destruction, al-Ghazālī holds to be lust, the sins of the tongue, anger, hatred and jealousy, the love of this world, covetousness, hypocrisy, vanity, pride (عجب) and self-conceit (كبر), and finally self-delusion. All these pernicious qualities al-Ghazālī regards as diseases of the heart (امراض القلب) which therefore require healing. The remedies for this corruption are the things which are wholesome for the heart, which make for salvation, which are Repentance, Patience and Gratitude, Fear and Hope, Poverty and Asceticism, Unification and Dependence on God, Love, Longing and Satisfaction, a good Intention, Single-mindedness (اخلاص) and Sincerity (صدق), Self-examination (محااسبة) and Meditation (مراقبة), Reflection, and the Remembrance of Death.

al-Muḥāsibī deals with practically all of these subjects in his *Ri'āya li Huqūq Allāh* and others of his works, where he also takes the view that these sins are "diseases", for which he provides a remedy. His list of capital sins includes jealousy in its different forms, sins of the tongue, love of this world and of wealth, hypocrisy, to which he devotes many chapters, conceit and pride, self-delusion, and the lusts of the self. His remedies for these sins and the rule of life by which they may be avoided, and the sincere believer may be led onwards and upwards, until he reaches the unitive life in God, include all the subjects dealt with by al-Ghazālī in Part iv of the *Iḥyā'*.

In dealing with sin in general, al-Ghazālī divides sins into those committed by the servant against God alone and those

¹ Ibid., parts iii and iv.

which he commits also against fellow-servants,¹ a distinction which al-Muḥāsibī had also drawn.² al-Ghazālī, like other Muslim theologians, classifies sins as venial (صغائر) and mortal (كبائر), mentions that the number of mortal sins according to the theologians varies from seven to seventy, and gives some of the most prominent, corresponding to the list made by al-Muḥāsibī, and finally gives al-Muḥāsibī's conclusion that all that God penalizes with Hell-fire is a mortal sin.³ He also notes that the venial sin may become mortal, and that the chief causes of this are contumacy and stubbornness, and he quotes the statement that there is no venial sin combined with contumacy and no mortal sin if forgiveness is asked for it, a principle also laid down by al-Muḥāsibī, who gives his source.⁴

Of temptation, and especially the temptation which is the work of Satan, al-Ghazālī observes that first the idea of doing a thing enters into the mind (خاطر), then the idea arouses the desire to do it, desire leads the heart to decide upon doing it and the decision leads to action to that end, and so the thing is done. But if the original suggestion can be checked at the start, it will not then lead to sin.⁵ So also writes al-Muḥāsibī, "The suggestions of Satan have no significance in themselves, their significance lies in the fact that you are forbidden to accept them and if the suggestion is rejected, you are safe, and what you are called upon to reject is not something great and powerful but what is little and weak," which, if not resisted, might lead to sin. He says elsewhere that no temptation to error or sin can do any injury, unless the soul responds to it.⁶

Dealing with the capital sins, al-Ghazālī characterizes

¹ *Iḥyā'*, iv, 14.

² *Kitāb Aḥkam al-Tawbat*, fol. 13a (Cairo Taş. Sh. 3).

³ *Iḥyā'*, iv, 15. Cf. al-Muḥāsibī, op. cit., fol. 18a.

⁴ *Iḥyā'*, iv, 28; *Kitāb Aḥkam al-Tawbat*, fol. 14b.

⁵ *Iḥyā'*, iii, 23 ff.

⁶ *Ri'āya*, fol. 48b, 91b.

hypocrisy as being a secret desire of the soul more injurious than the sensual desires. It is polytheism in that it means service done for the sake of another than God, setting up the good-pleasure of men as another god. al-Ghazālī compares it, in its insidiousness, with the creeping of the ant.¹ al-Muḥāsibī's teaching is obviously the basis for much of this and al-Ghazālī actually refers to him in this connection.² al-Muḥāsibī had also taught that Hypocrisy was always desire for something other than God and desire to gain something from men, in appearing to serve God. He also compares it with the creeping of the ant and to him, too, it is polytheism, for the hypocrite, he says, "is a polytheist in what he does, seeking the praise of the creatures as well as the praise of the Creator."³ The remedy for hypocrisy al-Ghazālī finds to be single-mindedness (إخلاص). It is, he says, necessary that all works should be done for the sake of God, the heart not resting content with the praise of men, nor despairing on account of their censure. "Know," he adds, "that hypocrisy arises from thinking too highly of mankind and the remedy is to regard them as mere servants under the authority of God and to reckon them as of no account, so that you may escape from hypocrisy on their account."⁴ So also al-Muḥāsibī, using the simile of the purification of silver from dross and of wheat from tares, urges the purification of the heart from hypocrisy that it may be single-minded towards God. Let the servant resist all desire for the praise and favours of men and let his thoughts be concentrated on the will of his Lord, and let all be done for His sake. Let him free himself from the dissipation of his interests through consideration of the creatures, and so be saved from the sin of hypocrisy and men-pleasing, knowing that his relations with the creatures are of no consequence, while his relations

¹ *Iḥyā'*, iii, 264-5, 275, 277 ff.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 271.

³ *Ri'āya*, fol. 40a ff.

⁴ *Ayyuhā'l-Walad*, p. 68 (ed. Beyrout).

with God are of the greatest importance both in this world and the next.¹

al-Ghāzalī devotes several chapters to the discussion of Pride in its various forms, including that of arrogance, which he regards as an encroachment upon what is the prerogative of God alone, for He has said, "Greatness is My mantle and Majesty My veil, and he who snatches from Me one or the other, I will cast into Hell," and he goes on to quote the words of the Prophet as reported by 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, "None will enter Paradise who has within his heart the weight of a grain of mustard seed of arrogance." Also he gives the tradition of Ibn 'Abbās that the Prophet said, "When the servant humbles himself God raises him up to the seventh heaven," and the words ascribed to Christ that "as the seed grows in soft soil, so wisdom dwells in the humble heart".² All of these had been used by al-Muḥāsibī to point the same moral.³ Like al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ghazālī teaches that arrogance means a wrong attitude towards both God and one's fellow-men, and he, as al-Muḥāsibī had done, gives Wabb's parable of the rain, which, when it is absorbed by the roots of the trees, strengthens the qualities they already possess, and if they bear sweet fruit, will make it sweeter still, and if sour fruit, will make it still more sour, and so also the proud man, if he gains knowledge, will become prouder still. al-Ghazālī's remedies for pride are also those of al-Muḥāsibī, and he quotes the story of the outcast of the children of Israel, who passed by a devout Jew, wearing a turban to mark his dignity, and the outcast said within himself that if he sat beside that pious man, it might be that God would have mercy on him, but the pious man repulsed him, in his pride, and God spake by the mouth of a prophet declaring that He had forgiven the outcast and rejected that pious man, and the turban which marked his dignity was transferred

¹ *Ri'āya*, fols. 54a, 46a.

² *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 290 ff.

³ *Ri'āya*, fols. 105a, 105b, 106a.

from his head to that of the outcast, because this poor man had humbled himself before God and had submitted to Him in his heart. This is followed by another tradition of the children of Israel,¹ and both are quoted by al-Muḥāsibī in the same connection.²

In dealing with Pride in the form of self-conceit (عجب) al-Ghazālī refers to the traditional saying of the Prophet that there were three things leading to destruction, "Avarice obeyed and lust followed and a man's pride in himself," and mentions in this connection sayings of Abū Tha'āba, Ibn Mas'ūd, and Ibn Jurayj and also the question put to 'Ā'isha, "When is a man a sinner?" and her answer, "When he thinks himself to be righteous."³ All of these are quoted by al-Muḥāsibī on this subject.⁴ al-Ghazālī includes in his types of pride, pride in bodily beauty and strength, in intellect, in nobility of birth, in the number of one's children, in opinions right or wrong, and all of these find a place in al-Muḥāsibī's teaching. As an example of presumption, al-Ghazālī quotes the story of David who declared, "Not an hour passes of the night or day but some faithful servant of the house of David is worshipping Thee, either praying or fasting or praising Thee," and God rebuked David for his presumption in supposing that this came to pass save through His help and in His strength. This and the following comments, including a reference to Job, are found word for word in al-Muḥāsibī.⁵

al-Ghazālī uses the same illustrations as al-Muḥāsibī in discussing pride of wealth and possessions, and quotes the story of Abū Dharr going to the mosque with the Prophet, who bade him lift up his head and Abū Dharr saw near him a man clad in fine raiment and another meanly dressed, and the Prophet, indicating this latter, said, "This man is better

¹ *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 301 ff.; *Munkidh*, p. 34.

² *Ri'āya*, fols. 108b, 109b, 110a.

³ *Iḥyā'*, iii, p. 318.

⁴ *Ri'āya*, fol. 94b.

⁵ *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 321, 322. Cf. *Ri'āya*, fols. 94b, 96a.

than a world full of such as that," a story also given in the *Ri'āya*.¹

al-Ghazālī follows closely in the steps of al-Muḥāsibī in his treatment of the sins of envy and jealousy, and in discussing the sin of avarice (مخّل) he gives the same story as al-Muḥāsibī of how the Prophet, when circumambulating the Ka'aba, saw a man clinging to the covers upon it and bewailing the greatness of his sin. The Prophet asked him if his sin was greater than the regions of the earth, or the mountains, or the ocean, or the heavens, or the throne of God, and to each question the man replied that it was greater. At last the Prophet asked, "Is your sin greater than God Himself?" and the man said, "Nay, indeed, God is greater," and confessed that he was possessed of great wealth and feared lest it should bring him to the fires of Hell, and the Prophet answered, "Begone, do not burn me with your Hell-fire: if you were to pray for a thousand years and to weep until the rivers of your tears were such as to water the trees and then were to die worthy of blame, God would cast you into Hell. Did you not know that avarice is infidelity and the infidel goes to Hell?"²

al-Ghazālī also follows al-Muḥāsibī in his estimate of the sins of the tongue and its proneness to evil, and gives the same advice to keep it locked up except for speech that is profitable. He quotes the same traditions of the Prophet bidding men beware of the dangers of the tongue and to seek refuge in the safety of silence, and gives a similar list of the sins for which the tongue is responsible: lying, cursing, unseemly ridicule, contention, breach of confidence, back-biting (غيبه), calumny (نميمة).³ In discussing the love of wealth and the superiority of poverty, al-Ghazālī inserts a long section from al-Muḥāsibī's *Waṣāya* (*Naṣā'ih*), acknowledging its authorship and expressing his view that

¹ *Iḥyā'*, iii, p. 325. *Ri'āya*, fol. 103b, 104a.

² *Iḥyā'*, iii, p. 221. Cf. *Waṣāya* (*Naṣā'ih*), fols. 11a ff.

³ *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 93 ff. Cf. al-Muḥāsibī, *al-Tawba*, fols. 4 ff.

al-Muḥāsibī was the savant (حبر) of the nation in regard to religious practice, because he based his teaching on his own wide experience.¹

al-Ghazālī treats finally of the sin of self-delusion (غرور) and enumerates the different classes of those who delude themselves, both of believers and unbelievers, taking the same line as al-Muḥāsibī in attacking the self-righteous, who believe that God cannot punish them, and those who mistake the outward appearance of righteousness for the reality within the heart.² So also al-Muḥāsibī points to the self-deluded who do not realize that to have a knowledge of good is not identical with being good, and those who deceive themselves by thinking that the outward observance of religious duties can take the place of faith and a pure heart, who reckon themselves to be already saved, when in reality they are already speeding towards destruction.³

When he turns to wholesome things, which make for salvation, and are the antidotes for the above-mentioned sins, al-Ghazālī begins with Repentance, as the first step on the way, and illustrates his teaching with the same traditions as al-Muḥāsibī, taking the latter's view that repentance arises from the feeling that sin is a danger to salvation and should lead to contrition for wrongdoing in the past and to the intention to abandon sin in the future and to offer redress, and this will mean self-examination in regard to the past and the present.⁴

al-Ghazālī lays great stress on the virtues of dependence on God and trust in Him and, like al-Muḥāsibī, expresses the view that they are the result of faith in God as the Sole Provider, on Whom all things depend, and the believer will therefore rely completely on Him and submit his own will

¹ *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 229 ff. Cf. *Waṣāya*, fols. 46 ff.

² *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 334 ff.

³ *Ri'āya*, fols. 124a ff.

⁴ *Iḥyā'*, iv, pp. 11, 12 ff. Cf. *Ri'āya*, fols. 34b, 75b ff.; *al-Taḥḍīb*, fol. 13a.

to the Divine Will, in complete trust (تفويض), and he repeats al-Muḥāsibī's assurances of the peace of mind and body which this trust effects.¹ Of Hope, al-Ghazālī says that it is a "state", that is, temporary, in those who seek, but a "station" in those who are travellers on the way, that is, it is abiding, it has become an established virtue. al-Muḥāsibī had noted the difference between the hope of beginners on the path, who hope for mercy on their sins, and the hope of those who have advanced on the way and whose hope is to enter into the joy of their Lord.² al-Ghazālī's teaching on Holy Fear (خوف), the complement of Hope, is very like that of al-Muḥāsibī, and also his teaching on Patience, which he regards as the response to God's affliction of the soul in this world, which is greatest for those whom He loves best, whom He desires to make perfect thereby.³ So also al-Muḥāsibī writes, "Your joy consists in suffering in this world and to those who endure it with patience, it is found a light thing and thereby their sins are done away."⁴

al-Ghazālī's devotional teaching also owes much to that of his great predecessor. His section on Prayer begins with this statement, "God differs from (earthly) kings, for all His unique Majesty and Greatness, in that He inspires His creatures to ask of Him and to make their plea unto Him, and He differs from the sovereigns (of this world) in opening the door and lifting the veil and giving leave to His servants to enter into familiar intercourse with Him: nor does He limit Himself to giving them permission, but He shows His kindness in inspiring them with the desire for this and calling them unto Him. Others, kings who are but creatures themselves, do not freely grant a private audience except after

¹ *Iḥyā'*, iv, pp. 211 ff., 224 ff. Cf. al-Muḥāsibī, *Makāsib wa'l Wara'*, fols. 32a, 32b; *Ādāb al-Nufūs*, fol. 59b, 60a; *Masā'il fī-A'māl*, fols. 135b ff.

² *Iḥyā'*, iv, pp. 123, 124. Cf. *Ri'āya*, fols. 124a ff.; *Ādāb al-Nufūs*, fol. 67b; *Bad' man anāb ila Allāh*, fol. 21b.

³ *Iḥyā'*, iv, pp. 55, 60 ff.

⁴ *Waṣāya*, fols. 11b, 12a.

the offer of gifts and bribery.”¹ With this is to be compared a passage occurring in al-Muḥāsibī’s *Fahm al-Ṣalāt*, where he writes, “We have seen earthly kings who do not give leave to men in general to enter into their presence—but the Supreme King, by His grace, gives leave to all His servants, high and low, the sinner and the obedient, to enter into familiar converse with Him; indeed He is not satisfied with giving leave, but goes so far as to lay it upon the servant as an obligation and to stir up his heart to that,” and continues at some length in the same strain.²

al-Ghazālī’s section on the need for humility in Prayer adheres closely to al-Muḥāsibī’s teaching on the subject, in the *Waṣāya*. al-Ghazālī insists on the need for reverence and awe on the part of those who come into the Presence of God. If this is lacking, he says, what is the worth of your prayer? Prayer is confidential intercourse (مناجاة) and how can that exist with neglect? He quotes the words of the Prophet who said, “God does not regard the prayer of any man whose heart is not present with his body.”³ Compare with this al-Muḥāsibī’s exhortation to his readers, “Fear God and let your hearts be present with your bodies and stand before God as slaves stand in the presence of their masters, with humility and awe, and reverence. . . . O my brethren, recognize the power of Him before Whom you stand and show Him that reverence which is His due.”⁴ al-Muḥāsibī brings forward examples of the great reverence shown by the earliest Muslims, which are also quoted by al-Ghazālī, e.g. how ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn, when he performed the ablutions, used to change colour and when asked the reason said, “Do you not realize in Whose Presence I am about to stand?”⁵ al-Ghazālī devotes several chapters to the subject of the “presence”

¹ *Iḥyā’*, i, p. 169.

² Fol. 55b.

³ *Iḥyā’*, i, pp. 134, 142 ff.

⁴ *Waṣāya* (*Nasā’ib*), fol. 17b, 18a.

⁵ *Iḥyā’*, i, pp. 135, 146. Cf. *Waṣāya*, fol. 19a.

(حضور) of the heart in prayer, for, as he says, the real spirit and inner life of worship consists of humility and a good intention and the presence of the heart and single-mindedness, and these are the points upon which al-Muḥāsibī, writing 250 years earlier, had laid chief stress. This "presence" of the heart means the freedom of the heart from all except its attention to Him with Whom it is concerned. "Your heart is present," writes al-Ghazālī, "when you come into the presence of someone accounted great (in this world) who has no power to injure you or benefit you, ought it not therefore to be present when you are in confidential intercourse with the King of kings, Whose sovereign power controls all that comes to you of good or ill?"¹ So also al-Muḥāsibī, "You show honour to one another and listen in silence to those who are your fellow-creatures. Is not God, to Whom belong glory and majesty, more worthy of reverence? Why do you not give greater honour to Him Who is Almighty than you give to His creatures?"² The presence of the heart, said al-Ghazālī, "is attained by concentrating the attention, and since your heart follows after that to which it is attentive, it is present only with that which concerns it," and this presence or lack of it depends on him who prays.³ So also writes al-Muḥāsibī, "Exert yourselves, my brethren, to ensure the presence of your hearts in prayer and do not be deceived by those whose bodies are present in prayer, while their hearts are directed towards the vanities of this world."⁴

al-Ghazālī emphasizes the importance of a sound intention, of single-mindedness and of sincerity (صدق) in the service of God and quotes al-Muḥāsibī by name in this connection.⁵ He points out that intention (نية), desire (ارادة), and purpose (قصد) are different expressions denoting one meaning, and

¹ *Iḥyā'*, i, pp. 142, 145.

² *Waṣāya*, fol. 17b.

³ *Iḥyā'*, i, p. 145.

⁴ *Waṣāya*, fol. 18. Cf. *Ri'āya*, fol. 15a.

⁵ *Iḥyā'*, iv, p. 326.

shows how the intention represents the desire, which is carried out in action for the sake of God or for the sake of this world.¹ So, too, had al-Muḥāsibī emphasized the fact that the intention was the essential part of action and he defined it as the "desire of the servant to act in one particular way, and when he wishes to do that act to that end, then that wish is an intention, directed either towards God Most High or towards another than Him."²

In his mystical teaching, though his doctrines are much more developed than those of his predecessor, al-Ghazālī follows al-Muḥāsibī in his main ideas, and there is no doubt that in setting forth his doctrine of gnosis, love, and fellowship, al-Ghazālī had before him al-Muḥāsibī's treatise on Love, as we have it in Abū Nu'aym's *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā*. Of the mystic gnosis (معرفة) al-Ghazālī says, like al-Muḥāsibī, that it is an inner light, which is granted when God has taken possession of His servant's heart and has illuminated him with the light of gnosis, and when God thus controls the heart, mercy is bestowed upon it and light shines within and the secret of the invisible world is revealed to that one . . . and the inner meaning of the Divine Truth. . . . To the prophets and the saints is the mystery revealed and upon their hearts the light is shed, because they have freed their hearts from all other preoccupation and are concerned with God alone, and "when any one is God's, God is his". Again he writes, "The purpose of the gnostics is only to attain to this knowledge and possess it, for it is a consolation unknown to the souls from which it is hidden, and when it is attained, it destroys all anxieties and sensual desires and the heart becomes filled with its grace . . . because of that perfect attainment, which is above all else that can be attained. . . . He who knows God, knows that all joys (save only sensual desires) are included in this joy."³ "The stage of bliss (درجة النعيم),"

¹ Ibid., iv, pp. 312, 326, 330.

² *Ri'āya*, fol. 66a.

³ *Iḥyā'*, iii, pp. 16, 17; iv, p. 267.

al-Muḥāsibī had written, "is the attainment of gnosis, which is the heart's approach unto God and to the invisible world."¹ Again he says that the gnostic has within him an inner light (نور البصائر) by means of which he apprehends the spiritual meaning of things and knows that he has attained unto the Truth.² The gnostics are those who have been found worthy of apprehending the Divine Unity and of understanding that all is God and all is His, who have passed beyond the sphere of merely human knowledge (علم) and its limitations, who are those to whom God gives His guidance and His favour and His love, who know Him and are known of Him. The prophets and the saints are characterized by this gift of gnosis, for they are no longer concerned with the claims of human desire and are oblivious to all save God. The desires of the flesh no longer have any power over them; they have directed their activities to one end and they know what is their real concern.³

The gnostic, to al-Ghazālī, as to al-Muḥāsibī, is identified with the lover of God, and to al-Ghazālī, too, fellowship (انس) with the beloved is the sign of the lover. Fellowship with God, al-Ghazālī states, means separation from the creatures, and he quotes a saying of Ibrāhīm b. Adham on the subject and here proceeds to use the very words and phrases of al-Muḥāsibī, taking from him a considerable section which includes sayings of Rābi'a al-'Adawīyya and the prophet David and a conversation between 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd and a Christian monk. He gives al-Muḥāsibī's definition of fellowship as his own and repeats verbatim his teaching on "presence" (حضور) and "absence" (غيبة).⁴

al-Ghazālī follows al-Muḥāsibī in his teaching on Satisfaction (رضاء), acquiescence in God's will, stating that affliction

¹ *Makāsib wa'l-Wara'*, fol. 35b.

² *Kitāb al-Mustarshid*, fol. 4.

³ *Hilyat al-Awliyā'*, fols. 202, 240a ff. (Leyden Or. 311a), *Muḥāsabat al-Nufūs*, fol. 3.

⁴ *Iḥyā'*, iv, p. 291. Cf. *Hilyat al-Awliyā'*, fols. 240b ff. *Ri'āya*, fol. 7a.

from God is a mark of His love : those who bear it patiently will be the recipients of His favour and those who welcome it with satisfaction will become His chosen saints, for love issues in satisfaction with the will of the beloved.¹ In his teaching on the mystic "union", the ultimate goal of the traveller on the way to God, al-Ghazālī uses the same tradition of David used by al-Muḥāsibī concerning those into whom the Spirit of God has entered, so that they have become spiritualized (يكونوا روحانيين).² These are they who have attained (الواصلون), whose eyes "God hath closed to all but Himself and hath made them deaf to all words save His. These are they whom He hath called to be His saints, who are His and His alone".³

These examples, to which others might be added, show clearly al-Ghazālī's indebtedness to his great predecessor, both for the main trend of his ascetical, devotional, and mystical teaching and for many of the ideas and illustrations of which he makes use in his rule for the religious life. Living two and a half centuries later than al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ghazālī had access to a much greater store of material, and the wide extent of his travels for which we find no parallel in the life of al-Muḥāsibī, together with his own outstanding genius, enabled him to develop and expand the lines of thought suggested in the writings of his predecessor, but there is no doubt that the foundations of that great system of orthodox Islamic Mysticism which al-Ghazālī made it his business to bring to completion, had already been well and truly laid.⁴

¹ *Iḥyā'*, iv, pp. 297 ff. Cf. *Hilyat*, fols. 235a ff.

² *Iḥyā'*, iv, p. 296.

³ *Iḥyā'*, ii, p. 236. Cf. *Hilyat*, fol. 233b.

⁴ For a detailed study of the life and teaching of al-Muḥāsibī cf. my *Early Mystic of Baghdad*.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

CATTLE THEFT IN THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA*

For anyone who has had administrative experience in India the puzzles of interpretation which abound in the *Arthaśāstra* have a special interest; he will recognize in many of the problems, which troubled Kauṭilya, difficulties he has had himself to tackle, and the solutions recommended are often enough based on considerations with which he is perforce familiar. Modern experience is thus enlightening at times, and I propose to apply it here to two enigmatic sentences on the subject of cattle theft in the chapter on the *go'dhyakṣa*; they run as follows (ed. Jolly and Schmidt, ii, 29, 16–17), *svadeśīyānām corahr̥taṁ pratyānīya paṇitaṁ rūpaṁ haret, paradeśīyānām mokṣayitārdhaṁ haret*.¹ That we have here provisions outside the ordinary range of criminal law is suggested by the absence of parallels in the law books. The reason should undoubtedly be looked for in the unique character of cattle theft as a crime, which again is determined by the nature of the article stolen. Cattle are not stolen in India for killing and eating nor for their hides, but for use, and to grasp the consequences of this in practice I must describe the old methods of cattle theft, which survived to modern times. When I served in 1913–14 in the Champaran district of Behar, which lies in an angle between Nepal and the Gorakhpur district of the United Provinces, cases still used to occur sporadically, and it was the invariable practice of the thieves to remove the cattle to a far distant spot, in that district usually the wide pastures along the Gandak river in Gorakhpur, where it was next to impossible to trace the stolen property. One striking case I remember of thieves

¹ Ganapati Sastri read *paṇikaṁ rūpaṁ*, which, whether original to him or found in his authorities, is evidently merely the guess of someone who did not understand the points in issue.

being caught in the district with stolen cattle, which on inquiry proved to belong to a Tharu living in Nepal three days' journey from the frontier. Similarly, Mr. Oldham, to whose help I have been much indebted in the preparation of this note, informs me of the case of a celebrated cattle thief in the Shahabad district of Behar some time in the last century, whose gang used to swim the animals they had stolen across the Ganges into the Ghazipur and Ballia districts of the United Provinces. The essence then of the crime lay in removing the cattle, not merely to a distant spot, but to a place outside the jurisdiction from which they had been stolen. That these methods, which arose naturally from the conditions of Indian country life, go back to Kauṭilya's days is, in my opinion, legitimately to be inferred from the contrast he draws between cattle *svadeśiyanām* and those *paradeśiyanām*; probably they date from a far earlier age, for the hymns to Pūṣan suggest that cattle theft was one of the regular crimes in the Rigvedic period and that stolen cattle were difficult to find, that is, the thieves removed them far away at once.

Cattle theft on these lines demands a considerable organization, and its suppression presents a problem of much difficulty to the administrator, as involving the co-operation of different authorities, often subordinate to different states; human nature being what it is, the thieves could reckon on enjoying in practice a large measure of immunity in their operations from the lack of co-ordination between the officials concerned. The evil being beyond the control of the governments concerned, Indian society evolved methods of its own for dealing with it, varying according to the conditions of the locality. Thus in the wide sparsely populated pastoral areas of the Panjab the custom called *khoj* prevailed, whereby the last village to which the tracks of the cattle could be traced was held responsible for their recovery or, failing that, for making good the loss. This practice evidently does not explain the sentences in question and need not therefore be considered

in detail here. In more populous districts the most skilled Panjabi tracker would have been soon at a loss, and in Behar a different solution was found, which, so far as I can ascertain, did not prevail in other parts of India. It originated from the fact that the gangs, being outsiders, required confederates in the areas within which they committed their depredations, and there were generally certain persons who were well known to be in touch with the regular thieves, though evidence to secure their conviction might be lacking. When a man lost cattle by theft, he might well conclude that it was useless to report the case to the local authorities, and he would instead approach one of these persons and bargain with him for the return of the animals on payment of a fee or ransom. Under British rule this practice made it still harder to put down cattle theft; for anyone so paying a fee brought himself within the purview of the criminal law for compounding a criminal offence, and he would be most reluctant to give anything away, should the authorities hear of the matter, for fear of the legal consequences to himself, while, if the case did come to notice, his evidence was liable to be regarded as tainted. The fee for the return of the cattle is called *panahā*, a use of the word which is recognized as peculiar to Behar by the *Hindī Śabdasāgar*.¹ This term is clearly derived from the Sanskrit root *paṇ*, and the coincidence is too striking for us not to recognize a similar practice as indicated by the *paṇita rūpa* of the two sentences under discussion.

We are now in a position to scrutinize more closely the passage, whose phraseology is too condensed for clear understanding, if we have no clue by which to read it. Of the words used, *rūpa* can in this chapter only mean "head of cattle", and *haret*, lit. "should take away", i.e. "should receive". The inner meaning surely is to be deduced from

¹ This dictionary takes the word as applying to all kinds of theft, but I have never heard it used of anything except cattle theft. The derivation it gives is *paṇa-hāra*, which is not possible.

the contrast, to which inadequate attention has been paid, between *svadeśiyanām . . . pratyānīya* on the one hand and *paradeśiyanām mokṣayitā* on the other. For *pratyānī* and *mokṣaya* are not synonyms; why then "bring back" in one case, "free" in the other? Surely in the first case cattle are stolen from within the jurisdiction of the officer or state concerned and taken outside it, the thieves being outsiders. The man, who "brings them back", even though possibly in league with the gang, receives as a reward his *panahā*, not in cash as in recent times, but in a previously stipulated proportion of the herd (or a previously stipulated animal), the *panita rūpa*; for in Kauṭilya's day it was more usual to pay in kind than in cash. This prescription characteristically shows him as moved by practical, not idealistic, considerations. Theoretically an officer should have no truck with thieves, but in this case he is incapable of striking at them, and it is to the advantage of his people that at least he should put no obstacles in the way of their recovering their property in part. The author therefore allows the recognition in some degree of the *panahā* system, just as the first British officers in the Panjab found it necessary to make use of the *khoj* system, though it was not strictly enforceable by legal process.

In the second case, cattle have been stolen outside the jurisdiction and brought inside it, probably by thieves living within the jurisdiction. They are in the possession of the thieves, and the man who recovers them is said to "free" them. The difficulty of this sentence lies in the meaning of *ardham*; it cannot mean half the fee of the previous sentence, for that is not a fixed amount, but is subject to bargaining. I would therefore agree with the various translators that it signifies half the stolen herd. Why so large a reward? Possibly on the principle that the interests of outsiders or foreigners do not require much consideration at the hands of officials and that they may be legitimately made to pay through the nose for any services they receive. But there may be a worthier motive at work; for the freeing of the

cattle may lead to detecting and breaking up a gang of thieves, and anyone who facilitates this deserves a substantial reward, on a scale sufficient to attract informers.

If the interpretation I propose is correct, these two sentences, besides illustrating Kauṭilya's practical attitude to difficulties of administration and the value of modern experience in explaining the real purport of his text, possibly justify an inference of greater importance. For the fact that the custom and the word to denominate it can only be found, so far as I know, in Behar in modern times,¹ suggests that we may have here a piece of evidence to show that the *Arthasāstra* was written by someone familiar with the conditions of that part of India; and I need hardly insist on the difficulty of finding traces in that work of a definite connection with any special area.

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E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE MEANING OF THE TITLE *AL-MU'ALLAQĀT*

The meaning of the above title which Ḥammād gave to his famous collection of odes was forgotten, and so a meaning was given on the basis of the root '*allaqa* "to hang". It was said that they were poems which had gained the prize at the fair of 'Ukāz, and were afterwards written on pieces of fine Egyptian linen in letters of gold, and hung up on the door of the Ka'ba in Mecca. Thus the title means that they are the "Suspended" odes.

Different attempts have been made to explain the title, and there is general agreement that, whatever it does mean, it does not mean that they were suspended on the door of the Ka'ba. In 1823 Hengstenberg² disputed the genuineness

¹ I cannot trace the word in any dictionary of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, except the *Hindī Śabdāśāgar*, though I should be surprised if it is not familiar enough to Nepalis and to dwellers in the eastern part of the United Provinces; nor does it appear in Wilson's glossary or in *Hobson-Jobson*. The India Office kindly searched at my request for early reports by English officers on the subject, but could find nothing to the point.

² *Amrulkēsi Moallakah*, pp. 2-4.

of that story, and argued that the collector of these poems gave them this title to indicate their outstanding nature.

Nöldeke has discussed the matter at greater length.¹ He has pointed out that Hammād collected these poems, and that therefore they did not form a collection which already existed under the title of *Al-Mu'allaqāt*. Aḥmad al-Naḥḥās (d. 338 or 337) was the first to say they were hung on the Ka'ba, and he did so without quoting any authority. Nöldeke also doubts the genuineness of the poetic contests on the ground that it would have been very difficult to find impartial judges. He concludes that we should keep to the meaning of the word "suspended", but interpret it as meaning that they are put in a place of honour because of their value. In his later article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,² he still holds the same view.

Von Kremer³ suggested that the title means poems copied from the dictation of *rāwīs*, but Ahlwardt⁴ rejects this on linguistic grounds. He holds that it means poems which are favoured for their excellence. Brockelmann⁵ says that they are poems raised to a place of honour for their preciousness.

Lane⁶ takes a view more in keeping with the ideas of Muslim authors. He is prepared to admit that poems may have been suspended in the Ka'ba singly, either by a poet or by his admiring friends, and left there during the period when Mecca was thronged by pilgrims; but he prefers a theory which says that when a king was pleased with a poem, he said, "Suspend ye for us this," meaning that it should be put in his repository. Lyall⁷ says "the name is most likely derived from the word *'ilk*, meaning 'a precious

¹ *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, pp. xviii ff.

² *Art. Mo'allaqāt*.

³ *Altarabische Gedichte*, p. 11.

⁴ *Bemerkungen über die Aechtheit der alten Arabischen Gedichte*, p. 25.

⁵ *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, i, pp. 17, 18.

⁶ *Lexicon*, s.v., '*lq*.

⁷ *Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. xlv.

thing, or a thing held in high estimation', either because one 'hangs on' tenaciously to it, or because it is 'hung up' in a place of honour, or in a conspicuous place, in a treasury or storehouse''.

All these explanations are based on the idea of the poems being raised up in actual fact, or in the estimation of the people. But there is another meaning of the word, and it is one which Ḥammād would almost certainly know. The *Qur'ān* (iv, 128) says that men with more than one wife will not be able to show complete impartiality. They must not, however, turn from one completely and leave her *ka'l mu'allāqa* (like one in suspense). This is explained as meaning that she is neither possessed of a husband nor divorced.¹ She is still reckoned to be the wife of a certain man, but is not given the position she should have.

It has occurred to the writer that we may possibly find here a clue to the meaning of the title given by Ḥammād to his collection of poems. This anthology is the oldest we possess, and Ḥammād would realize that he was doing something unusual, for a poet's compositions would naturally be put together in his *ḏiẓwān*. So I would suggest that Ḥammād gave this title playfully, meaning to indicate that the poems are still attributed to their authors, but are not given their rightful position, which would be in the poet's *ḏiẓwān*.

Although Ḥammād was somewhat of a profligate, he was not altogether ignorant of the *Qur'ān*. A story told by Ibshihī² would suggest that he knew a great deal about it, although it is said that he was not accustomed to recite it. This story declares that, on being commanded to read a portion of the *Qur'ān*, he purposely altered the meaning of passages by here and there reading the wrong letters, e.g. *tā'* for *bā'*, *zāy* for *rā'*, etc., such changes depending simply on the alteration of diacritical points. Ibshihī remarks that only clever people could do this.

¹ Cf. Baiḏāwī, Commentary.

² *Mustaṣraf*, i, p. 55.

It may be objected, however, that even allowing for Hammād being sufficiently familiar with the *Qur'ān* to choose a title from it, such a use of this phrase would be inappropriate. The people spoken of in *Qur.* iv, 128, are placed in an inferior position, while the poems are really placed in a superior position by being specially selected. In reply to this it may be said that when well-known phrases are used as titles, their users do not always take care to see that they are used in exactly the same sense as in the original context.

Phrases obviously taken from the *Qur'ān* are quite common as titles of books, although their meaning is not exactly the same as in the passages from which they are quoted. One meets the title *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* (xxxviii, 19) used for a grammar and for a book on the freedom of women. *Al-lu'lu' al-maknūn* (lvi, 22) is the title of a book on legal questions concerning marriage. *Majma' al Baḥrain* (xviii, 59) is the title of a book of *maqāmas*¹ and of a book on traditions of the *gharīb* class. Muḥammad 'Abduh called his periodical *Al-'urwa al-wuḥqā* (ii, 257; xxxi, 21). In none of these titles does the phrase used have exactly the same sense as it has in its original context, and yet there is sufficient connection to make its use allowable, or understandable. Even pious Muslims seem to feel no objection to such uses of phrases from their sacred book, and so it is perfectly possible that the explanation of Hammād's title for his collection of poems is to be found in the use of the word in the *Qur'ān*. It is a point which one cannot prove, just as one cannot prove the correctness of any of the other explanations; but the suggestion is made as a possible explanation of the name *Al-Mu'allaqāt*.

¹ This book, as also the grammar called *Faṣl al-khiṭāb*, is by Naṣīf al-Yazajī, who was a Christian; but as most of his readers were bound to be Muslims, it is not likely that he would choose a title calculated to offend them.

A BUSINESS RECORD OF THE DUNGI PERIOD

The tablet communicated here was purchased from a dealer, A. Graham, 21A Waterloo Street, Hove, Sussex. It is now in the possession of Miss Doreen de Labillière, Methley Rectory, Leeds.

It is from Umma and of extraordinary interest, since *zíz-an* is classified with *gig* (*kibatu*) "wheat". This carries the problem of identifying *zíz-an*, Syriac *zîznā*, Greek *zizanion*, Jewish-Aramaic *zônîn*, *zônâiā*, Arabic *zawān*, *zuwawān*, *zuwān* a step farther. Syriac *zîznā* and the loan forms in Talmudic and late Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek are usually derived from a root *z-w-n* or *z-y-n*, whence a form **zanzan*, **zinzin* > *zîznā* is posited by analogy with *kêknā* > *kenkenā*, etc., Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 728, and he will admit no connection with Babylonian *zîzu* "emmer, *triticum dicoccum*" from Sumerian *zîz* = *kunāšu*, Syr. *kunnathā*, now proved to be "emmer, small spelt" by Egyptian archæology, Hrozný, *Getreide*, 26. This etymology was abandoned in the second edition of Brockelmann's *Syriac Lexicon*, where, following a suggestion by Jensen, *OLZ.*, 1924, 55, *zîznā* is now derived from a Babylonian *zizānu* = *rāšu*, the latter word being identified with Hebrew רֹשׁ *rô's*, *rôš* "a poisonous plant". Jensen does not say that *zîznā* = *rôš*, but Brockelmann, *Lex.*², does so and quotes Jensen wrongly. Jensen's argument is based upon *zi-za-nu* gloss on ^dKur, *CT.*, 25, 6, 13, and *ra-a-zu*, gloss on ^dKur, *CT.*, 25, 6, 12. Also upon Kur (*zi-za-nu*) = ŠU., i.e. *zizānu*, *Ass.*, 523, iii, 25, and Kur (*ra-a-šu*) = *rāšu*, *ibid.*, 27. But there is no evidence that these two titles of a mountain god have anything to do with Sumerian *zíz-an* "a kind of emmer wheat" or with the Hebrew plant *rô's*, *rôš*. Cf. N.Pr. *Ibi-zi-za-na*, where *zizana* is a divine name, Ranke, *Personal Names*, 90. The assumption that these two titles are plant names may or may not be true, but to regard this evidence as final is going too far for an entry in a standard dictionary.

The only apparently certain evidence for *zizānu* "a kind of

emmer wheat" is *a-na zíz-an-ni* "for emmer wheat", Clay, *PBS.*, ii³, 116, 13, cited by Hrozný, *Getreide*, 63, note 1. It is, in fact, almost certain that a Babylonian word *zizānu*, *zizannu* for "emmer" did exist. Although Syriac *ziznā* and Greek *zizanion* are definitely known to be *lolium* "darnel, tare", this must be due to a misunderstanding of the original Sumerian *zíz-an*, which is now proved to be a kind of wheat or, at least, an emmer wheat classified as wheat in the tablet here. Moreover, *zíz* "emmer" is constantly distinguished *zíz-an*, *zíz-an-na*, *zíz-a-na*, *zíz-a-an*, a fact already noted by Hrozný, *Getreide*, 75-9. He regards *zíz-an* as "shelled emmer", i.e. *zíz* with the husk removed. This is extremely improbable. *zíz-an* occurs in a list of grains as early as the Fara period, Deimel, *Fara*, ii, 20, Rev., v, 11, and is the only form used until the end of the Dungi period. In fact, *zizanna*, *zíz-a-an* are corrupt Babylonian forms. Hrozný cited a large number of texts where *zíz* is distinguished from *zíz-an*, *zíz-a-an*, although the syllabaries translate both by *kunāšu* "emmer, two-grained wheat". The text published here also distinguishes these two grains. See also Contenau, *Textes Cunéiformes*, v, 5670, col. i, *zíz*, *gig* "wheat", and *zíz-an*, in the total all given as *še* "grain".

The Mishna, Kilaim, i, 1, says that *hitīm(n)* "wheat" and *zōnīn* are not accounted diverse kinds of grain, and the Talmud, Jerusalem Gemara, in its comment on Kilaim, i, 1, says that *zōnīn* is a kind of wheat. Maimonides, commenting on Kilaim, i, 1, also says that *zōnīn* is a kind of wheat.¹ *Aruch*, or the Talmudic Lexicon of Nathan Romi, edited by Kohut, iii, 306b, says that the seeds of *kōnīn* are black, and that it is found among wheat. Kohut, *ibid.*, suggests *nigella* "fennel". It is obvious that *zíz-an* must be the origin of all these Aramaic and Arabic words,² and of the Greek *zizanion*, although an Accadian loanword *zizānu* is not very satisfactorily documented.

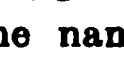

¹ Danby, *The Mishna*, 28, translates "tares" after the usual tradition, and comments "bearded darnel".

² Löw, *Flora der Juden*, i, 729, cites also an Arabic form *szāda*.

The word in Sumerian and Babylonian certainly did not mean "tare, darnel", however the Aramaic people may have used the loanword. It is clearly a kind of spelt wheat of inferior quality. The tablet is here translated with notes.

1. 38 royal *gur* + 210 *silā*, barley (*še*).
2. On the case tablet of Ur- Šara.¹
3. 13 *gur* barley (*še*) on the tablet of Adda.
4. 2 *gur* emmer (*zíz*) [on the tablet] of Lù-bal-Síg.²
5. 8 *gur* + 30 *silā* barley meal (*zíd-še*).
6. on the tablet of Lù-inim-ni.
7. 8 *gur* + 192 *silā* barley (*še*),
8. grain of the soldiers ;
9. the second year³ ; it has been placed on order for them.

¹ i.e. charged to the account of Ur-shara. *šag-dub* = *šipū*, letter in an envelope, *CT*. 12, 33, *K*. 2034, Rev. ii, 2. The witnesses to a *šag-dub-ba-ka* "case tablet", Genouillac, *Inventaire*, ii, 3532, 9. *gab-ri šag-dub-ba* "duplicate of a case tablet", 4710, Rev. 6. A letter is called *šag-dub-ba*, *YOS*. iv, 131. *šag-dub-áš-áš*, case tablets in pairs, duplicates, Hussey, *Harvard*, i, 2, Obv. i, 3 ; 3, i, 4 ; 15, Rev. viii, 3. *dub* = *šipū*, *CT*. 11, 29 A 40 ; 12, 14 A 4, after *lamū* "to enclose". *šag-dub* "the interior of a tablet". Two forms of this verb, *šapū*, *šāpu* "to cover, enclose, wrap" exist. *šīpu*, *šī'pu*, letter, Arabic *ṣahifatun*, is derived from *šāpu*. *šapū* "to colour, overlay with paint" is the same verb. A secondary dissimilated form is *šabū* "to wrap", *Maklū*, vii, 58 ; Weissbach, *BA.*, iv, 161-2. *dup-pi ša-pí-ti* "a case tablet", Ebeling, *KAJI*. 122, 4-5. Deimel, *Lexikon*, p. 748, 100, confused the noun *šipū* with the verb *šapū*.

² Síg = . The same name is written with Sig = , Legrain, *Ur*, 24, 3 ; 25, 6. *Lù-bal-Síg*, Schneider, *Drehem*, p. 30.

³ *mu-ki-2-šú*. This expression *mu-ki-2-šú* is certainly equivalent to *mu-ki-4*, 5, 6, up to 31, in the dates of Rim-Sin, "fourth, fifth, sixth, etc., year" (after he captured Isin), Thureau-Dangin, *Chronologie des Dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, 9-10. It is also equivalent to *mu-uš-sa ki-18 Isinna*, (*ki*) *bandib* "Eighteenth year after he captured Isin", and to *mu-uš-sa 5-kam* "Fifth year after", *SAK*. 237-8, and to *mu-4-kam-ma* "Fourth year (after)", *Chronologie*, 6, 62, etc. A similar formula is the double date *mu-8 ki 10 Isinna(ki) bandib* "The year eight (of Hammurabi ?) is (year) 10 of (i.e. after) the capture of Isin", *RA*. 27, 80. This same *ki* in the double date cited *RA*. 27, 81, *mu-ki-18-kam*. *mu-ki-4-kam*, therefore, has the same sense as *mu-4-kam* "fourth year", and *mu-uš-sa ki-4* "year after, fourth" ; hence *mu-ki-4-šú* = *mu-ki-4-kam*. *ki-šú* must be a compound preposition and when used with numbers it has the force of an ordinal, precisely as *4-ám* < *4-kam* ; a form, *ki-4-kam* is, therefore, a hybrid. *ki-2-šú*, Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents Pre-Sargoniques*, 220, i, 6 ; ii, 5, means "second time", i.e. *2-ám*. Apparently this form of the ordinal cannot be used for

Here *zid* "flour, meal" is included with *ze* "barley", but 8 *gur* + 30 *silā*, charged to *Lū-inim-ni*, line 5, is ignored.

The total, line 23, is made up from :—

2 <i>gur</i>	(line 4).	<i>ziz</i> .
3 <i>gur</i>	180 <i>silā</i> (line 11).	<i>ziz</i> .
<hr/>		
5 <i>gur</i>	180 <i>silā</i>	<i>ziz</i> .

The total, line 24, is made up from :—

2 <i>gur</i>	170 <i>silā</i> (line 12).	Wheat.
3 <i>gur</i>	90 <i>silā</i> (line 13).	<i>ziz-an</i>
<hr/>		
5 <i>gur</i>	260 <i>silā</i> ,	<i>gig</i> , wheat.

In the total no account is taken of dates (line 15) and of beer (line 17).

279.

S. LANGDON.

A BRĀHMĪ AKṢARA

The long and eagerly awaited Maralbashi Saka Texts have now been published by Professor Sten Konow, *Ein Neuer Saka-Dialekt, Sitzungsab. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1935. Only one who has seen something of the early stages in the decipherment can realize the difficulties successfully overcome. Though so modestly sent forth as but a first attempt, it is likely that most of the results will be final. It is a remarkable and admirable achievement.

Here I should like to discuss one point : the problem of the Brāhmī sign 𑀓 . Professor Konow, p. 776, remarks : "Siegling hat mir weiter mitgeteilt, dass Müller die beiden ersten Zeichen der Liste in uigurischen Brāhmītexten wiedergefunden hatte, wo sie für *z*, das stimmhafte *s*, bzw. für *γ*, die stimmhafte gutturale Frikative, stehen." Following this he has adopted *γ* to represent this Brāhmī sign.

There is here some misunderstanding. In 1904 H. Stöner, a Sanskritist and (as is evident from the article itself) unfamiliar with Turkish studies, published in the *Sitzungsab.*

of the Berlin Academy a paper entitled “Zentralasiatische Sanskrittexte in Brāhmīschrift aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkestan. I. Nebst Anhang: Uigurische Fragmente in Brāhmīschrift.” In this paper he gave a photograph of a Turkish-Sanskrit bilingual in Brāhmī script, together with a list of words, Turkish and Sanskrit, partly from unpublished materials. The sign here discussed occurs in this list with palatal vowels five times and once with velar vowels. To anyone familiar with the elements of Turkology this gives at once two values for the sign: (1) palatal *g* (which may be indicated by *g*, *g'*, or *gy*); (2) velar *g* presumably fricative (which may be rendered by *γ*). Stöner states that F. W. K. Müller had established the phonetic value of the sign as *γα*, p. 1288, but this is probably a misunderstanding, and is contradicted by the material Stöner himself published, although his transcriptions show that he had not understood the Turkish system of consonants.

From the Turkish side, all that can be said is that the sign has two values (palatal and velar voiced guttural), and that there is a statistical (and hence uncertain) probability in favour of its palatal character.¹

Linguistic evidence on the Iranian side is therefore all that remains to decide which of these two values, if either, the sign had in the Saka texts. Happily the evidence seems sufficient. Professor Konow by adopting the second value, the velar voiced fricative, obtained readings such as *suγandi*, *p^aγandi* 3 pl. pres. from the verbal bases *sauk-* “to burn” and *pak-* “to cook”. Such forms are isolated in the whole range of Iranian languages and also of Old Indian. In all verbal bases with final guttural the palatalized *č* *ǰ* occur before the ending *-anti* of the 3 pl. In the closely related Khotanese Saka this is equally the case. The two verbs are here *sūjs-* and *pajjs-*. Such forms lie, therefore, open to the gravest suspicion.

¹ It should be noted in Stöner's list that *targarquluq* has the suffix *-quluq*, which elsewhere is transcribed *-yuluγ*: palatal *-gūlūg* (Bang, *Ung. Jb.*, vii, 37). But the suffix *-luq* is in the Brāhmī script written with the sign under discussion. Hence we have the significant opposition *-luq* : *luq*.

All, however, is right, if we adopt approximately the first Turkish value, palatal *g*. We may write *g*, according to the system used for the new signs in the "Tocharian" Brāhmī alphabet, as the voiced sound corresponding to *k*. We have then *p^agandi*, *sugandi*.

The sign occurs also in *aphugam^{ne}* (a verb with final guttural), *bguli* (proper name), *bigeḍ-* and *geḍ-* (cf. Khot. Saka *pajiste* "he begged"), *bugā*, *cegutki* (proper name), *dzāgyā*, *ga*, *gā*, *gi*, *gu* (cf. Khot. Saka *ju*) *garagārūñca* (cf. Khot. Saka *pajarūña*), *gudnā*, *khogana* (cf. Khot. Saka *Khoca*, name of a people), *magi* (cf. Khot. Saka *māje*), *nargana* (proper name), *yānāgada* (proper name). From the proper names nothing can be deduced. The other words support this value of the sign, so far as corresponding forms are known.

The system of sounds is then as follows :—

Maralbashi Saka.

k k c ch ts

g g j dz¹

Khotanese Saka.

k ky c ch ts tc

g gg gy j js

¹ It is not possible in the documents to be certain of the existence of *gya*, owing to the similarity of such an aksara to *wa*. It need, however, mean no more than a second way of expressing palatal *g*. If *wādyā* were read in place of *gyādyā*, it would be possible to compare Oms. *vādan* "nobleman", Av. *vazdah*, Pāṭō *wāda*, Parācī *yāzd* "fat", or to think of a short form of *Artavazd*.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Depuis novembre 1934 le Conseil n'a pas subi de modifications et est ainsi composé : MM. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. L. Palache, Paul Scholten et A. J. Wensinck (secrétaire-trésorier).

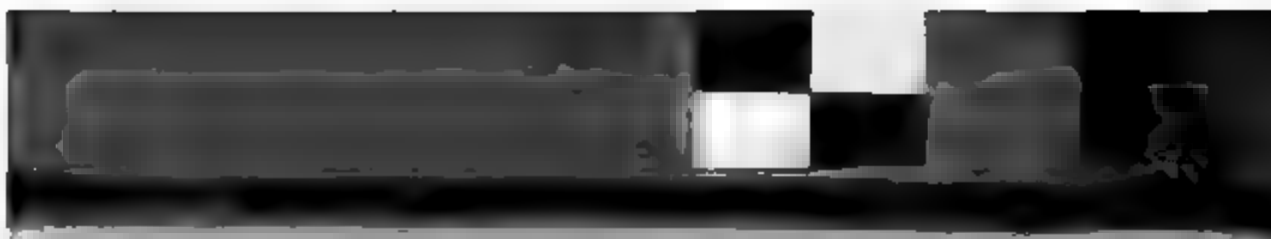
2. Le Conseil espère pouvoir commencer sous peu l'impression d'un texte relatif à la géographie médiévale de l'Espagne préparé par M. E. Lévi—Provençal à Alger, ainsi que d'une étude sur les variantes textuelles du Coran par M. A. Jeffery au Caire. En outre des négociations ont été ouvertes sur la publication d'un texte de Ibn al-Modjāwir par M. Löfgren à Upsala.

3. Des dix publications de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires qui sont mis en vente au profit de la Fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués :—

(i) *The Ḥamāsa of al-Buḥturī*, photographic reproduction of the MS. . . . with indexes by R. Geyer and D. S. Margoliouth (1909), f. 96 ; (ii) *The Fākhir of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salama*, ed. C. A. Storey (1915), f. 6 ; (iii) I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Gāzālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte* (1916), f. 4.50 ; (iv) Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the Dove*, transl. by A. J. Wensinck (1919), f. 4.50 ; V. C. van Arendonk, *De opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (1919), f. 6 ; (vi) I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (1920), f. 10 ; (vii) Averroes, *Die Epitome übersetzt . . .* von S. van den Bergh (1924), f. 7.50 ; (viii) Les "livres des chevaux" de Hišam b. al-Kalbī et Muh. b. al-A'rābī, publiés par G. Levi Della Vida (1927), f. 5 ; (ix) D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, *Hadramaut* (1932), f. 9 ; (x) *at-Tabarī, Kitāb Iḥtilāf al-Fuqahā'*, Das Konstantinopler Fragment herausgegeben von J. Schacht (1933), f. 4.80.

LEIDEN.

Novembre, 1935.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

DIE IDEE DER SCHÖPFUNG IN DER VEDISCHEN LITERATUR.

By KARL A. SCHARBAU. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über den frühindischen Theismus. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 176. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932. RM. 7, 50.

“ He who wishes to renew in himself the world-picture of the Brāhmaṇas must be ready to give up his own mode of thought and must enter into this flowing, constantly changing, whirling mass of contradictions ” (Oldenberg, *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇatexte*, p. 96).

In considering Scharbau's book one naturally compares it with Oldenberg's. Each contains an overwhelming number of quotations (often in conflict with one another !) from texts of that continuous literature which reaches from the R̥gveda to the time of the Upaniṣads. In both there are references to all theological prescientific science (Oldenberg's *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft*) to problems of Substance, Unity, Time, Sacrifice, Magic, and so on. Scharbau is right in giving his work so large a frame, if he wishes to approach the problem of the Indian theory of Creation, a mystery which, to Western thinkers, seems to have no connection with this complex of physical categories.

Into this chaos of problems and unconnected utterances Scharbau tries to bring order by assuming the positive theological standpoint of the West: he accentuates sayings with a vague theistic tendency within the super-personal conceptions to which he refers.

Scharbau prefers those *early* Vedic and *late* Upaniṣadic quotations, in which “ Kathenotheism ” (constancy of attributes, but change of personality) or late “ aparā vidyā ” (personal mode of expression from pedagogic reasons) gives a kind of personal idea about the Divine. Here, too, however, as his citations show, the personal form (he) often yields

in the same sentence to the impersonal form (it). In India the attempt is made to grasp the Divine in one, or rather in a manifold personal form.

"The person is designated as the source of power, the sea of energy, the centre" (Scharbau, p. 9). God is, according to Scharbau, the primary conception which expresses itself now as something impersonal and dynamic, now as something personal (p. 10). To the author dynamism seems to be included in the *person*, whilst other interpreters (among them the reviewer, cf. my *Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens*, Tuebingen, 1930, *passim*, esp. p. 36 ff.) regard the personal representation as only one and not a recurring expression of the dynamical Divine. Indian mentality which leads us on and vanishes at the touch of our Western precision and definition, affords scope for both interpretations; the impersonal expression of the Divine in the powers of nature seems to me, however, to be the one emphasized by the Scriptures.

On the other hand, even when a text is confined chiefly to impersonal metaphors, the author seeks a personal definition of the Divine. So, on page 7, he gives a theistic interpretation of *Kā. Up.*, ii, 23 and believes he can bring in a divine-human primordial being wherever the vague conception of the Puruṣa is mentioned.

Even if we concede Scharbau's method of basing his arguments on the outer borders of the conception of the Divine and if we try to follow his accentuation of the personal form, we continually come up against attributes of this Creator-God, which are alien to the occidental conception of His personality. The creator is immanent in his creation, and the forms of creation are, as it were, materializations, congealments (*mūrtis*!) which come forth just as single streams of lava pour from a seething volcanic mass and become petrified in single forms (cf. the designation of single things as "*prthak*", "*tanū*", "*mūrti*"). Scharbau explains these emanations as being the *conscious* will of a creator (p. 107). As proof he adduces that (as in the Hymn of Creation, *R.V.*, x, 129) *kāma*, desire,

is the impulse of creation. But it is just here that the reference to the person of a conscious creator is noticeably wanting.

“ In the beginning was the one thing ” (neuter), says the hymn (*R.V.*, x, 129, 6); the gods are emphatically on *this* (empirical) side of creation, and at the conclusion doubt is expressed as to whether or not the world has ever been created, and whether he who watches over it (but has not made it !) can have knowledge of it. Thus the hymn itself suggests that the incentive for creation, *kāma*, is an unconscious creative force.

Again, all those accounts, in giving as motive of creation the will of the *Ādipuruṣa*, attribute to him qualities not in accordance with our Western ideas of person. The Indian God creates either to put an end to His isolation (loneliness), to dissect Himself into a plurality (*Sch.*, p. 84), or He creates by emanating from Himself original matter and transforms this primordial substance back again into a personal *puruṣa* as the first creature.

Hardly in agreement with the occidental conception of a Creator is the Indian doctrine of the *limited* life of the Creator-god (*Sch.*, p. 96) and the idea of creation treated by Scharbau (p. 170), the doctrine that the ruler and God creates out of—and beyond—Himself an idea, the law, which is binding not only for the creatures, but also for Him, the highest being of all.

The verbs, pregnant with meaning, which describe the act of Creation, do not suggest a conscious and deliberate creation by a personal God. *Sṛj* and its synonyms *vi-skar*, *vy-ud-kram*, *syand*, *sam-pra-sru* mean issuing of a fluid, an unconscious emanation. Note how this is opposed in *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* to the principle of barren intelligence (= God); there creation is only caused by the primeval matter. In *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 57 this is illustrated by the metaphor of the unconscious forming of milk-secretion in the cow at the required time.

On p. 108 Scharbau shows how behind all polarity stands

as unity the vaguely designated figure of Prajāpati, and in the context he speaks of the highest being preserving its oneness yet undergoing constant and infinite transmutations. This could be called a "dynamic" rather than a "static" monism.

Scharbau speaks of the Original Spirit which is divided into the polarity of *God and World* and other antithesis.

Those who do not believe in the original central idea of a person in Indian cosmogonies can follow Scharbau unhesitatingly in these expositions.

He who considers, to a higher degree than Scharbau, the Cosmic, not the Personal, essential to ancient Indian thought, will welcome his final conception of the *Ātmā-Puruṣa* as a cosmic organism. This, however, seems to me even harder to reconcile with Scharbau's own theistic outlook.

The difficult occidental development of the term "Emanation" should not lead us to reject its applicability to the Indian doctrine of creation. If only we could learn to get over the narrow bounds of abstract definition and to fathom the sense of words, and if only we would endeavour not always to think in occidental categories when studying a culture of so different an origin as that of tropical India!

Not prejudiced in details, Scharbau proves his gift of interpretation in explaining the *single* terms of Indian religions and philosophy.

By giving prominence to the older meaning which in India never has been lost, and thus restoring the original concrete background to terms which seemingly have become abstract, Scharbau succeeds through casual hints in bringing us nearer to Indian fundamental ideas. One is glad to find "karma" translated by "action" and "movement" according to physics (cf., too, the later Vaiśeṣika-system). This I consider the leading idea, too, in the so-called "Ethics" of the fully developed Karma-doctrine. Farther on Scharbau points out (p. 46 f.) that the definition of the world is given by the term itself: *jagat* (continuously going). Further he succeeds

in showing that the Indian conception of time depends on the *primary* conception of *space* when he traces (p. 89 ff.) the time-terms "agre" and "murdhni" back to their origin in measures of space. Agra, the point, is the beginning, before Creation dissolves into broad multiformity.

It should be underlined that Scharbau on one occasion, in order not to give the idea of "Māyā" as "illusion", connects the term with its verbal root *mā*, to measure. (Among other passages the Varuṇa-Hymn, *R.V.*, v, 85, 5, alludes to this.) One might perhaps go even farther than Scharbau (Māyā as illusion ! Scharbau, p. 157). Everything measurable (*māya*) is limited and bound to form (*mūrti*), inferior in time and value to the a-vyaktam, the unlimited original basis.

Another lucky perception of Scharbau that even goes beyond some special linguistic explanations: At the end of his numerous quotations and expositions Scharbau arrives (p. 174) at the important conclusion that the ancient Indian spirit (backed by visible nature) gives, along with apparently negative conceptions of age and death, a fundamentally *positive* outlook on the world as the given facts.

After expressing some doubts about Scharbau's general outlook and praising most of his detailed research, we may revert to Oldenberg's judgment quoted at the beginning: "We find in this Vedic literature (and also in the later 'systematic' literature of India) a flowing together of our Western ideas, an interweaving of contradictions."

India forces us to give up our own modes of thought if we wish to get near her. All our Western ideas are found there, too, as possible, *partial* notions; regarded as *final* notions, none of these provides a serviceable common denominator.

We Western scholars may, from a pedagogic point of view, regret these difficulties. All our finest instruments, contrived for the dissection of Western thought, in this case, refuse to do their work.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA. By A. S. ALTEKAR. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 386. Benares : The Indian Book-Shop, 1934. Rs. 3.

In this volume, Dr. Altekar has collected all the references to Education and its effect on Indian character that he could find in ancient Hindu and Buddhist literature as well as in the writings of such authorities as Megasthenes (300 B.C.) and Al-Birūnī (A.D. 1000), so that his inquiry covers the whole of the Hindu period till A.D. 1200 when the Moslem conquest of Northern India was completed by the occupation of Bengal. This material he groups into ten chapters, the first five being concerned with the educational life, and curricula in force, during the period in question, while the remaining three chapters deal respectively with educational centres and institutions, such as Takshasilā, Nālandā, Vikramasilā, and Ennāyiram Temple College (in South Arcot) ; Society, State and Education ; and Aims and Ideals, and Achievements and Failures.

Being essentially a source book, with a strong ritual interest, Dr. Altekar's volume is not very easy reading ; but it will certainly be regarded as an indispensable reference book for anyone making a serious study of the subject. Those who prefer their information to be presented in more popular form, will probably find Professor N. N. Mazumder's *A History of Education in Ancient India*, Macmillan, Calcutta, 1917, more acceptable, especially as it also makes a very successful attempt to explain, in terms of modern pedagogic theory, the results of education, down to the close of the ancient period of India. In common with more recent authorities, such as the author of Part I of the *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, Prof. Mazumder regards this period as ending with the anarchy that followed the death of Harsha in A.D. 647.

While in Europe the arts and sciences chiefly owed their development to the necessity of satisfying material needs, in India, where the climate and fertile soil have always made the struggle for existence an easy one, religion played the leading

part in developing a particular type of philosophy, law, and education. Dr. Altekar does not seem to have come across Professor Mazumder's book, though it was utilized by the writers of the Sadler Commission Report in 1918 ; but, on the whole, both he and Professor Mazumder arrive at the same conclusion, namely, that the—largely subconscious—aim of education in ancient India was the attainment of religious and social efficiency. In Dr. Altekar's words (p. 326) the main desiderata were "formation of character, building up of personality, preservation of ancient culture, and the training of the rising generation in the performance of social and religious duties" ; but this, of course, chiefly applies to the "twice-born". Very little is heard of what the average lower-caste student was taught ; and while Dr. Altekar may, or may not, be correct in estimating Brahmin literacy in the time of Aśoka (say, 250 B.C.) at 75 per cent, his argument that in A.D. 900 general literacy must have been at least 40 per cent seems based more on sentiment than on fact. This, however, will be readily forgiven in view of his otherwise strictly impartial attitude, as evidenced, for example, by his remark that the absence of any direction of education by Government in ancient India was not an unmixed blessing.

Neither of the authors are blind to certain defects in the ancient system, such as the tendency to hold reason at a discount ; the absence of any attempt to inculcate patriotism, owing to the social structure in India—even up to the present day—being largely independent of Government ; and the obvious tendency of ancient education to be deep and thorough, rather than broad and many sided : but both writers quite rightly feel that the soul-destroying system of examination that now hypnotizes the Indian mind might possibly be modified if Government would only actively encourage the establishment of more institutions like the *Gurukul* at Hardwar, in which ancient traditional practice is combined with the most modern scientific thought.

It will be understood from what has already been said that the

book under review and Professor Mazumdar's shorter summary are natural complements to one another, and that both of them should be read by any student who wishes to obtain a good idea of Education in Ancient India. It is, however, to be hoped, for the peace of mind of his readers, that, when a fresh edition of his book is called for, Dr. Altekar will make a vigorous effort to remove the many misprints that disfigure the first edition.

A. 125.

H. E. STAPLETON.

THE CHINESE: THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE. Vol. I, pp. 506. Vol. II, pp. 389 and map. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE. The D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1934. Price 30s.

In his preface to this work the author says that it has been done because there was need for it. Since Wells' *Middle Kingdom*, last revised in the year 1883, there has been no comprehensive work on China and the Chinese written in a European Language. Professor Latourette has endeavoured to make up this deficiency, and has produced in two volumes a work on China and the Chinese, their history and civilization, "bringing into its composition," as he himself says, "all our knowledge concerning them, both new and old." This is an ambitious attempt within the bounds of some nine hundred pages. The author admits that the sinologist will find little which he does not already know; yet for him it will be an accurate and useful summary. As for the general reader, he hopes the book will be of greater value, for an understanding of the matter dealt with is of prime importance both to Europe and America.

A reading of the first volume underlines this last statement: after dealing with geography and its influence on the Chinese, eight chapters are given to the history of China from the earliest times, followed by three chapters dealing with the transformation wrought by the impact of the Occident

upon the Orient in three phases, first, the wars and treaties with the Western Powers; second, the slow permeation of Western trade and ideas; and third, the crumbling of the structure of the old Chinese culture and indications of the new which is now beginning to take its place.

That astonishing changes have taken place within the last few years may be judged from the following account given in vol. i, p. 479:—

“... in Amoy, once called the dirtiest port in China, broad, concrete-paved, electric-lighted streets took the place of narrow, crooked, rough ones of other years, four- and five-storey ferro-concrete buildings were erected, a modern sewage system and a supply of running water were installed, parks and recreation centres replaced slums, and the surrounding hillsides were cleared of graves to be terraced for future residences for the living.”

The second volume is divided up into eight interesting chapters, all of which could be developed into books themselves. They deal with the Chinese People, Government, Economic life, Religion, Social life, Art, Language and Literature, and the last chapter is a summary. As can be seen, it is quite impossible to deal with these subjects fully: and some readers may not find all they want. If, however, they wish to continue their research, each chapter is provided with a very useful bibliography. An index of all the Chinese names is given at the back of the book with their corresponding Chinese characters, and a general index completes the work.

A writer to the *China Repository* in the year 1849¹ said that “In the religious, government and social habits of this people great revolutions must ere long take place. The night, the long night of ignorance is far spent. A new era has begun.”

We in China to-day have lived to see the fulfilment of this prophecy. Professor Latourette says:

“It is a spectacle the like of which in sheer magnitude

¹ *China Repository*, vol. xviii, 1849, p. 48.

human beings have never before seen. The largest fairly homogeneous group of mankind is experiencing the most thorough-going and destructive revolution in its history."

A realization of this fact would lead to greater patience and better understanding among those who have dealings with China at the present juncture. Towards that understanding a book like this will help.

Readers will find themselves at variance with Professor Latourette in some matters. For instance, he says that Chinese drama never appears to have risen to the height reached by the drama of the ancient Greeks or the modern West. But this is surely judging the East by Western standards which do not maintain there. The extraordinary hold which the theatre has over the Chinese must be because they themselves see it, "not as the wise men of the East that some travellers would like to make them, nor as the bloodthirsty monsters of 'The Limehouse Nights', but as human beings neither white nor black."¹ If the Chinese theatre does this, it achieves what the West often fails to do.

In the section on architecture the chief characteristics are given, though one is omitted, and that is, its religious significance. Chinese architecture in the words of Dom Adelbert Greasnigt "is the silent language of the Chinese Soul".

Music, which plays so important a part in the life of the Chinese, is rather scantily treated and only gets nineteen lines to its credit.

However, so much industry has gone to the compilation of these two volumes that criticism is out of place. On p. 297, vol. ii, the printer has made some slips with the Chinese characters, which those who read Chinese will readily detect. This could be remedied in the next edition.
A. 207. J. H. PRATT.

¹ A. E. Zucker, *The Chinese Theatre*, Preface, p. xi, London, 1924.

KITĀB IHTILĀF AL-FUQAHĀ'. Das Konstantinopler Fragment.
Ed. by JOSEPH SCHACHT. Veröffentlichungen der "De
Goeje Stiftung," No. X. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxiv + 274.
Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933.

The importance of this work was clear from Kern's publication, in 1901, of sections of at-Ṭabarī's famous *Ihtilāf*, from the Cairo MS. But it is through Schacht's investigation that the great significance of the *Ihtilāf*, of which the Constantinople fragment contains three complete books, can now be more fully appreciated.

The present fragments have been skilfully reproduced, the editorial work is ably performed, and we welcome the edition as a contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

The MS. bristles with difficulties, as, for example, the absence of pointing, but the editor, by an expert and masterly reconstruction, has succeeded in producing an accurate text. In the introduction stress is rightly laid on the authoritative contribution of the *Ihtilāf* to the *Fiqh*-literature. And the discussion of at-Ṭabarī's debt to his predecessors (Mālik, aš-Šāfi'ī, and others), a debt amply proved by the text, is of intrinsic value.

Schacht has carefully collated at-Ṭabarī's text with those of the sources used by him, and numerous annotations show the extent and nature of their divergence. From an excellent summary in the introduction to this edition, we learn that much of these older legal authorities, not otherwise known, is preserved in the fragment under review. It is, therefore, a valuable supplement to such works as the *Kitāb al-umm* by aš-Šāfi'ī. At-Ṭabarī gives first the dictum on which all the *Fuqahā'* are unanimous (*Iğma'*) concerning the one subject, then, the variations in their opinions on matters of detail (*ihtilāf*). It is here that new material is gained; for while at-Ṭabarī sometimes condenses his original source, his statements are sometimes fuller, being based on different recensions of the earlier works than those which have come

down to us. This observation applies not only to the *Kitāb al-umm* but also to the *Muwatta* of Mālik.

Although the deviations in these recensions are of special interest for students of Moslem Law and Institutions, historians of war in Islam and those interested in Arabic history and historians in general will certainly discover valuable material in the three books which our fragment comprises, viz. *Kitāb al-ġihād* (pp. 1-198), *Kitāb al-ġizya* (pp. 199-241), and *Kitāb*, resp. *Aḥkām al-muḥāribīn* (pp. 242-259). And they will be grateful to Herr Schacht for making this material available by his excellent publication.

A. 88.

E. ROSENTHAL.

ABŪ'L-MAḤĀSIN IBN TAGHRĪ BIRDĪ'S ANNALS. Ed. WILLIAM POPPER. Vol. V, part 2, A.H. 778-792. California, 1933.

This volume is the continuation of Popper's reliable edition of ibn Taghrī Birdī's chronicle *An-Nujūm az-zāhira fī mulūk miṣr wal-kāhira*. It includes the annals of four reigns of which Sultan Barqūq's appears to be the most important (pp. 362-446). This is preceded by the Sultanates of *al-Manṣūr 'Alī* and the first Sultanate of *al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥajjī* and followed by the second Sultanate of the latter.

Ibn Taghrī Birdī's close connections with the court of Egypt in Barqūq's reign make his history of this period highly authoritative and original. Although he throws no new light on the established views on the history of Egypt at that time, he at least confirms many of the existing theories on this matter.

A. 96.

E. ROSENTHAL.

THE MAIN CURRENTS OF MARATHA HISTORY. By G. S. SARDESAL. 9 × 5½, pp. vii + 232. Bombay: K. B. Dhavle, 1933. Rs. 2.

This is an excellent treatise on the rise and downfall of the Maratha Empire, if we accept the author's view that national histories must be written by men of the nation concerned and sympathetically. With this premise, a certain

degree of partiality on the part of the author may readily be excused. It may perhaps be doubted whether Shivaji's policy was so entirely based on religious motives as the author believes, or whether the whole object of the "Maharashtra Dharma" as a whole, and in particular of the Peshwas, was the establishment of a Hindu, and not a Maratha, empire. If this were so, it was unfortunate that the Marathas should have aroused such hatred and hostility in the minds of their Hindu brethren, whether Rajputs, Jats, Sikhs, or Gujaratis. The author is also at pains to show that the Marathas were not the mere ravaging and destroying agency that is generally believed. He admits that they had not "the requisite inclination for building": but this alone would not account for the ruin they generally left in their train. Mr. Sardesai's estimate of the Peshwas, with the exception of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II, is perhaps somewhat too kindly, and his comparison of Shahu Chhatrapati with Queen Victoria is not particularly happy. But he does not hesitate to emphasize the weaknesses in the Maratha character and policy. He ascribes the collapse of the Maratha power to the almost simultaneous death of several of their leading men at a time when the British personnel was exceptionally strong. Several of the Maratha leaders whom he names had, however, lost their authority before their death, and the easy establishment of British supremacy must be ascribed rather to the absence, pointed out by Munro, of system and subordination among the Marathas, and to a general lack of character. In a book based on lectures delivered to University students it is interesting to find the statement that "we eastern peoples are swayed in all our concerns, political, social, or any other by entirely individual influences. We have never been amenable to the discipline required for the healthy conduct of constitutional bodies. Even the word 'constitution' is foreign to us."

The book deserves praise as an honest attempt to find the key to the events in Maratha history.

A. 241.

P. R. CADELL.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE MARATHA RAJ (1779-1818).
Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar. No. 41. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$,
pp. 2 + 330 + xv. Bombay: Government Central
Press. 1934. Rs. 4 as. 15 or 8s. 3d.

This volume of the series is less interesting than might have been expected, considering the momentous events of the period included. Doubtless this is largely due to the slack administration of the last Peshwa, Bajirao, affecting the keeping of the official records. There is practically no mention of the last Mysore war, or of the second Maratha war, which included Wellesley's campaign in the Deccan, and the fateful treaty of Bassein. While there are many papers of interest relating to the third and last Maratha war, there is no reference to the decisive battle of Kirkee, though there are several accounts of the severe action at Koregaon which is euphemistically represented as a Maratha success, in spite of the severe check there experienced by the Peshwa's forces. There is sufficient to show the disorder of Bajirao's administration, the disloyalty among his followers, the evil influence of the notorious Trimbakji Denge, and the intrigues of the Peshwa with other powers against the British Government, which finally obliged the latter to take action. Among the early papers of the period of British administration, there is an amusing request from a Brahman for a reward of two lakhs on account of the success of his religious invocations for the success of the British in the war.

Although the volume is described as beginning from 1779, there is no document earlier than 1792. Colonel Briggs did not, as the Editor says, win the battle of Mahidpur, though he was present at it in a political capacity. The inscription placed by the British Government on the Tower of Victory erected at Koregaon is wrongly dated 1st January, 1818, the day of the action, though the Tower was not built till some years later. The Editor says that the list of the fallen Sepoys shows that most of them were Mahars. This is not literally correct. Out of the 49 names of the 2/1st Bombay

Infantry, which so greatly distinguished itself on that day, 16 appear to have been Marathas, 8 Rajputs and other Hindu castes, 3 Mussulmans, and 22 Parwáris or Mahars. The latter number is, however, sufficient to show what a gallant proportion of the men in the old Bombay regiments was supplied by that now despised race.

A. 286.

P. R. CADELL.

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT: Being the relevant parts of the Tibb al-Rukka or Old Wives' Medicine of 'Abd al-Rahman Ismā'il. By JOHN WALKER. 8vo, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$. London: Luzac and Co., 1934. 7s. 6d. net.

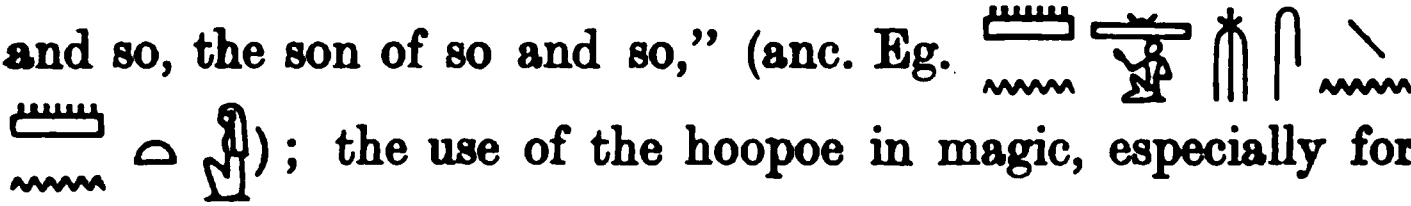
In 1565, John Hall, a member of the Worshipful Company of Chirurgeons, scandalized by the ignorance and audacity of the quacks which swarmed in his day, uttered a vigorous denunciation of these pseudo-practitioners in the well-known but rare tract entitled *An Historiall Expostulation against the Beastlye Abusers both of Chyrurgerie & Physyke in oure tyme, by John Halle*. Urged by the same motive, an Egyptian doctor, 'Abd al-Rahmān Efendi Ismā'il, issued in 1892-4, in two small volumes published at Cairo, an exposure of the unscrupulous practices of the quacks among his own countrymen. His book is called *Tibb al-Rukka*, i.e. the Medicine of the Old Women, and we now have to welcome an English translation of this work, which in its original form is out of print and difficult of access even to those who can read Arabic, and is a book with seven seals to those who cannot. To his English version, Mr. Walker has given the title of *Folk Medicine in Modern Egypt*, but in the reviewer's opinion this appellation does not convey a true notion of its contents, for the practices it describes really partake far more of the nature of quackery, charlatanism and downright roguery than of folk-medicine. Real folk-medicine, grotesque and barbarous as it often is, differs in spirit wholly from the wilful roguery practised by impostors, for the efficacy of the former was believed in not only by the patient but also by the practitioner. The

knowledge of its votaries was usually derived in good faith from ancient and traditional sources, the compilers of which were for the most part honest in intention, albeit their remedies were futile and sometimes even harmful, though not maliciously so. When the French surgeon, A. B. Clot, was invited by Muhammed Ali to come from Marseilles to inaugurate a scientific medical service in Egypt, he perceived as no man ever had more reason to perceive, the magnitude of the task to which he had set his hand. He had to contend on the one hand with the innate fatalism of the Muslims, many of whom submitted to disease as the will of God without any thought of remedial measures; and, on the other hand, with the barbarous practices of the native quacks. To Clot-Bey Egypt owes an enormous debt, for he was the father of scientific medicine in that country, and it is therefore a little surprising to find no reference in Mr. Walker's preface to Clot-Bey's *Aperçu Générale sur l'Egypte* (2 vols., Paris, 1840), for in those volumes the medical aspect of modern Egypt receives full treatment.

The *Tibb al-Rukka* is an amazing record of human credulity and error, but the practices of the quacks which are described in its pages do not, for the most part, strike one as being of very ancient origin. Here and there, however, we find definite traces of the survival of ideas propounded in the medical and magical papyri of the Pharaonic age. Such, for instance, is the notion that disease was caused by possession, and the need for the forcible expulsion of the possessing spirit (p. 27); the string with seven knots (p. 43) is a feature of frequent occurrence in the papyri; the use of cabalistic gibberish (p. 38); the medicinal use of human milk (p. 46); preparations for transforming an old man into a youth (p. 42)¹;

¹ The title of the last section of the Edwin Smith Papyrus (21, 9) reads:

; "Beginning of the book for transforming (lit. 'making') an old man into a youth."

the frequent occurrence in spells of the stock phrase, "so and so, the son of so and so," (anc. Eg. ); the use of the hoopoe in magic, especially for the treatment of the eyes; these and other items are clearly survivals from the time of the Pharaohs. The curious rite called "The Father of Feathers" (*Abu Rish*, p. 48), in which a child wears a long, pointed cap (*tartur*) adorned with feathers, suggests that the child may be impersonating a hoopoe, one of the native names of which is *Abu tartur*, "Father of a long, pointed cap," in reference to the appearance of the bird's erectile crest when lowered. The practice of cauterizing or scarifying the heads of children (p. 47), reminds us somewhat of the curious procedure described by Herodotus (iv, 187) as being practised by the nomadic Libyans.

This interesting volume deserves the careful study of all who concern themselves with primitive magic and medicine.

A. 375.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

TELL EDFOU. By MAURICE ALLIOT. (Fouilles de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire. Rapports préliminaires. Tome neuvième, deuxième partie.) 13 × 10, pp. 48, pls. xl. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1933.

The excavations at Tell Edfou were continued during February and March, 1932, by the I.F.A.O. under the direction of M. Maurice Alliot. Two sites, a Roman and a Byzantine, were uncovered, whereby further portions of the ancient plan of Edfu could be reconstructed, and also an Old Kingdom mastaba was excavated, probably of the fifth dynasty, but difficult to date with certainty owing to the complete absence of any inscription.

In the Roman and Byzantine sites the construction of the houses was chiefly of brick, but stone was taken from earlier buildings, such as the mastabas of the ancient cemetery,

and used in the form of flagstones for use as thresholds in certain cases. Details of the construction of the Roman and Byzantine houses at Edfu are all duly tabulated, together with lists and photographs of the finds. There is nothing of any outstanding importance except perhaps a sealed jar containing five complete rolls of papyrus inscribed in a neat demotic handwriting. This has been placed in the Cairo Museum.

The mastaba is of somewhat unusual construction, not being dug below the level of the ground, and having the shafts perpendicular and leading only into the chambers contained in the block of masonry itself. It would appear that the outside was assembled first, the blocks which were to form the interior chambers having then been brought in through a gap, while the sarcophagus of the north chamber and the burial in the south chamber without sarcophagus were taken in through the shafts. The whole was filled up with sand. Although there are two false-door stelæ there is no inscription of any kind, but one of the stelæ has traces of whitewash, upon which presumably an inscription may once have been painted.

A few yards west of the mastaba were several primitive oval brick burials. The one excavated yielded nothing, so that no conclusion can yet be drawn as to their date. They are probably predynastic, although this type of burial is sometimes found down to the fourth and fifth dynasties (cf. Petrie, *Nagada and Ballas*).

On page 5 "Fig. 7" should read "Fig. 6" and vice

VOLUME

A. 150.

M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE MANUSCRITS. By PAUL SBATH. Tome iii : Catalogue. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 146. Cairo : Naoum Georges Tamar.

The third volume of the catalogue of oriental manuscripts in the private library of Paul Sbath, Cairo, is now published. The first two volumes were reviewed in this Journal in October,

1931, p. 945. The latest volume contains only two hundred new names, but the descriptions are in many cases very complete. Thus, No. 1176, a history of the early Arabs based on two sources previously unknown, occupies eight pages. Of the two hundred manuscripts the greatest number are concerned with ecclesiastical matters, but Science and History are also well represented. With the exception of eleven all are written in Arabic. An appendix gives a list of the proper names mentioned in the notes which enables a reader rapidly to discover if there is anything of special interest to him.

A. 335.

C. ELGOOD.

LES PEINTURES RUPESTRES SCHÉMATIQUES DE LA PÉNINSULE IBÉRIQUE. Vol. iii. SIERRA MORENA. By HENRI BREUIL. 13 × 10, pp. 125, figs. 54, pls. 59. Lagny : Imprimerie de Lagny. 1933. Ouvrage publié sous les auspices et aux frais de la Fondation Singer-Polignac.

The third volume of this important work, which here deals with the rock paintings of the Sierra Morena, keeps up the high standard already reached in the previous volumes. The region is very rich in paintings and the reproductions are extremely well done. In the texts are groups of special forms arranged for comparison, while the plates at the end show the signs in their proper context as they occur in each locality. This is not a book to take up and lay down again ; it is intended only for serious students and will repay long and careful study. The mass of material and the accuracy of the reproductions makes this, with its companion volumes, absolutely essential to all workers on the palæolithic periods ; and not to them only, for no student of the development and decadence of art or of the beginnings of writing can afford to be without these volumes.

A. 336.

M. A. MURRAY.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE. By MAURICE WINTERNITZ, Ph.D. Vol. i, pp. xx + 634, 1927. Vol. ii, pp. xx + 673. 1933. 9½ × 6½. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.

The merits of Professor Winternitz' treatise on Indian Literature in its German original are well known, and a great service has been rendered to Indian studies by the English translations of vols. i and ii now presented to us. The author has not merely revised his work with much care, but he has in part re-written it and has made noteworthy additions, especially in the account of Jain literature in vol. ii which has been substantially extended and improved. He has, as usual, been most careful in his citation of the literature bearing on the issues discussed; and, though there are omissions, this is excusable, and all students will find much reason for gratitude for his labours, and will look forward to the rendering of vol. iii.

There are few matters on which Professor Winternitz has altered his opinion. Recent efforts to bring down the date of Vedic literature have left him unmoved, and he adheres to his belief in a date c. 1000 B.C. for Zoroaster; it is as well, however, to recognize the extreme difficulty of arriving at any definite date.¹ It would have been interesting to know what view he takes of the relations of Vedic civilization to that revealed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. He remains faithful also to the view (i, 303) that Buddhism at about 500 B.C. absolutely presupposes the existence of the whole of Vedic literature. He is also convinced of the early date of the texts of the Tipitaka, and this leads him to assign (i, 517) the *Rāmāyaṇa* to the 3rd century B.C., when Vālmiki composed it on the basis of early ballads, because the Buddhist texts ignore the epic. But this leaves unexplained the complete silence of the epic regarding Buddhism, for it is a *tour de force* to find evidence of its existence in the mildness and tranquillity of Rāma's character, and the epic was composed

¹ See Keith, *Journal of Indian Culture*, i, 103-6.

in the east, the home of Buddhism.¹ On the other hand, the author is rightly unwilling to accept the theory now held by Jacobi² that Mahāvīra died after the Buddha; if we abandon faith in that tradition, we undermine our faith in the possibility of any useful reconstruction of history. Nor is it desirable to accept (ii, 352, 630) the recent attempt to reduce Maitreya to humanity and authorship of texts, assigned to him doubtless *in majorem gloriam* of Asaṅga. Even Dr. Winternitz has had to leave unsettled the dates of Vasubandhu (ii, 632) and Dignāga (ii, 363). Two very useful notes on theories of Kaniska's date (ii, 611-14) and the nature of Pāli (ii, 601-5) have been added.

The translation by Mrs. S. Ketkar, aided for vol. ii by Miss Kohn, is adequate, the misprints more than sufficient.

A. 204.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

SUMERIAN EPICS AND MYTHS. By EDWARD CHIERA. University of Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. xv. Cuneiform Series: Vol. iii. 12 × 9½, pp. vii + 111. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 22s. 6d.

SUMERIAN TEXTS OF VARIED CONTENTS. By EDWARD CHIERA. University of Chicago: Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. xvi. Cuneiform Series: Vol. iv. 12 × 9½, pp. vii + 109. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 22s. 6d.

These volumes contain a large number of texts from the Nippur excavations, now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, copied by the late Professor Chiera and published with only short notes on the series or class of texts to which they belong, and some details of duplicates known to the editor. These two handsome volumes contain practically all that we can now expect from the scholar who spent long years collecting and sorting Sumerian religious

¹ Cf. Keith, *JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 318 ff.

² *SBA.*, 1930, pp. 558 ff. For a criticism see Keith, *BSOS.*, vi, 859 ff.

texts; a few notes recently published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* by Dr. Kramer add all that seems to remain of the late Professor's notes. His premature death has in fact robbed us of the work he was most fitted to produce, a transliteration and provisional translation of this mass of literature. Individual students must now digest the texts as best they may, without the guidance as to readings he could have given. Chiera's copies are clear, a great blessing to sore eyes, and his name guarantees accuracy; but few will be able to use these volumes till reliable transliterations and editions with commentaries are published.

The most notable texts are the epics in the first volume—Lugalbanda and Enmerkar, Gilgamesh, *lugal-e ud me-lam-bi nir-gal*, *an-gim-dim-ma*, Ishtar and others. The hymns and lamentations are of less interest, and the *e-dub-ba* series is increased only by fragments. All the texts seem to be of the same date, the product of the same school of scribes, certainly not earlier than the time of the Larsa dynasty and possibly later. Some of them, e.g., the Gilgamesh Epic, pose a problem easier to settle by summary statement than by careful examination, I mean the problem as to whether the Sumerian is the original, and the Akkadian a translation, or *vice versa*. The variants of the Sumerian versions show an extensive use of homophones of special interest; translators will have to treat the writing as phonetic, and not be misled by the sign used. The Sumerian version proves that the Assyrian version was severely compressed, but that does not necessarily prove the Sumerian version to be the original form. Chiera has noted the historical importance of the mention of Agga, the last king of the first dynasty of Kish; this is a contribution to a still unsettled question of great interest, namely: Is the Gilgamesh Epic to be classed as legend or myth? The text remains extremely difficult but some points are definitely cleared up. Thus the reading of the first line in Mr. Gadd's text from Ur is settled by Chiera's text, No. 22, 1-2.

mu 5-am mu -ni la dar
mu-ba erim kuš-bi la ba-dar-dar

i.e. "that year no enemy (?) cut its bark."

Incidentally these lines also show that the negative NU is to be read phonetically *la*, at least in these texts; theories of phonetic change to account for other instances of *la* for NU will not do. But I hardly expect this plain inference will be accepted.

It is fitting in this place to express sympathy with Professor Breasted and his colleagues at the Oriental Institute in the loss of an active and able scholar who worked so energetically among them, and admiration of the work he executed during years of study at the museum in Philadelphia.

A. 264, 265.

SIDNEY SMITH.

NEUBABYLONISCHE RECHTS- UND VERWALTUNGSRURKUNDEN ÜBERSETZT UND ERLÄUTERT VON M. SAN NICOLO UND A. UNGNAD. Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden der Berliner Museen aus Vorhellenistisches Zeit. Band I, Heft 4, pp. 481-640. 9 × 6, pp. 160. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1934. Mks. 18.

Professor San Nicolo is now continuing alone the arduous task of translating and arranging under suitable categories the New Babylonian business documents in the Berlin Museum. The present fascicule contains the remainder of the "receipts of various contents" together with "leases of temple prebends", "contracts for labour," "partnership," "business documents of miscellaneous contents," "documents dealing with legal cases," "witnessed declarations and legal agreements," "administrative documents and deeds connected with agriculture." To each section there is a brief introduction, and short notes on the language are appended to each document.

This much neglected and rather intractable material is everywhere illuminated by Professor San Nicolo's profound knowledge of Babylonian law, and a perusal of his work is

essential for any student of Babylonian manners and customs. In certain cases it is permissible to differ from the translations. Thus No. 622 deals with a delivery of chopped straw, *tibnu*, for brick-making, while No. 624 mentions *kissat* for a similar purpose, because in this case the material was not yet chopped for use as a *dégraissant*, and the argument as to the meaning of *kissat* fails. No. 624 contains technical terms of brick-making, *kasu* being used of bonding and *pihu* of pegging in. The word *pappasu* in Nos. 608 and 735, when compared with the passage in King, *Chronicles* II, p. 13, l. 11, surely means "lees", "dregs" whether of beer, wine, or dyes. No. 635 deals with the construction of a bund, see de Genouillac in *R.A.*, XXII, 81.

Some day we may hope that Professor San Nicolo will give us a general exposition based on these documents. Meanwhile we are grateful to him for this instructive work.

A. 245.

SIDNEY SMITH.

ANQUETIL-DUPERRON, *Sa vie*, par RAYMOND SCHWAB.
Usages des Parses. Deux Essais du Dr. J. J. MODI.
 Préface de SYLVAIN LÉVI. 9 × 5½, pp. viii + 240. Paris :
 Ernest Leroux, 1934.

M. Schwab, attracted by the romantic story of Anquetil du Perron, has essayed to write a lively and sympathetic account of his life. This story, like those of others who have struggled against difficulties for the sake of acquiring knowledge of the East has had probably a strong appeal to many, and certainly so to the reviewer. And if, unlike E. G. Browne, one sees in the Avesta a storehouse of fascinating texts, at times regrettably brief, or obscurely veiled for us, yet a mine not yet exhausted, then indeed one can admit that Anquetil did not labour in vain. The variety of the Avesta is surprising. Though religious in origin, we yet see in it much beyond the religious life—hints of popular ideas, the conception of a mansion in the house of Mithra, of a queen's

adornment in the description of Anāhita, of mountains and lakes in the countries upon which Mithra looks down, of the flight of birds and flowing of waters in the litany, of wandering atharvans in far countries, beside the solution of moral problems, offers of salvation at the Frashakṛti, and an early and therefore important type of liturgy.

Under M. Schwab's pen Anquetil lives again, and the passages from his own works reveal his scientific spirit. A criticism of part of Anquetil's narration, which throws light upon some of the circumstances, is added, from the hand of the late Sir Jivanji Modi.

A. 332.

H. W. BAILEY.

SAKISCHE HANDSCHRIFTPROBEN. Als Privatdruck Herausgegeben von MANU LEUMANN. 12 × 8½, pp. 27, pls. 17. Zürich: J. G. Augustin, Hamburg, 1934.

In his brief preface, the editor informs us that his father, the late Professor Ernst Leumann, had planned to publish photographs of part at least of the excellent Leningrad Manuscript, of which he had prepared transcription and translation, and to which he had given the designation E. This work was recently published by the care of his son as *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus* in two volumes.

The present book contains excellent reproductions of folios of this MS. The script is most carefully executed. A manuscript with the same form of script is that designated Kha. 1, 13 in the India Office, London (unhappily all the folios are damaged), and that designated Or. 9609 in the British Museum which also has suffered from the rubbing of the surface. The excellence of E makes it easily comprehensible that the transcription could be in all cases quite exact and unambiguous. It is interesting to have the folio containing the cursive subscript (p. 26) which has not yet been fully read. A list of akṣaras and transcriptions are attached. There is a careful analysis of the script.

We have had earlier the facsimiles, small but quite clear, of the Vajracchedikā and Aparimitāyuh-sūtra in Hoernle, Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature, and of folios and rolls in the books of Aurel Stein, besides the less extensive publications of Sten Konow and Huntingdon. The present facsimiles are a welcome addition.

A. 272.

H. W. BAILEY.

SUKHAN WA-SUKHANWARÁN. By ÁGÁ BADÍ'U 'l-Zamán Bishrúya-i Khurásání. 8½ × 6, vol. i, pp. 390. Vol. ii, part I, pp. 427. Teheran: Ministry of Education, 1930-33.

This learned and scholarly work, to be completed in four volumes, is an anthology, and also to some extent a history of Persian poetry from the beginning of the third to the end of the sixth century of the Hijra (A.D. 800-1200). The first volume deals with forty-four poets of Khurásán and Transoxania in chronological order; vol. ii, part i, with only eleven of 'Iráq and Ádharbáyaján, including Fakhru'ddín of Gurgán, Asadí of Tús, and Kháqání: evidently the territorial labels are not always *au pied de la lettre*. Each poet is introduced by a biographical and critical study and the text is furnished with notes. The editor has drawn information, not merely from *tadhkiras*, but from long study of the poets themselves; and his familiarity with the originals has enabled him to make a really important contribution to Persian literary history and criticism. He acknowledges the help given him by Mírzá Muḥammad Khán Qazwíní, especially in connection with the Báwand dynasty and 'Imádu 'l-Dawla an obscure princeling from whom the poet 'Imádí derived his pen-name. As regards the choice of extracts, it appears that the work belongs to a series planned by a Commission under the auspices of the Persian Ministry of Education, and that its contents are selected with a view to instruction rather than interest and variety. Now moral wisdom is a good thing, but one can have too much of it, e.g. sixty pages

from the *Sháhnáma* alone. Monotony does not improve the mind. This florilegium, I think, might have been made more readable, attractive, and representative without any sacrifice of ideals. For students of Persian literature, however, it is invaluable owing to the editor's fine taste and the wide range of his erudition, though occasionally his judgment is at fault, e.g. when he tries to show that Firdausí was an expert in Qur'ánic idiom and Arabic poetry (vol. i, p. 33). I have noticed very few mistakes. عماره (vol. i, p. 26) should be عماره, and رسیلی کردن (ibid., p. 298, l. 2) is wrongly explained; the phrase means "to act as musical accompanist to anyone" (cf. *Mathnawí*, i, 1917, iii, 1473, 3225).

A. 144, 145.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE PAHLAVI CODEX, K 35. Published in facsimile with an Introduction by ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. 13 × 9, part i, pp. 7 + 265; part ii, pp. 8 + 98. Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, vols. iii and iv. Copenhagen: University Library of Copenhagen, 1934.

Nearly a century has passed since N. Z. Westergaard brought home from Kirmán the Pahlavi manuscript which on the day of his death he presented to the Copenhagen University Library and which Professor Christensen has now reproduced in an admirable facsimile.

Probably written in A.D. 1572, it contains a group of five texts, viz., Pahlavi Rivāyāt I and II, Dādestān ē dēnīy, the Epistles of Manuschihr, and the Selections of Zāδ-sparam. Some of these have been edited at Bombay and translated by E. W. West, in his Pahlavi Texts (*Sacred Books of the East*, vols. v, xviii, and xxxvii).

A. 273.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

THE LADY OF THE LONG WALL. A Ku Shih or Drum Song of China. Translated by GENEVIEVE WIMSATT and GEOFFREY CHEN. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 84, illus. 4. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 18s. 6d.

The Lady of the Long Wall, of unknown authorship, though reminiscent of the Ballad of *Mu Lan* or of the *Song of Unending Sorrow*, is nevertheless said in the introduction to be a "Drum Song" of popular origin. Encyclopædias and histories of Chinese literature seem to be silent on the subject of drum songs, and we should have been grateful to the translators of this, the first example to appear in English, for some further details concerning them.

We know that Chinese poets, including those of the T'ang dynasty, wrote many poems intended to be set to music and sung by the singing-girls of their day at social entertainments. One supposes that this must have been the purpose of Po Chü-ī's poem, for it is on record that a T'ang dynasty singing-girl boasted of her talents by saying, "I can sing Master Po's *Song of Unending Sorrow*," and, according to the Chinese scholar and critic, Mr. Kiang Kang-Hu, "girls on the river at Nanking are still singing this song in flower-boats and taverns." But unlike these literary poems, *The Lady of the Long Wall* is said to be a "ballad of the lower classes", ignored by scholars, and never set down in writing until a few years ago. It appears, therefore, to be a scrap of the traditional material of the story-tellers and singers of China (much of which has been transmitted orally for centuries), but which, without much fuller information, cannot be judged as an example of its class.

The story, which runs on simply to its appointed end as befits a tale told or sung to an illiterate audience, is the pathetic history of a lady who followed her scholar-husband when he was toiling as a conscript on the Great Wall of China. The translation, though perhaps too literary to maintain the essentially popular character of the piece, is

nevertheless excellent in that it seems to succeed in transferring into English much which one guesses (in the absence of the Chinese poem) to have been the spirit of the original. The book is attractively produced and illustrated, and is a pleasing addition to the growing list of translations of Chinese poetry.

E. EDWARDS.

A 324.

PSEUDO-MĀGRĪTĪ: DAS ZIEL DES WEISEN. I. ARABISCHER TEXT. Herausgegeben von HELLMUT RITTER. Studien der Bibliothek Warburg. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 2 + 416. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1933.

Those of us who attended the Hamburg *Orientalistentag* will remember the remarkable lecture delivered on that occasion by the late Dr. Warburg, tracing the history of the medieval magical work known as *Picatrix*, a barbarous word in which it is not easy to detect the name Hippocrates, on whom the doctrine which it contains was fathered. He discovered the original of this work in an Arabic treatise also, it would seem, improperly attributed to the Spanish mathematician Abu'l-Qasim Maslamah b. Ahmad, of Madrid. This text has now been issued, and a German translation with Prolegomena promised; the series in which it appears is called *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, and contains a considerable number of volumes. The editor has used for his work several MSS. in Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin. The treatise is more pretentious than the far bulkier one of al-Buni, called *Shams al-Ma'ārif* (lithographed, Cairo, A.H. 1322), but contains fewer magical figures; the spells are largely astrological in both. The editor seems to have some doubts as to the suitability of the work for publication, as he says *Welche Gründe A. Warburg veranlassten auf die Herausgabe dieses Textes Wert zu legen, ist hier nicht zu erörtern*. The only solution of this puzzle which suggests itself is that scholars of high repute have done the like, as is attested by a whole

library of magical papyri, and treatises on Babylonian and other varieties of the black art. It is clear that Herr Ritter has spared no pains to make his achievement scholarly.

A. 14.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

LE MARIAGE CHEZ LES MUSULMANS EN SYRIE : ÉTUDE DE SOCIOLOGIE. Par KHALED CHATILA. 10 × 6½, pp. 303. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 40.

The contents of this book are of three sorts : speculations on the origin and development of certain institutions connected with matrimony ; accounts of current practice among Syrian communities ; and suggestions for reform. Of the first that which occupies most space is an endeavour to demonstrate that the marriage-gift enjoined by Islamic law and probably a survival from pre-Islamic custom was never payment for a bride, but merely a gift, of which the purpose was to confer honour and prestige on the bridegroom, to invest him with authority over the bride (as the recipient of a gift), and finally to serve as a bond between the parties at a time when it was not understood that a contract could be rendered binding by mere consent of the parties to it. The evidence adduced consists in quotations from "pre-Islamic literature", i.e. verses ascribed to poets of pagan times in which the bestowal of gifts is eulogized. It rather looks as if the writer had forgotten the observation of the Qur'an that poets "say what they do not do".

The information given about current practice in the different strata of society and different regions is of interest and value, though less detailed than might have been wished, and often similar to what might have been surmised. Thus it might have been guessed that where Western ideas have been gaining ground polygamy is unfashionable, and something resembling European courtship is taking the place of more primitive methods of bringing the parties together. The writer offers suggestions for still further restricting the

possibility of polygamy and facility of divorce. He finds the practice of demanding exorbitant wedding-gifts disastrous, and would favour the abolition of the gift altogether. He would also abrogate the doctrine that foster-relationship is an impediment equal to blood-relationship.

A. 297.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

INTRODUCTION A L'ÉTUDE DE L'HABITATION SUR PILOTIS DANS L'ASIE DU SUD-EST. By NGUYEN VAN HUYEN. *Austro-Asiatica*: Documents et Travaux, tome iv. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxiii + 222, pls. xvi, figs. 87, map 1, comparative table 1. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 100.

This is a detailed comparative account of the habitations on posts or piles typical of Indo-China and Indonesia, from the Naga Hills to the islands just west of New Guinea. The number of illustrations indicated above gives an idea of the many varieties of this type of structure which the author has described and compared, and of which his comparative table gives a succinct résumé. After pointing out their diversities, he draws attention to the elements that are common to these varieties and in a short final chapter touches briefly on the reasons for the existence of such habitations as these. According to him they are partly natural, due to geographical environment (such as hill slopes, marshy land, or even water), the existence of dangerous wild animals, convenience, etc., and partly religious and social. The work contains a useful bibliography as well as an index, etc., and the plates are good. It is a valuable monograph on the subject.

A. 293.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

SITTE UND RECHT IN NEPAL. VON LEONHARD ADAM. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 269, pl. 1. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1934.

It has been the policy of Nepal to keep itself apart and since the days of that great authority Brian Houghton Hodgson not very much has been written about it until comparatively

recently. In his introduction the author of this monograph mentions several modern works and also some older ones, but he gathered his own information from Nepalese prisoners of war interned in Rumania. The conditions of the internment camp were evidently neither irksome nor depressing, and the nine informants, whose statements constitute the main bulk of the work, gave their evidence freely and in considerable detail. Communication was carried on through English-speaking interpreters, which no doubt accounts for a few specimens of unidiomatic English occurring in the book. The wide subject under inquiry was customary law and customs in general, including social and economic environment, castes (or tribes), the family, patriarchal authority, marriage, divorce and sexual relations generally, inheritance, disposal of the dead, degrees of relationship together with their appropriate modes of address, adoption, food taboos, slavery, the law of property (particularly in land), sale, barter, hire, loan, guarantee, criminal law with special references to murder, wounding, theft, adultery, as well as a good many other matters, for example the ceremonies connected with some of these incidents of life.

The most striking points, perhaps, are the remarriage of widows and the existence of a fictitious brotherhood (and sometimes even sisterhood), made by mutual agreement between the parties, accompanied by a solemn ceremony in which Brahmans play a leading part (as they also do in other ceremonies). The author's informants belonged to a number of different castes (or tribes) and some of them gave lists indicating the social precedence of these castes. In principle, they are endogamous and are, at any rate in some cases, subdivided into exogamous clans. Marriage with a woman of lower caste is, however, possible but results in the sinking of the husband into a lower caste than the one in which he was born.

The work has appeared as a part of *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Band 49, Heft I/II. It embodies

a conscientiously conducted piece of research work and deserves careful study. A list of Oriental terms and an index are appended.

A. 261.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

LA ESPLORAZIONE DELLA REGIONE FRA L'HIMÀLAJA OCCIDENTALE E IL CARACORÙM. By GIOTTO DAINELLI. *Relazione Scientifiche della Spedizione Italiana De Filippi nell'Himàlaia, Caracorùm e Turchestàn Cinese* (1913-14), Ser. II, Vol. 1. 12 × 9, pp. xi + 434, pls. 46, figs. 80, map (4 sheets) in pocket. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1934.

Professor G. Dainelli joined the De Filippi scientific expedition of 1913-14 to the Karakorum region as geologist, but the enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to the work and the subsequent record thereof has borne fruit in many spheres besides that of geology. In this volume he gives us a remarkably complete survey of the work of all the explorers and travellers in that region from the time of Fr. A. de Andrade (1626) down to the third Visser expedition (1929-30) and his own expedition of 1930 to the Siachen glacier. The exhaustive character of this compilation, the care with which the routes followed have been marked on separate sketch-maps (no less than eighty of these have been prepared), and the skill with which each traveller's contribution to our knowledge has been concisely stated and appraised deserve unstinted praise. It is gratifying to find the work of Moorcroft, Godwin Austen, and Stoliczka duly appreciated. A valuable result of Prof. Dainelli's manifold activities has been the preparation of an admirable map of the region concerned (roughly the area between 32 and 37 N. and 74 and 80 E.), reproduced on a reduced scale of 1 : 750,000 in this volume. As this had been prepared about 1920, an additional map has been drawn (Pl. XLI) incorporating topographical work done by subsequent explorers (e.g., Visser, Morris, Mason, and the Duke of Spoleto) more particularly in the area immediately to

the north of the main chain and in the upper Shakagam valley. The question of the transliteration of vernacular names has not, we fear, been finally solved.

Many excellent views of the magnificent scenery of this fascinating region add pictorial charm to this important monograph.

A. 308.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

BULLETINS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR PERSIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY, Nos. 3, 5 and 6. 10 × 7, pp. 23, 31 and 12, pls., plans and figs. New York: American Institute, 1932-4.

These little bulletins contain brief but well illustrated accounts of the various activities of the Institute, including the comprehensive programmes that have been drawn up for work in different fields of research, survey, and exploration. Besides shorter notes on other sites and projects, the March 1932 issue has a report by Dr. F. R. Wulsin on the results of the excavations carried out in 1931 at the mounds of Tureng Tepe, near Asterābād, which revealed a Bronze Age culture of much interest and indicated that deeper strata would probably yield remains of much earlier date. The June 1933 number contains short notes on Professor E. Herzfeld's now famous discoveries at and near Persepolis and on Dr. E. F. Schmidt's successful explorations at Damghan and Tepe Hissar.

A. 305.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

VIJAYANAGARA: ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE. By N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA. Bulletins of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology, No. 4. 9½ × 6½, pp. iv + 191, maps 2. Madras: Madras University, 1933. 3s.

Basing his arguments exclusively on contemporary inscriptions and literature, Mr. Ramanayya develops several theories regarding the origin of the city and the empire of Vijayanagara

that differ materially from the views of previous historians. For instance, he rejects *in toto* Firishta's ascription of the foundation of the city to Ballāla III, as well as the suggestion of some modern writers that the founders of the city had been employed by Ballāla to defend his northern frontier, holding that the available evidence shows that the site was not within the Hoysala dominions. He contends that the founders of Vijayanagara kingdom came from the Telugu country; that Harihara, son of Saṅgama, was related to Kanya Nāyak of Warangal; that he embraced Islām and was appointed by Muḥammad bin Tughluq to be Governor of the kingdom of Kampila, which he ruled at first from Kuñjarakona and later from Vijayanagara; that afterwards he reverted to Hinduism, stirred up revolt against the Sultān, and became independent; and that accordingly the territory over which Vīra Kampiladeva ruled should be regarded as the nucleus around which the empire of Vijayanagara grew up.

The inscriptional evidence cited has been usefully tabulated, and the arguments concisely and clearly expressed. Though certain of his conclusions be controversial, the author has adopted sound lines of research.

A. 175.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

SIEGEL U. CHARAKTERE IN DER MUHAMMEDANISCHEN ZAUBEREI. By Dr. H. A. WINKLER. 10 × 6½, pp. 187. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1930.

The author of this book is endeavouring to explain the so-called seven Seals of Solomon, magic signs considered by the Arabs to be of the highest potency. Among the Arabs the row of seven signs is ascribed, in the first place to an apocryphal story of Ali, and afterwards they form part of the old magical signs used for the same purpose. The author has made himself fully acquainted with the Arabic documents which form a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of this literature. The text is of a comparatively late date, thirteenth or fourteenth

century or even later. There is little proof of the antiquity of these signs. There is no doubt, however, that in Arabic literature, as in the other magic literature, there are a large number of mystical signs to which an extraordinary prophylactic power is assigned. Among these seven signs there are three at least which seem to be Arabic letters, and the author endeavours to explain the origin of all the seven signs. It is unfortunate that the author has not consulted older documents, although he refers from time to time to some papyri, nor that rich literature of mystical signs and especially the numerous mystical alphabets also found in Arabic MSS. no less than in Greek and above all in Hebrew. The seven seals, as they occur in Arabic, are already a very late development, formed from older signs which had a very definite meaning. Many of these ancient signs are borrowed elements from old alphabets the use of which has disappeared. One has only to look at Hammer's collection of ancient alphabets to find striking parallels. These alphabets have often been used as initials to words which form catchwords for whole verses as was shown by me in my study on the Samaritan Phylacteries (*Studies and Texts*, p. 387 ff.). Thereafter these become meaningless symbols and Winkler's endeavour to explain two or three of them is far fetched and fantastic. In the case of four of them at least he declares himself unable to offer any explanation. The appearance of these Arabic letters is evidently due to some misunderstanding of the older scribes who saw some similarity between the symbol and the letter and substituted the latter for the former.

As far as the so-called "seals" are concerned it is not a question merely, as Winkler says, of a contract which is "sealed", but an impression or signature by which the identity of the man who impressed that seal is established. Angels and demons have their alphabets which have a mysterious value and the magician who is able to read or copy that signature may obtain power over them. The author would have done well if he had consulted many other works

containing such conjurations, names of angels and demons with their signatures, such as *Claviculum Solomonis*, *Höllenzwang*, *Faust*, and the writing of *Paracelsus* and other MSS. and books of a similar kind which are easily accessible.

As for the magical squares the author might have found their origin in the *Abacus* and the mystical value attached by the Pythagorean school to numbers and figures. Of this he seems quite oblivious.

One of the best chapters of the book is the one on the *Pentagram* and *Hexagram*. The author shows their antiquity, their appearance in Palestine and Asia Minor many centuries before the present era. Very valuable also is the list of charms translated from Arabic MSS. Leaving the interpretation of the seals aside, the book is a valuable contribution to the evolution of magic history and its symbolism. A few diagrams and good indices enhance its value.

N.B. 21.

M. GASTER.

MANICHÄISCHE HOMILIEN. Von H. J. POLOTSKY, mit einem Beitrag von H. IBSCHER. Manichäische Handschriften der Sammlung A. CHESTER BEATTY, Bd. I. 12 × 8½, pp. xix + 96 + 22, pl. 1. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. RM. 27.

Among the Manichæan Coptic papyri happily saved in the nick of time from complete destruction by Mr. Chester Beatty, there was one in such a state of decomposition that in the words of Dr. Ibscher, "it looked more like a dishevelled wig, than a manuscript."

For a long time Dr. Ibscher was baffled in his attempt to find out what it was, but with infinite patience he at last succeeded in recovering from this unpromising mass no less than 48 leaves of an old Manichæan book belonging in all probability to the fifth century. There is scarcely a single complete leaf and with the exception of one single page one may easily say that scarcely a line is absolutely complete. And yet in spite of all these difficulties, Dr. J. Polotsky has

undertaken the arduous task not only of publishing the Coptic text such as it is, but also of translating whatever was capable of translation. Many a page towards the end had to be left untranslated.

The book is a collection of prayers and hymns, of descriptions concerning the death of Mani, or as it is affirmed here, the crucifixion of Mani, together with laments over the persecution of the Manichæans and some legends concerning the founder. The most important section is occupied by a sermon, or rather homily, of a more or less apocalyptic character. It is a description of the great war which is to come at the end of days, the tribulations to which the followers of Mani will be exposed, the final victory of the faith, the appearance of Jesus, and the ascent of Mani into the realm of light. Though incoherent because of the large gaps in this fragmentary text, the general sense can be made out.

It is unnecessary to dwell more fully on the importance of this new publication, on the scholarship of Dr. M. Polotsky and the ingenuity and extraordinary craftsmanship of Dr. Ibscher. These are self-evident, and deserve all the praise that can be bestowed upon them. Every scrap of the Manichæan literature that can be saved is a valuable contribution to the study of that remarkable movement which has so greatly influenced the religious life of the West and has left traces, indelible to this very day, in the dualistic beliefs of many peoples. These texts evidently belong to that side of the Manichæan doctrine in which the leaning towards Christianity is more prominent. They differ from the other fragments found in Turfan in which Mani leans more towards Zoroastrianism and reflect once again the double face in which Mani's doctrine always appears. It is, moreover, interesting to find that Manichæism found a stronghold in Egypt, and Dr. Polotsky would have earned our gratitude if he had not limited his introduction to a little over two pages instead of dilating upon these fundamental questions. He might have told us, *inter alia*, whether these Coptic

texts were translated from Greek or Syriac. Dr. Polotsky, no doubt, takes it for granted that Greek was the original language, but an explicit statement on this point would have been helpful. It might, perhaps, have shown that Manichæan literature was translated into Greek at a very early date and then penetrated into Egypt, almost within a century of Mani's death, c. 274.

A. 218.

M. GASTER.

SAMSOUN: *Passé—Présent—Avenir*. Par R. VADALA. 10 × 6½, pp. i-vii + 1-134, pls. 8. P. Geuthner, Paris, 1934. (Pays et Cités d'Orient II.)

The author of this work, which is well described by its title, was French Consul at Samsoun from 1925 to 1934. In publishing it, he claims to have exhausted the chief written sources of information on the main historical facts, and hopes for the time when the development of archæology shall enable some future Orientalist to write more fully on the subject. The first chapter, pp. 1-33, deals with the ancient, adjoining town of Amisos and the later (Seljuk) foundation of Samsoun from pre-Hellenic times through the Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Turkish periods. There are some interesting remarks on the changes in internal communications, which finally transferred to Samsoun the prosperity of Sinope, as well as upon the historic role of the former as "ville forte et entrepôt". A few pages are devoted to the sparse antiquities of the town and its coins. This chapter, backed up by a bibliography, provides at least an outline of local history which will be of some value to future workers. It suffers from the lack of any good map or plan and is marred by many bad misprints. Archæologists will regretfully note that the site of Amisos is now a prohibited military zone. The plates are limited to modern photographs of the town.

The rest of the work is for the most part frankly in the nature of a consular, economic report on the present state of

trade and industry with special reference to French interests. There are sections dealing with such matters as agriculture (still, of course, the most important element), deforestation, railways, banks, administration, etc., together with elaborate commercial and other statistics, leading to the conclusion that Samsoun will undoubtedly take a full share in whatever prosperity may be in store for modern Turkey.

A. 369.

J. MCG. DAWKINS.

LES HAMMÂMS DU CAIRE. By EDMOND PAUTY. (*Mémoires des Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale*, T. LXIV.) 14½ × 11, pp. viii + 62, pls. 12, figs. 22. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut, 1933.

Though public interest in ancient "Arab" houses has of late years somewhat reawakened in Cairo, very little notice has been taken of public baths. E. W. Lane, writing in 1835, stated that there were between sixty and seventy public baths in the metropolis. Not dealing, of course, with the archaeological aspect of the question, he made no special mention of those which offered any historical interest. M. Saladin, in his *Manuel d'Art Musulman* (1907), reproduced a picture of the beautiful domed hall of the Baths of Al Muayyad with the mention "now destroyed". A few years later, the Comité de *Conservation des Monuments Arabes* partly cleared this interesting monument from the dust and débris under which it was buried, and some work of restoration, still proceeding at the present time, was begun. It was then realized that an important branch of Islamic architecture had been sadly neglected, and M. Pauty's timely memoir, published in Cairo by the Institut français, comes to fill an appreciable gap in our knowledge of medieval Egyptian domestic architecture. The author, who is the Architectural Expert attached to the Comité de Conservation, gives us a delightful account of the important part played by public baths in the life of the people, customs that have only of late

begun to fall into disuse owing to the determined Westernization which rages in Egypt at the present time.

He gives us a very instructive chapter on the classical origins of Oriental baths and another detailing the architectural features of those buildings. Very few of them remain that date further back than the eighteenth century; of those few, two, the above-mentioned Baths of Al Muayyad and the entrance of those of Beshtak, are valuable specimens of fourteenth and fifteenth century work. Of the remaining forty-five recorded by M. Pauty, several show interesting details and allow us to form a definite idea of plans of construction which seem to have varied very little in the course of centuries. In addition to many good photographs, M. Pauty has given an artistic value to his work by the reproduction of charming pencil sketches, taken, very courageously, under picturesque conditions. In fact, he admits in his preface that, in order to study these hammâms, it is necessary to take a great many baths! The account he gives us of the process is not unattractive, but we are none the less grateful to him for enabling us to acquire a second-hand knowledge of this special branch of Islamic architecture.

A. 205.

H. DEVONSHIRE.

EASTERN INDIAN SCHOOL OF MEDIAEVAL SCULPTURE. By R. D. BANERJI. *Archæological Survey of India, New Imperial Series*, vol. xlvii. 13 × 10½, pp. xviii + 204, pls. 96. Delhi: Manager of publications, 1933.

By mediaeval Mr. Banerji means the period between A.D. 800 and 1200. The Eastern school of sculpture, of which he gives the history, existed under the Pāla kings of Bengal with varying fortune from the ninth century until it finally declined in the twelfth century with the inroads of the Muhammadans. The work is much more than descriptive, and the author, whose death is a great loss to Indian archæology, had a clear conception of the historical origins of this school and

of its relations to other schools. He shows how the Mathurā school was influenced by Gandhāra, and in what way the Eastern school was related to both. He also keeps quite clear and distinct the different characteristics of the Gupta school and the schools of southern India.

Although the iconography of Buddhists, Jains, and Hindus holds the first place, there are chapters on the temples, architecture, and the casting of metal images. In dealing with disputed questions the author is judicious and moderate all through, but in his chapter entitled the Representation of the Buddhacharitra he does not appear to have got close enough to the facts. It is surely of importance to know what version of the Buddha story was followed by the artist, but the author does not seem to have asked the question or to have ever consulted a text. He refers to Pāli accounts, which have no right to come in at all, and has failed to see what the essential characteristics of some scenes are. He also thinks that the earth-touching in the contest with Māra represents the moment when Gautama became "the perfect-one or Buddha". The plates are a great enrichment, but they are limited to the Eastern school. In a work where so much instructive comparison has to be made and questions of origin discussed, it is a pity that he has had to refer entirely to other works for illustrations of related schools.

A. 183.

E. J. THOMAS.

MINIATURE PAINTINGS OF THE JAINA KALPASŪTRA, as executed in the early Western Indian style. A descriptive and illustrated catalogue by W. NORMAN BROWN. Smithsonian Institution: Freer Gallery of Art: Oriental Studies, No. 2. 14 × 10½, pp. vi + 66, pls. 45, figs. 152. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1934.

By the Kalpasūtra Professor Brown means not the old work of that name but the so-called Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, which contains lives of the Jinas and lists of disciples.

The paintings are reproduced in black and white from fourteen manuscripts now in the United States, and are exactly described without discussion of possible relations to other Indian styles. Indeed, as this early Western Indian style belongs to the late fifteenth century, and as "the paintings are to a large extent clichés in motif and composition", there is probably little comparison to be done.

A. 362.

E. J. THOMAS.

CONCORDANCE PANINI-PATAÑJALI (Mahābhāṣya). By P. C. LAHIRI. Indische Forschungen. Heft 10. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii + 114. Breslau : Verlag von M. & B. Marcus, 1935. RM. 6.

Dr. Lahiri at the suggestion of Professor Liebich has produced this valuable concordance, which indicates the page in Patañjali where each sūtra, vārttika, etc., has been commented on, and where it has been elsewhere quoted, each kind of reference being clearly distinguished. It has evidently been a laborious task, requiring high scholarly qualifications.

A. 429.

E. J. THOMAS.

STAATSVERWALTUNG IM ALTEN INDIEN. By B. BRELOER. Kautaliya Studien III. Erster Band : Finanzverwaltung und Wirtschaftsführung. 9×6 , pp. xx + 586. Leipzig : Kommissionsverlag O. Harrassowitz, 1934. RM. 20.

Dr. Breloer's two former studies on the *Arthaśāstra* dealt with the theory of landed property and private law, especially in relation to the statements of Megasthenes. In the present volume he goes with still greater thoroughness into the questions of financial and economic administration. It is unfortunately impossible here to examine in detail this extensive work. The author shows the unhappy results of merely taking the text of the *Arthaśāstra* and attempting to fill up the gaps by making suppositions that come naturally to a European. What he does is to approach the subject with the knowledge

of a lawyer and to begin by examining the actual Indian fiscal system of to-day. From that he gets back to the system of the Muhammadan rulers, and reaches a basis from which to work back farther still. It is not surprising that he finds much in previous investigations to criticize, and it is excellent that he should have compelled a revision both of the evidence and of the theories rather hurriedly based thereon.

From time to time he mentions the authorship, but without ever weighing the evidence systematically. He declares that he scarcely believes that there was a considerable interval between the Vedic period and the age of the Mauryas, but that the transition occurred *ziemlich plötzlich*; and as any revolution carried out by military conquest requires equally able statesmanship, so the warlike figure of Chandragupta required the statesmanlike wisdom of Kautilya. The existence of the wise Kautilya is thus proved deductively, and the author is even able to tell us that he was an Aryan. What he does not tell us is how he is so certain that this Kautilya was the author of the extant *Arthasāstra*. But, as he himself points out, the question of authorship is at present independent of the matters which he so ably sets forth.

A. 173.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE QUARTERLY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES IN PALESTINE. Vol. III, No. 4, 1933: pp. 42, pls. 10, figs. 10, map 1. Vol. IV, Nos. 1 and 2, 1934: pp. 108, pls. 60, figs. 42, plans 6. 11 × 8. Jerusalem: For the Government of Palestine by Humphrey Milford, London.

Vol. iii, No. 4, contains an account by C. N. Johns of the excavations at Pilgrim's Castle, Athlit (1932); the ancient Tell and the outer defences of the Crusading Castle. The Tell itself was found to go back at least to the Middle Bronze period, say 1600–1400 B.C. The occupation during part of the Persian and Hellenistic period could be traced; but so far there do not appear to be any special indications of the invasion and presence of the Sea Peoples round about 1200 B.C.

Besides a description of a bust of Pan by J. H. Iliffe, and a hoard of Mamluk coins by L. A. Mayer, there is a useful summary of the excavations in Palestine during 1932-3. From this it appears that there is still a gap in Jericho during the fourteenth and thirteenth century B.C., so that the early part of the Iron Age, which is so important for the Biblical account of the capture of Jericho by the Israelites and the conquest of Canaan, is not represented. At Megiddo the earliest remains were pushed back well into the fourth millennium B.C. On the southern frontier, at Gaza, excavation shows that the Egyptian rule did not cease there after the revolts illustrated in the Amarna Letters, but continued till late Ramesside times.

Vol. iv, Nos. 1 and 2, contains accounts of cemeteries and a "monastery" at the Y.M.C.A. (Jerusalem), by J. H. Iliffe; a Nestorian hermitage between Jericho and the Jordan by D. C. Baramki and St. H. Stephan; lead coffins, by M. Avi-Yonah; a hoard of Umayyad coins by L. A. Mayer, and Evliyā Tshelebī's travels in Palestine, translated by St. H. Stephan, annotated by L. A. Mayer. But the chief attraction is a valuable description of the excavations at Tell Abu Hawām, by R. W. Hamilton. This site, near Haifa, has revealed much of interest, and the full plans and numerous plates afford an excellent idea of its archæological importance. *Inter alia* one may note the cylinder seals of the Late Bronze Age, one with Syro-Hittite analogies (No. 410), and the curious seal No. 217 to which it is difficult to find a parallel. The stratification points to some violent disturbance at the close of the Bronze Age, which may naturally be associated with the inroads of Levantine peoples, the occupation of the coast lands by Philistines, etc., and the beginning of the Iron Age. The "vigorous life" of the earlier period is abruptly extinguished, to be replaced by scanty beginnings, "suggestive, perhaps, of the first 'digging in' of a newly established people" (pp. 68-9).

A PAGEANT OF ASIA ; a Study of Three Civilizations. By
KENNETH SAUNDERS. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6, pp. xii + 452, illa. 62.
London : Oxford University Press, 1934. 21s.

The author, who has made a reputation in Europe and America as a teacher of and writer about religions and cultural topics, has here chronicled the results of his good fortune, in having been able to spend some ten years amid the modern representatives of the ancient civilizations which form his "pageant"—India, China, and Japan. The appeal of the book is not so much religious or philosophical, much less philological, as artistic and literary. There is an immense number of excellent illustrations, both graphic and literary. In Part I, "India," we are invited to witness Aryans "becoming Indians", then reacting to the genius of the Śākyamuni, to that of Aśoka, and then trailing down to the advent of Akbar. In Part II: "China," we witness beginnings of its peculiar civilization, a "classic age", and the eras of Han, T'ang, and Sung. In Part III we follow an analogous procession down to the aftermath of the Muromachi era.

Mr. Saunders's wish is to see "Asia put 'on the map' of Western schools and colleges" in the effort "to try to understand" that to which we owe more than we realize. And his book, as a well-written compilation addressed to the general reader, should aid in making more possible such understanding. Whether the proportionate attention given in Part I to two notable men belongs to historic fitness will find critics. As an outcome of the author's special tendency in his work, it is perhaps natural enough. And the eloquent earnestness of his admiration is not unneeded for a Teacher who is so badly libelled by the aims and ideals imputed to him, when they bear the stamp not of his day but that of the succeeding years of rampant monasticism. Mr. Saunders, for all his admiration of Gotama, does not seem to see, how he too propagates these libels, betraying that curious lack of historic sensitiveness which yet dominates the literature about early Buddhism. Thus, anything which, in a totally uncritical

canon, is put into the mouth of the Founder, is in this book also accepted as having been said by him : “ The Buddha said . . . ”

Enough said ! save for this one word. What the Buddha is said to have said should have been carefully translated. Even he is not made out to have said “ One thing only do I teach . . . ” When I introduced that text to English readers in 1912, I at least rendered it by “ Just this have I taught and do I teach . . . ” The particle *eva* is simply an underlining of the preceding noun, not the making of it a monopoly. “ One thing only ” is not so rendered in early Pali, or Sanskrit, as any Indologist knows. Yet every Buddhist with a pen in hand unites in this exaggeration. Gotama was so much greater than to make his gospel centre round *dukkha*. To do that is the doctor’s business, not the task of religion. Nor is he even said to have said “ This body is of *khandha*’s made ”, the correct rendering of the verse, certainly not Gotama’s, being : “ Burdens are the *khandha*’s five ”, four-fifths of the five being mind, not body. These are, it may be said, captious carping. I would say, if we *will* malign, let it be done accurately.

A. 315.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

METAPHYSIK DES BUDDHISMUS. Versuch einer philosophischen Interpretation der Lehre Vasubandhus und seiner Schule. By JUNYU KĪTAYAMA. (Veröffentlichungen des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Tübingen. Heft 7.) 9½ × 6½, pp. xv + 268. Stuttgart-Berlin : W. Kohlhammer, 1934. RM. 18.

This treatise consists of four chapters on Vasubandhu’s epistemology, metaphysic of absolute existence, notion of release as philosophy of existence (imputed to “ Buddha ”), and a translation of the twenty-three verses entitled *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*. The writer with engaging modesty pleads, that even if it be judged that (his) interpretation involves “ historical falsifying ”, the present attempt may count as a personal revelation, namely of the interpreter.

The vast labour, time and patience involved in these interpretations of wordy word-structures such as the *Vijñānavāda*, the *Yogācāra* of a decadent Buddhism, calls for high appreciation. Whether it was worth while is not here well vindicated. The author is no exception to his predecessors, who try to expound what they are pleased to call "Buddhism" with no more of the historical sense than was in Vasubandhu, writing about what "ist von Buddha gesprochen worden" (p. 245) nearly a millennium after the day when that teacher was speaking on earth. An interpretation which did not involve "falsifying of history" would reveal a first-hand knowledge of how the oldest known scriptures betray not only an acceptance of the then current Deity as in and of the self, but also a growing tendency in an opposite direction. It is not only "an empirical self" that we find denied in the *Hīnayāna* scholastics among whom emerged, just after Vasubandhu, *Buddhaghosa* and *Buddhadatta*.

A. 278.

C. A. F. REYS DAVIDS.

LE BOUDDHISME, EN ANNAM. Des origines au XIII^e siècle.
Par TRẦN-VĂN-GLÁP. Bulletin de l'École Française
d'Extrême-Orient, Tome xxxii, Fasc. 1, 1932. 11 ×
7½, pp. 72 + xv, maps 2. Hanoi: Imprimerie d'Extrême-
Orient, 1932.

This essay was first published in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, xxxii, fasc. 1, and won for its author a diploma in the École des Hautes Études. In it for the first time we have this subject as derived from Annamite sources, some of which have apparently found appearance in roman letter in the *BEFEO*, but the chief treasure among these sources being a yet unknown work which the author discovered in a library at Haiphong, entitled "Chronicle of Eminent Religieux of the Garden of Dhyāna," and covering bibliographies from A.D. 580 to 1221. From these he has sketched a Buddhist history of Annam in four periods, from the third to the thirteenth century. Preoccupation with

Dhyāna is a notable feature, but in this term the author is solely concerned with "meditation", ignorantly seeing in this its *original* Buddhist object, an object to which I have tried repeatedly to do justice. Dhyāna faded into "meditation" with the depreciation of communion with other worlds in decadent monastic Buddhism. Save for this slip—and who does not make it?—the work is a valuable addition to our historical materials.

A. 247.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

EL FILÓSOFO AUTODIDACTO (Risāla Hayy ibn Yaqzān). By IBN ṬUFAYL (ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABD AL-MALIK). Nueva traducción española por ÁNGEL GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA. Publicaciones de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada. 8 × 5½, pp. 201, ill. 2. Madrid: Imprenta de Estanislao Maestre, 1934.

In this country Ibn Ṭufail's name has been known since 1671, when Edward Pocock published a Latin translation of the work under review. Simon Ockley published an English translation in 1708, and interest in the book was again revived when Mr. Fulton revised Ockley's translation from a critical edition of the text which was published by Gauthier in Algiers in 1900. Professor Palencia also has made good use of Gauthier's text. The present volume is prefaced by a scholarly introduction which the editor has enriched with bibliographical references and lexical notes on the author's use of technical terms.

By now we are accustomed as a matter of course to anticipate a high standard of accuracy in the publications of the Schools of Arabic at Madrid and Granada, and this little volume deserves to rank with its predecessors in the series.

Two small points may be noticed. First, there is no mention of Mr. Fulton's edition and its interesting Introduction; and secondly Avicenna's great work, the *Shifā'* (known to the medieval scholastics as *Assipha* or *Assepha*), is more than once called the *Shafā'*.

A. 242.

A. GUILLAUME.

EXÉGÈSE TALMUDIQUE DES PROPHÉTIES MESSIANIQUES. By
JEAN-JOSEPH BRIERRE-NARBONNE. 13 × 10, pp. 120.
 Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. frs. 50.

To this useful summary of texts, which have been interpreted messianically, the author prefaces a short introduction in which he sets out the Rabbinical rules and methods of Biblical exegesis. The collection, with its copious indexes, should prove of value to those who would pursue the subject further, but in the absence of discussion and context, the compilation can never stand alone.

The author has lithographed his work admirably.

A. 295.

A. GUILLAUME.

THE HISTORY OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT. By **EDWARD J. THOMAS.** *The History of Civilization.* 9½ × 6, pp. xvi + 314, pls. 4. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1933. 15s.

The "History of Civilization" aims at presenting in accessible form the results of modern research throughout the whole range of the social sciences, and this principle determines the scope of Dr. Thomas's two contributions to the series. The careful and well-documented account, given in the present volume, describes the development of Buddhist thought, with the emphasis laid more on the religious than on the philosophical aspect. The older teaching of the Hīnayāna, as set out in the Pali Canon, naturally therefore receives the most detailed treatment; and attention may be drawn in particular to the admirable handling of the problem of what the early Buddhists understood by *yoga*. The subject of the book is one on which there is remarkably little general agreement, and, while the author votes almost invariably for the sensible, not the novel or exciting, solution, he must inevitably expect that every student will find some statement with which he disagrees as offending against his own private convictions. The present reviewer would be inclined to query

some of the views taken about the way in which the doctrine evolved historically. One of these is sufficiently fundamental to receive a word of comment, namely, the remark on p. 169 that "we do know that [the earliest schools of Mahāyāna] must have begun among the Sarvāstivādins"; the evidence for this, if I have grasped the argument correctly, is that certain passages in the *Divyāvadāna* show the preliminary stages of thought which led ultimately to the Mahāyāna. The datable portions of that work are centuries later than the beginning of Mahāyāna, and there is no proof yet available that these or similar passages are to be found in the pre-Mahāyāna portion of the Sarvāstivādin canon. I should prefer to put it that, though positive knowledge is not attainable at present, tradition, such evidence as there is, and the probabilities all point to the Mahāsaṅghikas as the sect in which the Mahāyāna had its origin, and that the influence of the Sarvāstivāda, except perhaps by repulsion, is not apparent till the second wave of the movement, which we associate with the name of Āsaṅga and which betrays in its scholasticism its relationship to that school and to its offshoot, the Sautrāntikas.

A. 51.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE SUMMA PHILOSOPHIAE OF AL-SHAHRASTÂNÎ, KITÂB NIHÂYATU 'L-IQDÂM FÎ 'ILMI 'L-KALÂM. Edited with a translation by ALFRED GUILLAUME. 10 × 6½, pp. xvi + 173 + 514. London: Oxford University Press, 1934. 42s.

The subject of this book is indicated by its title, which is well rendered in the introduction as *The present position of speculative theology*. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd el Qâdir esh Shahrastânî, the author of the celebrated book on religions *El Milal wa en Niḥal*, here covers the field of Muslim theology in twenty chapters dealing systematically with all its problems. Writing as an Ash'arite, but exercising his independent judgment, he shows how the tenets of orthodoxy are justified

by reasoning and the points in which the chief adversaries of his school—the philosophers, Mu'tazila, Karrāmiya, Shī'a, Khārijites and others—differ from its principles, giving their arguments for their views and the answers. The book is valuable not only because it shows how far orthodoxy had advanced at an important stage in its progress, but also for the useful light it throws on its development from the start. The words of El Ash'arī himself and also those of one of his principal followers, El Bāqilānī, are often cited and few of the writings of either are preserved. In the same kind of way Esh Shahrastānī increases our knowledge of some of the sects that he combats.

It is surprising that so useful a book by such a rightly esteemed author has never been published before. Dr. Guillaume's critical edition is based upon three of the four manuscripts known to exist and leaves nothing to be desired. The translation, which generally takes the form of an abbreviation summarizing the arguments without omitting anything of consequence, is extremely clear and will be found helpful for understanding other books as well as the text. The introduction includes some remarks on Esh Shahrastānī and his work.

A. 323.

R. GUEST.

CATALOGUE DU MUSÉE ARABE DU CAIRE. Stèles Funéraires.

Par MM. HASSAN HAWARY et HUSAIN RACHED.

Tome i. 14 × 10, pp. viii + 244, pls. 75. Cairo, 1932.

More than three thousand ancient Muhammadan tombstones, probably derived from the cemeteries of Cairo and Aswān, are preserved in the Museum. The present volume describes the four hundred earliest of them. Of these, one which was published in this JOURNAL by Hasan Effendī el Hawārī bears the very early date of A.H. 31. The next earliest is dated 174 and for each of the forty-one years from 200 down to 240 with which the book ends there is at least one stone and generally several stones. All the stones earlier than 200 are

reproduced in the illustrations, and a large selection of the best of the other stones is given. In a short Arabic preface the editors tell what is known about the provenance of the stones and explain the arrangement of the book ; they draw attention also to some points that arise from the study of the objects.

Generally the inscriptions on the stones consist of the name and date of death of the deceased, accompanied by a declaration of his belief. A few historical names occur : there is the actual tombstone of 'Abdallâh ibn Lahî'a, a judge and early historical authority well known to all students of Egyptian history, that of a daughter of the equally well known Yu'nis ibn 'Abd el A'lâ, and a few others mentioning persons known from books. It is very rare that any indication is given of the circumstances of the deceased, an addition such as el haqqâ' (the bootmaker) being quite exceptional. As the editors point out, the "nouns of relationship" often attached to the names refer most often to the Arab tribes which took part in the conquest of Egypt, such, for instance, as 'Akk, Azd, Ghâfiq, Haḍramaut, Ḥimyar, Kinda, Quraish, Ma'âfir, Murâd, Ru'ain, Tujîb and Ṣadif, and rarely to others like Bajîla, Ju'fî or Tamîm, or to places, though there are a certain number connected with distant parts of the eastern half of the Islamic empire, with Syria, and one even with Spain. The indices are arranged so that it is easy to see the position in this respect. The frequent absence of any indication of tribal relationship on the stones is significant also : Arab maulâ relationship was ceasing to have any importance, as the Arabs in Egypt were losing their prerogatives and the bulk of the population was becoming converted to Islam. The forms of the declaration of belief are various. There is no declaration on the earliest stone, so that probably the practice had not been instituted in the first years after the conquest. An allusion in a declaration to the promise of resurrection in the Gospel and in the Old Testament on one of the stones (No. 114) is curious.

The value of the series as a guide to the development of the Arabic script is obvious. It shows that Kufic of several different types flourished at the same time; it is not clear that any of the different varieties was derived directly from one of the others. The earliest stones are devoid of ornament and the writing on them is severely plain. Embellished script appears before the end of the second century and soon becomes frequent and sometimes very ornate. The other ornament is never much more than rudimentary. The editors point to it as the earliest dated ornament that can be looked upon as purely Islamic, to be compared with Coptic work of the same epoch. No explanation is offered of the almost total absence of stones older than the last quarter of the second century. The transcription and translation of the inscriptions, which are often difficult, has been done skilfully; the arrangement of the book has been well thought out.

N. R. 25.

R. GUEST.

THE MATSYA PURĀṆA. A Study. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. Bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archaeology No. 5. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 140. Madras: University of Madras, 1935. Price 1s. 6d.

The chief aim of this study, of which the general editor is Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, is "to explain and interpret the Matsya Purāṇa, one of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, and show what contribution it makes to the sum total of Hindu culture and to ancient Indian History in particular". A work of this description naturally necessitates a certain amount of compilation, but this need not detract from its value, provided the facts are presented in readable form and the findings are satisfying. There is much in the present study of interest to the general reader, for example, the whole of the chapter on architecture, the author's discussion of the subject of evolution, and his very interesting critique on the Tamil version of the purāṇa; but his inconclusive findings are apt to tantalize, thus, the conclusion

reached regarding the date of composition of the purāṇa. After assigning the work a place among the oldest of the purāṇas, the author adds (p. 74): "If by the term 'oldest' is meant only second century A.D., we are not only prepared to grant it, but also to go further back by three or four centuries" The study would have benefited by further revision of the language and by a clearer understanding as to the class of reader to whom it is addressed—whether the scholar or the general reader. In his exposition the author has elucidated some quite elementary points, and on the other hand left several technical terms unexplained. If, as is desirable, a university publication is to reach the largest number of readers, a style of writing has surely to be adopted that is both expository and engaging. The present study, in spite of the labour bestowed on its compilation and the intrinsic interest of the subject, makes rather heavy reading.

A. 418.

M. S. H. THOMPSON.

ORIENTAL STUDIES. In honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry.

Edited by JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xv + 503, portrait 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1933. 50s.

This fine book contains seventy important studies by some of the best known authorities of the world on Oriental subjects connected with Zoroastrianism. There is a short biographical sketch of Dastur Pavry by the veteran Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University, who also contributes an interesting article on a Manichæan fragment brought from Turfan in 1908. It is obviously impossible to think of any detailed review or criticism of so many learned articles; the names of their authors are sufficient guarantee of their interest and importance. It would be invidious to attempt to deal with one or two articles, impossible to mention all. But scholars interested in the religious beliefs of ancient Iranians and modern Parsees must assuredly read this book. The general reader, too, will find much worth reading in

the papers which deal with the date of Zoroaster, the Home of the Indo-Europeans, and other similar matters.

The articles are mostly in English; some are in French, and some in German. The editing has been carefully done by the Dasturji's son, Dr. Jal Pavry. He and the Oxford University Press have produced a work which is well arranged, well printed, and very free from mistakes and misprints. Both are to be congratulated on the result.

A. 121.

C. N. SEDDON.

KABIR AND THE BHAGTI MOVEMENT: Vol. I, KABIR—HIS BIOGRAPHY. By MOHAN SINGH. 6½ × 5, pp. xviii + 103. Lahore: Atma Ram and Sons, 1934. Rs. 2.

This brochure consists of a series of notes in which Dr. Mohan Singh tries to sift fact from fable in the legend of Kabir by a detailed correlation of various published and unpublished documents. He corrects a number of current errors on the subject; in particular he discredits the teacher-disciple relationships by which tradition links together the great names of medieval hagiology. His analysis (pp. 70-4) of the standard ingredients of a saintly biography is a useful contribution to Indian folk-lore.

A. 329.

F. J. RICHARDS.

PŪVA-MADHYA-KĀLĪN BHĀRAT. By RAGHUVĪR SINGH, B.A., LL.B. 8½ × 5½, pp. 10 + 296 + 24. Allahabad: Indian Press, Ltd., 1938.

The period covered by this Hindi history is the three centuries of Muslim rule in India from the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. to the coming of the Mughals. Kunvar Raghuvīr Singh divides the age into five parts, which he names as follows: "Military monarchy," "Enlightened despotism," "Theocratic monarchy" (Fīrūz Tughlaq and his successors), "The period of confusion" (the middle years

of the fifteenth century), and finally the " Feudal monarchy " of the Lodis.

Though it is perhaps true to say, as the author does, that these 300 years produced only two really great rulers, the period, from the variety of the systems of rule which are exemplified, affords rich material for the student of *rāja-nūti*. It is the aim of this study, with this special point in view, to present in a succinct manner facts and considerations little known to those of his countrymen whose only language is Hindi; for it is a curious circumstance that, though several of the chief modern authorities on Indian Islamic history are Hindus, they have usually written in another language.

Kunvar Raghuvīr Singh is obviously well-read in the up-to-date literature of his subject, and his book is a thoughtfully written and well-arranged one, narrative and critical commentary being judiciously blended.

A. 192.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

HANDBOOK OF THE RĀWANG DIALECT OF THE NUNG LANGUAGE.

By J. T. O. BARNARD. 10 × 6½, pp. xi + 118. Rangoon: Supt. Gov. Printing, 1934. 6s.

The Nungs inhabit a tract in the extreme north of Burma which has only been administered for the last twenty years or so. They are described as being of fine physique and leading a " clean " outdoor life. Their customs do not appear to differ much from those of the tribes around them, but two may be mentioned. A man's property goes to his youngest son. There are clan or family names, but individuals are commonly named according to the order of their birth, there being one series of names for males and another for females. This must at least save trouble in the naming of an infant. The preface states: " This is the first book on the Nung language which has many dialects, of which, however, Rāwang may be taken as the one most commonly spoken in the Nung hill-tracts, excepting, of course, the Daru dialect which is quite distinct from the others." Apparently what is meant

is that Nung and Daru are allied languages, and that Rāwang is the principal dialect of Nung.

We have reason to be grateful to officials who add to our knowledge of these obscure people, but one cannot help regretting that the author has not provided himself with such rudimentary knowledge of spoken sounds as might have been acquired in a very small fraction of the time which it must have taken him to write this book. The symbols *er* and *ur* are used to represent two different sounds, both apparently vowels, the former described as "a sound between the German *ü* and the English *er*", and the latter to be pronounced "as in English". The sound represented by *ng* in the English word *tongue* is said (p. 15) to consist of the two consonants *n* and *g*. And though there are said to be four tones in Nung, "no attempt has been made in this book to indicate these tones by signs or marks. Any system for doing this would necessarily be complicated and of little help to the student who can only hope to gain a correct pronunciation of Nung sounds by constant colloquial practice." This is as if someone published a grammar and phrase-book of the French language giving only the roots of verbs, on the ground that the inflections are complicated and must be acquired by constant colloquial practice. It is true that there was once no uniform system for indicating tones. But a simple method of marking Chinese and Burmese tones, by means of sloping or level lines, was used in 1912 in the *Principles* of the International Phonetic Association, has since been approved by an international congress of philologists, and is employed in the *Burmese Phonetic Reader*. It is difficult to see what excuse there can now be for publishing a book on a tone-language without marking the tones.

How to deal with grammar in languages of this class is a far more difficult question, but Sweet's *History of Language*, a little primer in which their structure was explained, was published a generation ago, and it should by now be generally recognized that they cannot be forced into a framework

invented for the Latin group of languages without misleading learners and adding to their difficulties. There appears to be at most one instance of inflection in Nung, and such expressions as “future perfect tense” and “potential mood” are as dust in the eyes of the student. It would have been better to append notes to the sentences. As these stand it is often impossible to tell which word represents which in the translations.

A. 366.

R. GRANT BROWN.

VANĠĪYA-ŚABDA-KOṢA. By HARICHAṚAṆA VANDOPĀDHYĀYA.
 11 × 9. Published by the “Viswabhāratī”, Calcutta.
 In monthly parts of 32 pages of two columns. 1340 Sāl
 = A.D. 1933.

This Dictionary, which is in Bengali, is estimated to run to 4,000 pages, and will be the most complete and exhaustive Dictionary of the Bengali language, up to the present. The compiler states that its compilation has extended over twenty-seven years. It will contain in addition to modern Bengali words, both literary and colloquial, ancient Bengali words taken from all available sources, Sanskrit words current or suitable for use in Bengali, and all words of Arabic, Persian, or other languages both Oriental and European which are in use in Bengali. For the derivation of Bengali *Tadbhava* words, the original Sanskrit form of the word, and the successive Pali and Prakrit forms are given; the corresponding forms in the other Indian vernacular languages, and also the comparative forms in Avesta, Greek, Latin, and European languages, of these and of the Sanskrit words which are included in the Dictionary. The Sanskrit roots and the origin of the Bengali roots are also given. The meanings of words are explained by means of examples of their use from old Bengali writings and from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, and other works, a list of which is given at the beginning of the Dictionary, and the reference is noted against the example.

In the case of Sanskrit words, their derivation is given and their composition (*samās*) according to Pāṇini. This Dictionary, which is likely to remain the standard dictionary of the Bengali language, will be of the greatest use to all Bengali students, both of their own language and also of Sanskrit.

The compiler is to be congratulated on the completeness and exhaustive nature of the work, which, he says, owed its inception to the advice and encouragement of the poet Rabindranāth Tagore, who has written a short foreword, and its completion to the financial help of the late Maharaja Manindra Chandri Nandi. It is a book of reference which can be recommended to all Bengali students and scholars.

A. 45.

E. H. C. WALSH.

BABYLONIAN MENOLOGIES AND THE SEMITIC CALENDARS.

By S. LANGDON. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1933. 11 × 6½, pp. vi + 169. London: Humphrey Milford, 1934. 7s. 6d.

The purpose of these three lectures, which now appear in the amplified form customary in this well-known series, was to present the general conclusions resulting from a study of the Assyrian calendars of the months and days of the year, the cuneiform texts of which are now in great part available, some having been copied by the author himself, who contemplates a full edition of the material in the near future. The first lecture contains a general survey of the ancient calendars of Western Asia, and the other two are occupied by a detailed consideration of the months in order, Nisan and Teshrit, as the two "New Year" months, being studied at a greater length, which necessitates the devotion to them of the whole of the second lecture.

In the calendars as in other elements of civilization the extraordinary prestige of the ancient Babylonian institutions is again evident, so that the author has no difficulty in showing that, time and again, populations which were already in possession of month-names of their own discarded them upon

coming into contact with the Babylonian system, or rather, one of the Babylonian systems, that of Nippur, which had already triumphed over a number of local calendars formerly used in the different Sumerian cities. It is probable that the survival of this one among several lists was due to the superior religious importance of Nippur, and from this assumption it is argued that the adoption of the Nippur month-names by "foreign" peoples was concomitant with their subjection to the religious influence of Sumer; they adopted ceremonies and observances, and thus were obliged to adopt the chronological framework in which they were fitted. Yet it is perhaps unduly narrowing the conception of this process to describe the influence as Sumerian, and to regard all the "converts" (in varying degrees "Semitic") as purely receivers. We are not now so clear about the origins of the complex early Babylonian civilization that we can confidently affix these labels. This has a particular application to the subject now in question where the author affirms that the Semitic equivalents (Nisan, Ayar, Sivan, etc.) of the Sumerian month-names are merely translations of the latter. Yet if one reads carefully his own analysis of these names in the individual months one will find that some of the interpretations seem forcible, and others allude to aspects of the observances postulated for the months quite different from those regarded by the Sumerian names. It seems evident that these Semitic names have an authority and antiquity of their own.

Some incidental discussions are of interest outside of the main theme of the work, most important among them being the fragment of a text, only in part intelligible, which gives, according to Dr. Fotheringham's discovery, the length of the seasonal hours, i.e. the twelfth parts of the respective periods of light and darkness, in the various months of the year. It is perhaps regrettable that it had to appear in this context where a full discussion of other matters of interest arising from it was precluded. Apart from this we have space only to mention a renewed examination of the *šabattu*—Sabbath question,

which summarizes the knowledge now available, and finally to observe the alleged pre-Islamic month-names listed on p. 26 as something of a curiosity.

A. 378.

C. J. GADD.

TAO, THE GREAT LUMINANT. By EVAN MORGAN, D.D.
Essays from Huai Nan Tzū. 8½ × 6, pp. xiv + 287,
ills. 3. London: Kegan Paul, 1935. 10s.

Huai Nan Tzū is the common appellation of Liu An, a Chinese philosopher who died 122 B.C. His studies lay in the direction of alchemistic research and in the Taoist philosophy. He was a grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty, and was styled Prince of Huai Nan. Liu An became very popular, and men of talent resorted to him, among them being eight famous scholars interested in Taoism. They gathered together for study, the theme being *jên*, i.—benevolence and justice. Twenty-one essays were written, under the editorship of Liu An, and they have come down through the ages and are known to Chinese scholars as Huai Nan Tzū.

The classic of Taoism, the Tao Têh King, has attracted much attention from European students of Chinese philosophy and literature, and its many translations have made it familiar to the Western world. Other writings of the Tao school have been much neglected, and Dr. Evan Morgan has rendered a notable service in giving English translations of eight of the twenty-one essays of Huai Nan Tzū—a difficult feat which could only be done by an accomplished scholar. Quiet research and patient toil spread over many years are behind the volume now published, which is a valuable contribution to the serious study of Chinese philosophic thought.

Dr. Morgan calls "Tao" the Great Luminant. It is to be feared that very few of the readers of these essays, either in Chinese or in English, will find them very luminous. Tao is such an elusive term, and withal so comprehensive, that

ordinary mortals stand aghast at any attempt to understand it, and can only admire the super-men who can intelligently apprehend it. Dr. Morgan gives a new rendering of the word as "Cosmic Spirit"; others use the term "Nature". The character itself means Way or Path, and also Word, and is used as the last-named in the translation of St. John's gospel. "In the beginning was the Tao," etc. But as used in Taoist philosophy, the character seems to mean more than any of these terms. Dr. J. C. Ferguson says, "It is the great force which sustains Heaven and Earth. Tao is Nature; but it is more; it is Nature at work. It is also more than Cosmic Spirit, for in it inheres the idea of a Spirit in spontaneous activity."

Dr. Morgan admits that his new term Cosmic Spirit is not consistently used throughout the work; he has found it more convenient often to simply retain "Tao" untranslated. In giving the Taoist view, our author says, "The Tao is conceived of as something self-existent and being independent of the visible world. It belongs to the invisible world and the visible comes from it." "It is the Source of all and the Eternal Sustainer of all creation. It gives out energy, but without the least exhaustion of its own powers and resources."

It is stated that a fundamental difference between the Taoist and the Confucianist is that the latter is involved in endless etiquettes from which the Taoist is free. In actuality the line of demarcation is by no means clear, and many men are a mixture of Confucianist and Taoist, and often Buddhist too!

We are told that "the inherent nature of the Tao is *purity, tranquillity, rest, and unity*"; the meaning being that the spiritual must predominate in all things. "The assimilation of the Tao has its foundation in *meekness, tenderness, poverty of spirit, and quietness*. These are expressed sometimes by one word, *emptiness*."

The two words "Wu wei" form a distinctive term in Taoist philosophy. "Wu wei" means literally non-action, and is so understood by the Confucianist, who says that

Shun (the Sage-Emperor) ruled by non-action, that is, the people obeyed him from admiration of his virtue. This never seems a satisfactory explanation, and there certainly was action to bring about the results attributed to the sages. To the Taoist, *Wu wei* is not just negative, but is something positive. It means that "no selfish idea, or personal will, can enter and interfere with natural justice: no personal lust or desire may twist and wrench the true course of action. Reason and right must guide in action, in order to exercise power according to the intrinsic properties of things. This is a natural exercise of force, and by so doing, there will be no room for any subtle art or craftiness". But it is not easy to see how all this can be comprehended in the two words "*Wu wei*".

The subtleties of this philosophy, while intriguing, are beyond pursuit by the present reviewer, who can only commend the book itself to those interested. The translation may be relied upon, and in preparing it Dr. Morgan has made good use of his profound knowledge of both Chinese and English literature. The Notes and Annotations are very helpful, especially when they give the essential Chinese characters.

A few misprints have been noted, and there is an oft-repeated inaccuracy on p. xvii, where "D'ont" is used for "Don't". The print and format of the book are convenient and satisfactory.

A. 426.

ISAAC MASON.

AL-AWSHĀL (FIFTH DIWAN). By JAMĪL ṢADQĪ AL-ZAHĀWĪ.
 $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 336, photo 1. Baghdād. Maṭba'a Baghdād,
 1934.

All the poems in this volume seem to have been written since 1928. Most are occasional poems, on the death of King Faisal, on the death of Shawkī, on the revolt of the Assyrians; others are scraps two lines long. Most are in classic metres though the poet allows himself many liberties.

The longer are divided mechanically into sections but only one is strophic. The longest, which annoyed the pious, is a tale of the hereafter ending with the storm of heaven by the inhabitants of hell. It was a dream, because the poet’s supper had disagreed with him. This reminds one of Abu’l-‘Alā. The sentiments in other poems are quite unorthodox. The nationalist spirit is prominent. Is the poetry the product of real national feeling or is it propaganda to stimulate this feeling? It is tempting to read a national meaning into some of the scraps which in themselves are not worth printing. Recent events contradict the last line of the poem on the Assyrians, “They have no fear; they have asked protection from the hero.” The printing is careless and the list of errata far from complete. If a foreigner may express an opinion, much of this volume is distinctly prosaic.

A. 423.

A. S. TRITTON.

“LES PERLES CHOISIES” D’IBN ACH-CHIHNA. [Translated by] J. SAUVAGET. *Matériaux pour servir à l’Histoire de la Ville d’Alep*. 10 × 6½, pp. xv + 223. Beyrouth: L’Institut français de Damas, 1933.

An abridged translation of a late compilation is not ordinarily the kind of book that one turns to with any great expectations. M. Sauvaget himself reckons that the work will “lose the greater part of its value when its principal source—Ibn Shaddād’s description of Aleppo—has been published”. But Ibn Shaddād being for the moment inaccessible, he has enriched this excerpt with the fruits of his unsurpassed knowledge of the monuments of Aleppo, and with the aid of his footnotes has made it yield an unsuspected amount of information, valuable as raw material to the student in many fields and indispensable to an eventual editor of the parent work. The author, however, as is only too common in such compilations, has often been careless in dates and other details, and

these mistakes have not always been corrected by the translator (e.g. on the association of the Ortuqids with Aleppo, pp. 27, 82, and 108 ; perhaps on p. 82 "Timurtāsh son of" has dropped out before "Il-Ghāzī").

A. 312.

H. A. R. GIBB.

A STUDY OF YOGA. By JAJNESWAR GHOSH. 9 × 5½, pp. iv + 425. Calcutta : Sanatkumar Ghosh, 1934.

Mr. Ghosh's book is divided into the following chapters :—

(1) Scope and spirit of Yoga, describing the relation of Yoga to diverse activities of the human mind ;

(2) Self-consciousness and Intelligence, giving a theory of cognition in which Intelligence (the author's English term for the Sanskrit "Puruṣa") is propounded as the absolute principle of experience and knowledge ;

(3) The Mind, showing the place of Psychology in Yoga, with a lucid and concise discussion of the chief mental processes ;

(4) Nature, dealing with the concepts of space and time, with the guṇas, prakṛti, and karma ;

(5) Discipline of Yoga, consisting in means of attainment, intuition, concentration, and contemplation.

Mr. Ghosh has succeeded in elucidating the basic facts of Yoga-theory as well as Yoga-practice, in a study of consciousness, leading us from and through ordinary experience and observation to its higher forms which reveal a transcendent, ultimate principle of life. It is on this emphasis of a form of apprehension higher than mere discursive thought that the peculiarity and value of Yoga rests ; and the author has brought this out remarkably well in his remarkable work.

Taking it all round the "Study of Yoga" is indeed a comprehensive and fundamental study of the characteristic features of the time-honoured, austere, and profound discipline of Yoga, as of an inborn urge of man's soul to seek and to become one with that part of himself which may fitly be called

the "Oversoul" (Puruṣa, the world-man), not by study and learning and scientific dissection (i.e. destruction, science = scissors), but by aspiration and contemplation and at-onement (i.e. creation).

We must pay the author our respects for his achievement.

A. 252.

W. STEDE.

THE AGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS. By R. D. BANERJI.

The Manindra Chandra Nandy Lecturer, 1924. 9 × 5½, pp. viii + 250, pls. 41. Benares: Hindu University, 1933.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA. Extending from the foundation of the Gupta Empire to the rise of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal (c. A.D. 320–760). By R. G. BASAK. 9 × 5½, pp. viii + 340, map 1, table 1. London: Kegan Paul, 1934.

The first of these two books includes six lectures delivered at the Benares Hindu University in 1924 and revised for publication by the late Professor Banerji in 1929–1930 just before his death. They summarize the chronology of the Guptas, the system of administration, the religious and literary revival of the period, and the architecture, plastic art, and coinage, with forty-one plates. All these topics are adequately dealt with for lectures of this nature. The Professor accepted entirely the legend first published by Lévi (*J.A.*, 1933) about Rāma Gupta and Chandra Gupta, which was hinted at by the commentator on Bāna's *Harsha Charita*. It may, however, be noted that the story, if it has any historical basis, seems to fit more closely with what is known of Pura Gupta and Skanda Gupta, though the names differ. Professor Banerji's suggestion that Chandra Gupta II killed the last great Kushan ruler at Mathura seems to want adequate foundation.

Professor Basak's book is a more valuable contribution to the history of the period and deals exhaustively with what is known of north-eastern India, from the rise of the Imperial Guptas to the time immediately before the Pāla kings of

Bengal. It thus includes the Maukhari dynasty, the later Guptas of Magadha, Śaśānka, and other rulers of eastern Bengal, Assam, and Nepal, and has a very interesting account of the land revenue administration of the eastern Guptas taken from the Damodarpur plates, first edited by the author. In dealing with Nepal, Dr. Basak suggests fresh readings of the dates and criticizes Lévi's theory of the Lichchhavi era.

It is improbable that Śakraditya, Buddha Gupta, and Tathāgata Gupta mentioned by Yuan Chwang belonged to the main line of Guptas (p. 79), as the Chinese pilgrim distinctly says that the first two lived soon after the Nirvāṇa, and the connection between Bāladitya and Buddhagupta (p. 78) is also doubtful. If, as stated at p. 33, Vasubandhu was highly honoured by Samudra Gupta (ob. c. 380) it is not likely that his instructor was Buddha Mitra of the Man-kuwār inscription of 448 (p. 58).

Dr. Basak holds, differing from most students of the period, including Professor Banerji, that there were three rulers named Kumāra Gupta. He takes the second as a son of Skanda Gupta and the third as a son of Narasimha Gupta Bāladitya. In this view it would have been desirable to have a fuller discussion of Panna Lal's paper on the Daśapura inscription. Dr. Basak has tacitly accepted Dikshit's correction of his reading of the date of the fifth Damodarpur plate without acknowledging it, and does not meet his argument that this change probably destroys the theory that it was issued by Bhānū Gupta, or mention Krishna Śāstri's suggestion (*Ep. In.*, xvii, p. 193, n. 1) that the missing name may be Kumāra.

Notwithstanding these criticisms Dr. Basak is to be congratulated on having produced an excellent piece of work. If a second edition is called for the rather numerous misprints not corrected in the errata list require attention, and the confusion in the index of Dharmāditya of E. Bengal with Dharmarāja of Orissa should be corrected.

MU'NIS AL-'USHSHAQ. The Lovers' Friend. By SHIHĀBU'D-DIN SUHRAWARDĪ MAQTŪL. Edited by OTTO SPIES. Bonner Orientalische Studien, Heft 7. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ii + 23 + 67. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934.

This is an edition of the text of a short allegorical Persian work, together with a scholarly and useful introduction in English; it is a valuable addition to the list of Persian texts which have recently been critically edited and printed. The text is quite short, being only forty-nine pages, more than half of each page consisting of footnotes giving various readings and Qur'ānic references. It is written in simple clear Persian. There are twelve sections (فصل) ; and section 6, which contains "a treatise on microcosm, i.e. the old philosophical theory that man is conceived as an epitome of the universe", is explained in a commentary by an unknown writer, which has also been printed after the main text. To any one interested in Sūfīstic ideas this little book must be a fascinating study, and editors and publishers are to be congratulated on the manner in which they have performed their task. The book is well printed, and I have noticed only three or four minor misprints.

A.333.

C. N. SEDDON.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES. Law's Research Series, Pub. No. 1, Vol. II. By BIMALA CHURN LAW. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, vi + 66. London: Luzac & Co., 1934.

This little volume deals with certain Indian tribes mentioned in ancient Sanskrit literature and attempts to locate their early settlements. Commencing with the Vangas, who gave their name to Bengal, we have a series of notes on twenty-two of such tribes, ending with the well-known Niṣādas and Nishadhas whom the author finds to have been distinct in race, in spite of the similarity of their names. According to the writer, the Niṣādas were the modern Bhils of Western and Central India, though this conclusion is apparently at variance with

the code of Manu, wherein a Niṣāda is described as the offspring of a Brahman father and Sudra mother.

The Abhiras, who have long been recognized as the equivalent of the present day Ahirs of Western and Northern India, form to the present day a division of many well-known shepherd tribes retaining the sectional name of Ahir, and are of great importance. The weight of evidence seems to favour the theory that they were early immigrants, possibly from Afghanistan. In the Bombay Presidency Ahir divisions are to be found among Dhangars, Gavlis, Kolis, Kumbhars, Sonars, and Sutaras.

Mr. Law's extracts from Sanskrit literature are a valuable contribution to the study of Indian Ethnology. They would benefit by being correlated with the results of present-day research contained in the records of the Ethnographical Survey.

It is to be hoped that the author may pursue the subject further, and supply additional light on the origins of many tribes and castes which at present are the subject of interesting speculation.

A.289.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE TĀRIKH-I-MUBĀRAKSHĀHĪ. By YAḤYĀ BIN AḤMAD BIN 'ABDULLAH SIRHINDI. Translated from the Persian with textual notes and index by KAMAL KRISHNA BASU. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. lxiii, 9½ × 6, pp. ix + 299. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1932. Rs. 7 As. 8.

This book of 299 pages furnishes a translation of a historical work of extreme value. As is pointed out in the foreword contributed by the well-known historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the writer of this history is the sole original contemporary authority for the period 1400-1434. The oldest and also by far the best manuscript of Yaḥyā's history is preserved in the Bodleian Library (M.S. Fraser 150), the colophon showing that the transcription was completed in July, 1550. I have taken advantage of the opportunity of examining this

old manuscript, which is in an excellent state of preservation, and I have in this way satisfied myself that the work of translation has been done on the whole with a praiseworthy degree of accuracy.

Unfortunately there are a great many minor blemishes in the book, which might with the exercise of a little care have been eliminated. There is a huge list of errata covering more than nine pages at the end of the book, but nearly all these corrections relate to mistakes in English or in spelling. In the first place the system of transliteration of Oriental words adopted by the translator is not a good one, and in the second place it has not been applied with any degree of rigidity or consistency. Not only do we find such monstrosities as Sa'iyids (p. 232 and *passim*), mukuddums (l. 9, p. 141), Māhomet (note 2, p. 148), mu'azm (p. 191), rubai'yai (p. 65), but we get such inconsistencies as "Khosrou" (p. 148) and "Khusrū" (*passim*), "Uchch" and "Oocha" on the same page (p. 18), "Jaun" and "Jāūn" for the river Jamuna, "pergunnahs" (p. 190) and "parganas" (p. 222), "Kalinjar" and "Kalanjar" (p. 33) and "Rustum" and "Rustam" (note 6, page 242). The translator's knowledge of Arabic seems to be almost nil, as he states that "iktā' is the plural of kit'", whereas this is not a possible plural form, the word "iktā'" being a singular noun meaning a fief. The semi-vocalic glide "y" is wrongly omitted in proper names such as Ghiyās and Ziyā, the latter word appearing as Zīā, Zīa, and Zia. Mahobā is said to be the capital of Kālpī, and the latitude and longitude of Kampil in the district of Farrukh-ābād is given twice (pp. 191 and 207), but the figures given differ and it is not impossible that both are wrong. Dalmū (l. 1, p. 165) seems to be a mistake for Dalmaū, a well-known place on the Ganges in the Rai Bareli district. There are multitudes of errors of this type, which greatly disfigure a book which appears in a series advertised as "edited by competent scholars".

LES PALAIS ET LES MAISONS D'ÉPOQUE MUSULMANE, AU CAIRE
(*Mém. de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du
Caire*, tome lxii). By EDMOND PAUTY. 14½ × 10½,
pp. xii + 92, figs. 43, pls. 63. Cairo: Imprimerie de
l'Institut, 1933.

This, the first general work that has appeared on the subject, begins with a chapter on the evolution of the Oriental house. It is followed by a chapter on the palaces and houses of Cairo under the Ṭulūnids and Fātimids (ninth to twelfth centuries) a chapter on those of the period of the Ayyūbids and Bahrite Mamlūks (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries), and another on those of the Turkish epoch (after A.D. 1517).

A chapter on old houses illustrated in Napoleon's *Description de l'Égypte*, Pascal Coste's *Architecture Arabe*, and Prisse d'Avennes' *L'Art arabe*, constitutes a very useful feature, for the houses described in these bulky and expensive works are here united and presented in a convenient form, with reduced reproductions of the illustrations. The work closes with a *Catalogue raisonné* of the houses of note that still exist in Cairo, grouped according to quarters and going from north to south.

The author shows that the earliest houses, i.e. those of the Ṭulūnid period were derived from those of Sāmarrā, in which the L-formed liwān was a regularly recurring feature. But in this connection (p. 28) he confuses the Jausaq al-Khāqānī at Sāmarrā, built by Mu'taṣim in 836, with Balku-wārā (about 6 km. south of Sāmarrā) built by Mutawakkil for his son al-Mu'tazz billāh between A.D. 847 and 861.

He points out that this type of liwān occurs before Islam, but unfortunately cites Ukhaḍir as a pre-Islamic example. Ukhaḍir contains a mosque with a concave mihrāb. However an authentic pre-Islamic example occurs at Qaṣr as-Shirīn (A.D. 590-628).

Some of the palaces mentioned can be dated much more closely, e.g. that of Manjaq as-Silāhdār, which is merely put down as fourteenth century (p. 85). This Emīr is called

“ the Sword-Bearer ” in the inscription. He became sword-bearer in A.H. 747 (1346–7 and was murdered in Ramaḍān 748 (December, 1347). It follows that the palace must have been finished between A.H. 747 and 748.

There is no index nor “ Table de Matières ” which is a serious defect, more especially as the page headings uselessly repeat the title of the book, which the reader presumably knows already, instead of indicating the subject dealt with on each page. One cannot help regretting the scanty documentation and the fact that the plates are not arranged, as they should be, in chronological order ; as it is, one might suppose that they had been shuffled first and numbered afterwards. Nevertheless this work fills a serious gap and should prove very useful to all interested in the domestic architecture of Islam.

913.

K. A. C. CRESWELL.

HIMJARISCHE INSCHRIFTEN IN DEN STAATLICHEN MUSEEN ZU BERLIN. Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen-ägyptischen Gesellschaft. Bd. 37, Heft 1. Ed. by J. H. MORDTMANN and E. MITTWOCH. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 78, pls. 28. Leipzig : T. G. Hinrichs, 1932. RM. 10.

This extremely valuable work contains fifty-eight inscriptions (not including four “ Falsifikate ”), nearly all of which are of sufficient length to present points of interest, while not a few yield important additions to our knowledge. Diagrams, and in some cases plates, are given of all. A high tribute of admiration must be paid to the scholarly commentary. With all respect, however, I should like to remark on the following points, where the editors seem to me to be mistaken.

No. 2³ כל ציח וחבקלת ואעמדו ועלבו : this they render “ die ganze Anpflanzung u. Bewässerung der ‘md- u. ‘Ilb-bäume ” (after Glaser Altjem. Nach. 51), rejecting Rhodokanakis’ “ die ganze Planierung u. Anpflanzung der

berieselten Plätze u. der 'Ilb-bäume" (*Studien*, iii, 8). They are then forced to remark: "צִיָּץ wird ein technischer Ausdruck sein, der sich auf Baumzucht bezieht." But they suggest no derivation as a substitute for that of Rhod. from **צִיָּץ**: "aequare, complanare (ut tumulos, salebrosa)," which it seems to me hardly probable to refer to Baumzucht, and I still cling to Rhod.'s rendering, wherein it is to be observed the rhetorical figure **لفّ ونشر** is to be found, as frequently in the inscriptions (see *WZKM.* 38, 175; 41, 71⁸).

No. 58: The editors reject Rhod. (*St.*, ii, 39) translation of **מִצְרִיב** as "Altar für Brandopfer", Rijkmans (*Muséon*, xl, 171) "autel sur lequel le sacrifice était consumé", and contend that it is synonymous with the **מִשְׁלֵם**, which Rijk. (*ibid.*) has shown must be a libation altar, on account of the drainage hollows in the longer sides of Rijk. 4. Their main argument is "die Identität der so bezeichneten Denkmäler in Grösse u. Form". But the occurrences of the term **מִצְרִיב** are mostly not actually on altars at all (e.g. *CIH.* 337⁹, Gl. 1209⁹, 1144⁸ — *Hal.* 353¹⁰, *Hal.* 485², Gl. 874⁸ — *RES.* 3401); as for those that are, the drawing of *MM.* Altsüdarab. Inschr. B 6 (*Orientalia*, ii, 52), shows no trace at all of the Ausgussöffnungen characteristic of the **מִשְׁלֵם**, while it seems to me doubtful whether the single broken away portion of *MM.* Himjarische Inschr. 58, which is apparent in the drawing in Table xx (although in the text *two* are marked!), is actually such a drainage hollow.

Further, "für Schlacht- oder Brandopfer sind sie viel zu klein." But this inscription, which is only a fragment of the whole, has a length of 33 cm., and *MM.* Altsüdarab. Inschr. B 6 is 63 cm. This seems to me quite an adequate size.

Their last argument does not go at all to show that **מִצְרִיב** and **מִשְׁלֵם** are the same, but only that the **מִצְרִיב** did not serve for burnt offerings; and it is the only argument that seems to me to have any validity. It is that the correct translation of *Hal.* 353¹⁰ (wrongly quoted as *Hal.* 385) is "the mṣrb-altar (made) of clay and the mṣrb-altar (*made*)

of wood," and not, as Rh. (*St.*, ii, 30) renders it : " der Altar für die Myrrhe u. der Altar für das wohlriechende Holz," since מרת is shown to be a building material by Gl. 1410 = 1618⁶, and probably, as Rh. himself suggests in Kohlan 45, to be equated with 𐎠𐎵𐎠𐎥: "argilla, calx praeparata". This argument, though not quite conclusive (for מרת could be a different word in the two inscriptions), does cast doubt on the idea of the mšrb as an altar of burnt offerings, an idea first suggested by Rhod.'s derivation from נַצְרָבּוּ and צָרְבָת (*St.*, ii, 39).

But an altar which is not used for burnt offerings is not therefore necessarily for libations, and the wide dissimilarity between the מִשְׁלָם of Rijk. 4 and the מִצְרָבּ of MMA. B 6 leads me to consider that, whatever the use of the מִצְרָבּ may have been, it was not the same as the מִשְׁלָם.

815.

A. F. L. BEESTON.

JOINT EXPEDITION WITH THE IRAQ MUSEUM AT NUZI. Mixed Texts. By EDWARD CHIERA. American School of Oriental Research, Vol. V. 11½ × 8½, pp. 4, pls. 100. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press. London : Humphrey Milford, 1934. 18s.

This volume concludes the publication of the texts found at Yorghān Tepe near Kerkuk and copied by the late Professor Chiera. Some of the texts which it contains belong to categories already known from the previous volumes, such as the tablets of exchange, security, and sale-adoption, loans, letters, declarations in court, and divisions of inheritance (*šîmtu*). The volume also contains ten of the twenty texts edited by Chiera and Speiser in *JAOS.*, vol. xlvii. The new types include lists of various kinds, hiring of harvesters, agreements, certain slavery documents, gifts and documents of *maḳannūtu* and *tirhātu*. The word *maḳannūtu* and its concrete *maḳannū* have occurred before, the former in *Harvard*, i, 17, 6 (in a *martūtu* document), the latter in *Harvard*, ii, 30 ; and *tirhātu* is, of course, the familiar betrothal

payment¹; but these words have not before occurred in the title of a tablet. This further evidence about the *tirhātu* is especially welcome.

The four *riksu* documents may help to decide the question whether this term is used exclusively in connection with a marriage, as maintained by Koschaker, *Neue Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna Zeit*, pp. 85-6. Three of them are certainly connected with marriages, viz. Nos. 435, 440, and 441, though the last of these refers only to the inferior kind of marriage called *martūtu ū kallatūtu*.² No. 439, however, though entitled *riksu*, records only the presentation of some land by Naitea to Tehiptilla as "his *kištu*", the wording of the transaction being identical with that of the "gift" document, No. 530, and it seems impossible to connect this in any way with a marriage. Yet it is difficult to say what the nature of this transaction could have been, for the word *kištu* is applied elsewhere in these texts only to the compensatory payment made by the adopted son to his adoptive father in the sale-adoption contracts; this payment is made in return for a gift of land as "inheritance", and never consists itself of land.³ A further difficulty lies in the presence of a penalty for breach of contract in No. 439, and of both this and the eviction clause in No. 530, for these seem inconsistent with a simple gift⁴: they are absent, however, in *Harvard*, ii, No. 30, a somewhat similar document in which *makannu* is substituted for *kištu*. In any case these documents, and especially the reciprocal "gift" in No. 556 (clearly a sale of land without adoption), prove the existence of privately owned land beside the fief land which was inalienable and so gave rise to the sale-adoption fiction.

One of the most interesting texts is No. 478, the first eight lines of which are here transcribed:—

¹ *Pretium deflorationis*, according to Van der Meer, *Rev. d'Ass.*, xxxi, pp. 121 ff.

² This text = Chiera, *JAOS.* xlvii, No. 6, and is referred to by Koschaker, *op. cit.*, p. 85, note 3.

³ See Koschaker, *op. cit.*, p. 54, note 6.

⁴ See Koschaker, *op. cit.*, p. 59, note 3.

1. *um-ma* ¹*Ku-ur-pa-za-aḥ-ma*
2. *mār* *Hi-il-pí-šu-uh*
3. *māri-ia* ¹*A-kip-til!-la* !
4. *ù* *ki-ir-pa-an-šu i-na pa-ni*
5. ^a*Šamaš iḥ-te-pu ù*
6. *i-na ilāni*^{pl} *ù a-na e-te-im-mi*
7. *iklēt*^{pl} *ù bûtāt*^{pl} ^{pl} *lā*
8. *i-la-aḫ-ka*

Is it possible to suppose that the word *kirpanu* here may be the equivalent of the Hebrew קִרְפָּן, in the sense of a vow of dedication, for the breaking of which Akiptilla is disinherited by his father ? ¹

No. 527, l. 29 : 1 ^{mašak}*iš-pa-tum a-šar ki-in-az-zu kaspam uh-hu-zu* : “ One leathern quiver, the place for a whip, overlaid with silver,” seems to refer to the receptacle attached to the chariot-rail in front of the driver’s platform in certain model chariots found at Kish and now in the Ashmolean Museum.

The slavery documents number twenty-one in all, and in thirteen of them the slave is designated ^a*mēḥa-bi-ru(-ú)*. The great historical importance of the evidence provided by the names of these individuals for the elucidation of the “ Habiru problem ” has already been recognized. These names are generally held to prove that whatever else the word *habiru* may have denoted,² it was not the proper name of a tribe. The names had already been published and discussed by Chiera in *AJSL.*, vol. xlix, consequently the publication of the texts themselves adds little to the evidence previously available.

The use of the volume is considerably facilitated by the inclusion of a table stating the class to which each text belongs.

A. 372.

O. R. GURNEY.

¹ The reviewer owes this suggestion to Professor Langdon.

² There is still a keen controversy. See most recently A. Alt, *Berichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Bd. 86, Heft 1, pp. 18-22 ; Speiser, *AASOR.*, vol. xiii, 33 ff.

SENNACHERIB'S AQUEDUCT AT JERWEN. By THORKILD JACOBSON and SETON LLOYD. (Univ. of Chicago, Or. Institute Publications, vol. xxiv.) Chicago, 1935. (Cambridge University Press.) 4to, pp. xii + 52, with frontispiece, pls. i-xxxvi, and text-diagrams. Price 22s. 6d. net.

The happy find of a mural inscription *in situ* identified the "causeway" noted by Layard and by King below the rock sculptures at Bavian with a bridge built by Sennacherib to carry his aqueduct from the Gomel gorge across the plain to Nineveh. This unique monument of early engineering crossed the Gomel river on five corbel-vaulted spans, of which the jambs of two remain, and parts of the paving and parapet of the channel, which is more than 280 metres long, and 22 metres wide without its buttresses. The masonry is fine squared ashlar, on which the cuneiform record of its building is cut. The water was collected from the side of the gorge, where its tunnelled and rock-cut course can be traced, below the famous sculptures, till it debouches at a right angle onto the aqueduct.

As the villagers here were Yezidis, there was opportunity for typical photographs and some interesting anthropological notes.

A. 493.

J. L. MYRES.

THE GLORIES OF HINDUSTAN. By Dr. E. A. NAWRATH. 8½ × 6½, pp. xv + 240; 240 pls. and sketch map. London: Methuen and Co., 1935. 25s.

This is a "book of pictures", Dr. Nawrath tells us, compiled for the general public and not addressed to the specialist. It is a series of views taken by the author in the course of an extensive tour, exhibiting, besides a few landscapes, most of the finest examples of Hindu, Buddhist, and Muhammadan architecture and sculpture in Northern India, from the Khaibar Pass to Orissa and from Kashmīr to Bombay. The sites and monuments have been selected with discernment,

the photographs, of exceptional technical merit in themselves, have been admirably reproduced in photogravure; and the brief descriptions which face each plate give the information required in a popular work of this kind.

A. 538.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

GALLETTI'S TELUGU DICTIONARY. A Dictionary of Current Telugu. By A. GALLETTI DI CADILHAC. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xvii + 434, 1 map, pls. 8. London: Oxford University Press, 1935. 30s.

This artistically bound little volume looks more like a book of poems than a dictionary. It is arranged as a Telugu-English manual of words in common use, and begins with a short dissertation on the vagaries of the former tongue. It ends with a useful appendix of familiar English phrases, with their nearest Telugu equivalent, and a map to illustrate the distribution of the Telugu population.

A. 508.

ED.

THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR OF ASOKA.—The statement on p. 700 of this JOURNAL for October, 1935, that John Finch visited Allahabad in A.D. 1611, should not pass unquestioned. As his published diary shows, William (*not* John) Finch was buying indigo at Bayāna at the end of 1610, and in January, 1611, he left Agra for Lahore, whence he travelled to Baghdad. Sir William Foster has explained (*Early Travels in India*, p. 123) that the information given by Finch regarding Allahabad and other places east of Agra must have been collected during his stay in the latter city; it is hearsay evidence, and not to be compared with his account of the buildings in Delhi, which he visited; and the argument based on his supposed talks with workmen in the fort thus falls to the ground.

W. H. MORELAND.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 346 STRAND, W.C. 2.

The number for 23rd November, 1935, contains an illustrated article on *Tapping a New Archaeological Source in North Syria*, being a description of the first discoveries at Chagar Bazar, in the Habur region: a mound containing remains of fifteen superimposed settlements yielding art relics dating from about 4000 to 1500 B.C., including what is thought to be the earliest known cylinder seal. The same number illustrates Her Majesty's gracious loan to the Chinese Art Exhibition.

The following number describes, with a wealth of illustration, some of the other exquisite treasures lent to the Exhibition including Jades, Brocades, Porcelain, Paintings, and Bronzes. The finds at Shang-Yin (c. 1766-1122 B.C.) show an artistic merit demanding a long period and high level of previous culture and progress.

The number for 14th December, 1935, describes the bequest from the late Lord Amphil, of a collection of Bronzes bequeathed to this country and placed on view in the India Museum (Victoria and Albert) at Kensington. The presentation of Siva Nataraja dancing his cosmic dance surrounded by the nimbus of the manifested universe is particularly attractive.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

ONE HUNDRED YEARS' HISTORY OF THE CHINESE IN SINGAPORE. By SONG ONG SIANG. London: John Murray, 1923.

A BOOK OF BATTLES THAT DETERMINED THE COURSE OF CIVILIZATION. By G. P. BAKER. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1935. 16s.

IMMANUEL KANT OR PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL. By HUMAYUN KABIR. Calcutta: University Press, 1935.

OBITUARY NOTICES

Professor Jarl Charpentier

The news of the sudden death of Professor Charpentier on 5th July, 1935, came as a shock to his friends in this country who were looking forward to his usual visit during the Long Vacation. He was here for the last time in September and October, 1934 ; and, although he had evidently not fully recovered from a long and trying illness earlier in the year, there seemed to be every prospect of his ultimate restoration to health and strength. *Dis aliter visum*. The world has lost one of its most learned Oriental scholars ; and those who knew him well miss a warm-hearted and a constant friend.

Jarl Hellen Robert Toussaint Charpentier was born on 17th December, 1884. His father was a Major in the Swedish army, and his mother belonged to the family which has given to Sweden one of its most distinguished historians, Erik Gustaf Geijer. As a boy, Charpentier was educated at the Latin Grammar School of Gothenburg, where the foundations were laid for his unusually extensive and exact knowledge of the classical literatures of Greece and Rome. In 1902 he entered the University of Uppsala, where he was attracted to Oriental studies through the medium of comparative philology. His teacher was Professor K. F. Johansson, the University Professor of Sanskrit and the Comparative Philology of the Indo-European Languages. Another of his teachers was Professor Jacobi, with whom he studied at Bonn before completing his University course at Uppsala. He never failed to acknowledge the debt of gratitude which he owed to the inspiration of these two great scholars.

In 1908 he proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Uppsala and was at once appointed Assistant Professor. He became Deputy Professor on Professor Johansson's retirement in 1925, and succeeded him as Professor in 1927.

For his inauguration as doctor, Charpentier presented his thesis on *Paccekabuddhageschichten*—the first of a series of *Studien zur indischen Erzählliteratur* which was continued in the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society for the years 1908, 1910, and 1912.

His earliest contributions to learned periodicals are philological and are devoted to the Lithuanian and Balto-Slavic languages. From the date of their appearance (1906) until the present year the stream of his publications is continuous. The long list of his works, great and small, which is given in the *Upsala Universitets Matrikel* for the year 1926, contains about seventy entries; and if the list were completed that number would be very considerably increased. It includes works written in Swedish, French, German, and English, and dealing with a great variety of subjects, such as the etymology and structure of the various Indo-European languages, the mythology of the Veda and Avesta, the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages and literatures, the religious and political history of ancient and mediaeval India, the accounts given of ancient and mediaeval India by Western writers, etc. It must suffice here to mention a few only of the more important of these: *Die Desiderativbildungen der indo-iranischen Sprachen* (1912); *Die Suparnasage: Untersuchungen zur altindischen Literatur und Sagensgeschichte* (1920-2); the *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra*, being the first Mūlasūtra of the Śvetāmbara Jains, edited with an introduction, critical notes, and a commentary (1921-2); *Brahman, eine sprachwissenschaftlich - exegetisch - religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (1932); Fenicio's *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*: Portuguese text with Malayālam verses, edited with an introduction and notes in English (1932-3); the *Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (1934). Probably the latest of his publications is the article on "William of Rubruck and Roger Bacon" in the complimentary volume of the *Geografiska Annaler* (1935) dedicated to his friend Sven Hedin.

The chief characteristic of Charpentier's work is perhaps its thoroughness : the reader is left with the impression that he had mastered his subject from beginning to end in all its details. He had a most retentive memory from which nothing seemed to escape. His bibliographical introductions are admirable in their fullness.

He was an omnivorous reader and was interested in many things. In ordinary conversation he would often surprise his English hearers by his intimate acquaintance with English history and literature or by his knowledge of the politics of the present day.

17.

E. J. RAPSON.

James Henry Breasted

Death has laid a heavy hand on Egyptology during the last two years. There have passed from amongst us in this country, Weigall, Peet, Griffith, Hunt, Budge, and Quibell ; in Germany, Sethe and Wreszinski ; in Holland, Boeser. And now to this list we have to add the name of the doyen of American Orientalists, Breasted.

James Henry Breasted, the son of Charles and Harriet (*née* Garrison) Breasted, was born at Rockford, Illinois, 27th August, 1865. He was educated at the North Central College, Chicago Theological Seminary, and Yale University. Having early manifested a deep interest in ancient Oriental history, and especially that of Egypt, he proceeded to Berlin University, where he studied Egyptology under Erman. His first Egyptological publication, giving manifest promise of a brilliant career, was his doctoral thesis, for the subject of which he chose the so-called monotheistic hymns of Amarna, composed in the reign of the heretic king Amenophis IV—Akhenaten (*De Hymnis in Solem sub rege Amenophide conceptis*, Berlin, 1894). In the same year Breasted rendered a great service to all English-speaking students by publishing an English translation of Erman's

Aegyptische Grammatik, in which were embodied the results of that scholar's intensive studies of the structure of the ancient language of Egypt—studies that established a radically new conception of its nature. Erman's brilliant demonstrations have formed the basis of Egyptian grammar and syntax as it is to-day universally understood and accepted, and the younger generation of Egyptologists can scarcely conceive the opposition which was raised against Erman's thesis by those who had been schooled in the older methods of study. Erman indeed, like all pioneers, had reason to see the force of the utterance of John Locke, made in 1690, that "new opinions are always suspected and usually opposed without any other reason but because they are not already common", or, as the translators of the Authorized Version had said in 1611, "was there anything projected, that savoured in any way of newness or renewing, but the same endured many a storm of gainsaying or opposition?" These facts are worth recalling, because and Breasted's translation was the means of making Erman's conception of the Egyptian language, and the logical basis on which his views were founded, far more widely known than could have been the case had they been available in the German edition alone. Breasted had the advantage of being trained in the new system, and he turned this advantage, aided by his native aptitude and vigorous energy, to good account. On the completion of his studies he was appointed an assistant in Egyptology at the University of Chicago; in 1901 he was made director of the Haskell Museum, and in 1905 he was nominated to the chair of Egyptology at Chicago University.

Meanwhile, under the auspices of the academies of Germany, the Egyptian Dictionary had been inaugurated, and scholars of all nations readily co-operated, each in his own particular sphere, in amassing the material for this great undertaking, which has in recent years materialized in the publication of the *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache* in five stout volumes (1925-1931). For this work Breasted undertook the historical

texts, and in 1900 he began a long mission to the museums of Europe, where he copied, collated, and revised many hundreds of stelae and other hieroglyphic texts. The benefits of his prolonged labours were threefold : first, the dictionary benefited by the lexicographical material ; secondly, Breasted being provided with reliable copies of inscriptions, was enabled to write his *History of Egypt* (1st ed., 1905) from first-hand and authentic sources ; and thirdly, with these stores of texts, he undertook the publication of English translations of all the historical texts from the earliest times to the end of the 26th Dynasty. These translations appeared in chronological order in his *Ancient Records of Egypt* (5 vols., 1906-7). Breasted's *History* (later editions, 1919 and 1921) has become the standard work on the subject, and it has the advantage of covering the ground thoroughly in a single volume. Although Egypt was his first and most persistent love, Breasted realized that that country was but a single unit in the ancient history of the Near East, and he soon extended his reading and studies to cover the wider field. As a result he has given us several charmingly written books, at once scholarly and popular, amongst which may be mentioned *Ancient Times* (1916) and *A Survey of the Ancient World* (1919). His attention was not limited to history, however ; religion and mythology were studies of equal devotion, and in 1912 appeared his *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. Previous writings on Egyptian religion had been based almost entirely on the so-called " Book of the Dead " : Breasted showed that it is necessary to go back farther in time, and he emphasized the importance of the " Pyramid Texts " of the Old Kingdom and the " Coffin Texts " of the Middle Kingdom as the forerunners of the " Book of the Dead ", which became popular in the New Kingdom and later times. He returned to similar studies towards the close of his life, when he published, in collaboration with J. H. Robinson, the *Dawn of Conscience* (1933).

Breasted's writings are too numerous to be surveyed here

in detail, but brief mention must be made of one or two more. In his "Philosophy of a Memphite Priest" (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 39, 1901, 39-54), he made an important contribution to the understanding of a difficult text which has since occupied the attention of Erman, Sethe, and other scholars; his "New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III" (Sethe's *Untersuchungen*, ii, 1900) shows his enterprise and resource in interpreting an obscure episode in history; and his "Battle of Kadesh" (*Chicago Decennial Publications*, v, 1904, 81-126) is a masterly analysis and reconstruction of an ancient feat of military strategy. And, finally, in his great edition of the *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (1930), he brought his full powers of scholarship and exposition to bear in the elucidation of an important medical text.

Important as Breasted's published works have been and will long remain in the literature of Egyptology they did not constitute by any means the whole of his activities, and he will always be remembered as the organizer and director of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. In planning the activities of this organization Breasted was a megalomaniac, but a fortunate megalomaniac who saw the realization of his far-flung schemes. The purpose of the Institute as he conceived it is well expressed in the opening paragraph of the *Report* for 1935: "The Oriental Institute is a research laboratory for the investigation of the early human career. It endeavours to trace the course of human development from the merely physical man disclosed by the palæontologist to the rise and early advance of civilized societies, the product of a social and material evolution culminating in social idealism." To give effect to this conception Breasted organized an archaeological mission of extraordinary scope, maintaining expeditions in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Asia Minor. Bodies of trained workers have carried out explorations in all these countries and their activities and results are attested by the numerous publications of the Institute. Epigraphic surveys have been organized to record

the inscriptions of the monuments of Egypt and elsewhere and to copy frescos, paintings, and other ancient works of art. One of the most important of the Institute's works was to compile a dictionary of Assyrian Cuneiform. The needs of hieroglyphic scholars have been met by the Berlin *Wörterbuch*, and those of Coptic by Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*, now in course of publication ; but Cuneiform scholars have hitherto been entirely without such aid. Breasted, whose aim was always to fill up gaps in the equipment of Oriental studies, set this great undertaking in motion in 1921, securing the services of the able scholar, Daniel David Luckenbill, who unfortunately died in 1927. Luckenbill had initiated the project and had carried it forward with great energy, and had likewise published two further volumes of Breasted's *Ancient Records* series, containing the historical records of Assyria. In the hands of his successors the Assyrian dictionary continues to make solid progress. Another gap was perceived by Breasted in that the extensive and important religious texts of the Middle Kingdom, the so-called "Coffin Texts", mostly unpublished, required collecting and editing. He himself, in conjunction with Dr. Alan Gardiner and others, did much in the labour of collecting and collating these texts, and he arranged that the Institute should publish a complete corpus of them, under the editorship of Drs. De Buck and Gardiner. The first volume of this elaborate edition will soon appear, and others will follow in due course. The foregoing are only a few of the many branches of the Institute's activities : for a full appreciation of its wide scope the reader must consult the Annual Reports, in which the ability and initiative of Breasted are everywhere apparent. His energy was unbounded both at home and abroad ; he constantly visited Europe and the East and has done much actual field-work.

Breasted was honoured by all the principal universities, academies, and learned societies of Europe and America, and the list of his diplomas and appointments is a long one.

He was elected an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1923. Of his personal kindness and charm his colleagues have given ample testimony, and of his abilities as a scholar and an organizer his own publications and the thriving Oriental Institute are lasting memorials. His death occurred in the Medical Centre Hospital at Chicago on the 2nd December, 1935, as the result of streptococcal infection, in the 71st year of his age.

20.

WARREN R. DAWSON.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Neolithic Art at Jericho

On 18th October, 1935, Professor John Garstang gave a lecture at the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society on "Neolithic Art at Jericho", as brought to light by the excavations which he directed last winter.

The object of the fifth expedition to ancient Jericho was the exploration of the lowest levels of the Bronze Age representing the history of the site during the thousand years before the traditional epoch of the patriarch Abraham: This object was happily accomplished, with the result of establishing by scientific methods the series of pottery of this little known period. It would seem that Canaan was already being reunited by a common culture about 2500 B.C.

This research brought the excavators to a level seven metres below the surface, where it was hoped virgin soil would be reached. At this point, however, a Chalcolithic level was disclosed, which marks for the time being the origins of civilization in Palestine and joins the Bronze Age with the Stone Age. But this was only the beginning of a series of unsuspected discoveries which revealed in the lowest levels the presence of an even older civilization, representing in Palestine the European Neolithic period. Remarkable clay statues, pottery with resemblances to that of Thessaly in Ancient Greece, superposed house floors with a whole series of stone objects and flint implements gave evidence of the occupation of the site of Jericho before that of any other city of the Stone Age in Palestine, and showed that there was an area still to be excavated from a depth of 7 to 14 metres under the historic site. Thus, for the time being, Jericho seems to be the most ancient city in Palestine.

The expedition was financed by Sir Charles Marston, who

has generously supported the work from the start, with the collaboration of the Musées du Louvre and the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen.

7.

The Art of the Chinese Painter

Miss Helen Fernald, late Curator of Far Eastern Art at the University Museum of Philadelphia, discussed the art of the Chinese painter in a lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society on 5th December, 1935.

There are many ways of approach to Chinese painting, the historical, the philosophic, the romantic, and the scientific are a few. All have value, but to the artist all are secondary in importance to the purely artistic approach. To him the burning questions are "*how* does he (the Chinese artist) say this", and "*why* does he choose this method"? Artists have ways of speaking to each other down the centuries, across barriers of time, of race, of geography, of speech. Their language consists of arrangements of spaces, the rhythm of lines, the balancing of dark and light areas, the handling of colour. The strokes of the brush on silk or paper reveal to them the mind of the painter as surely as does the touch of a musician's fingers on the piano.

The basic element in Chinese painting is the brush stroke. Few foreigners understand its great significance. It was expressive beyond anything we have known in our art. A fundamental concept of the Chinese, going back to the very dawn of history, was that through all nature there runs a great spiritual rhythm, through man, animals, plants, clouds, water, and even mountains and stones. Each thing had its own subsidiary rhythm but it must fit into and harmonize with the others so that (as *we* would express it) all became part of one great symphony. In painting and calligraphy, too, the first aim was to express this "life-movement of the spirit through the rhythm of things", and it was to be done by

means of the brush stroke. The vertical brush, the oblique brush, the dry brush, each had its part to do in expressing this.

The growth of landscape painting and its development under Zen influence was but another story of the attempt to feel and express these hidden rhythms of the universe. Chinese rules of compositions, of perspective, even of portraiture, were formulated with this in mind. This constant striving for spiritual insight into the underlying reality of things resulted in a highly spiritual art, an art which has given the world a revelation of beauty which is universal.

The Temples of Yunnan

A description of these wonderful buildings was given by Madame Gabrielle Vassal, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, in a lecture before the Society on 12th December, 1935.

Yunnan is the most southerly province of China and the furthest away from the seat of government at Peking. The central tableland upon which lies the capital, Yunnanfu, is shut in by high mountains and deep valleys, which make access very difficult. Consequently it has been independent for long periods and has suffered from numberless civil and religious wars. But in spite of revolution and massacre many remarkable monuments have been preserved.

Temple and pagoda of every style and period make Yunnanfu, a holy town, and it is well worth the attention of tourist as well as archæologist. In 1910 the French gave Yunnan an outlet to the sea by means of a railway running from Laokay to Yunnanfu, about 300 miles. It joins their own railway through Tongking to Haiphong.

Among the most wonderful of the Chinese temples in the city are the two tall seventh century pagodas, called "The Towers of Victory". They are, like those at Sian Fu, reproduction of still older wooden pagodas. Within the walls stand also the *Rock Pagoda*, A.D. 649; the *White Tower Pagoda*, A.D. 1280; the *Fish Pagoda*; the *Ox Pagoda*, and

the sumptuous temple in honour of Confucius, thirteenth century. There are also many other temples situated outside the walls: the *Copper Temple*, seventeenth century, which is a very artistic building and built throughout of copper; the modern *Temple of 500 Genii*, as well as *Hei-long-than Temple*, with its garden and the *Si Chan Pagodas*, which are scattered about the mountain-side overlooking the beautiful lake of Yunnanfu.

All these temples and pagodas, be they Buddhist, Taoist, or Confucianist, are good examples of pure Chinese art. At Yunnanfu there exist also the remains of Indian temples of the thirteenth century, and some Lamaistic shrines. While in the north of the province there are other lamaseries of the Tibetan Buddhist faith, where the services are still rendered by lamas and where living oracles ("sung ma") are consulted.

Lidzbarski Trust

At the Oriental Congress held in Rome on 23rd-29th September, Professor P. Kahle of Bonn University made the following announcement: Professor Mark Lidzbarski, well known as an authority on N. Semitic Epigraphy and Mandaic literature, who died in 1928, left by his will a sum of money sufficient to provide a prize of 5,000 gold marks to be awarded for some extensive work dealing with Semitics, especially archaeology and the science of religion, the subject of such work to be announced at every second international Congress of Orientalists, and the prize awarded at the following Congress.

He desired that a Committee for the choice of subjects and assignation of the prize should consist of four persons, of whom the German and the American Oriental Societies, the French Société Asiatique, and the R.A.S. should each appoint one. Administration of the Trust was to be in the hands of the Prussian Kultusministerium, which commissioned Professor Kahle, as manager of the D.M.G., to approach the other Societies. That Society appointed Professor Enno Littmann of Tübingen to serve on the Committee; the S.A.,

Mons. R. Dussaud, Membre de l'Institut ; the American O.S., Professor Ch. Torrey of Yale University ; and the R.A.S., Professor D. S. Margoliouth of Oxford.

It was further desired in the will that at those Congresses at which no prize was awarded, a medal should be presented to some Orientalist of special merit.

In accordance with this latter provision, at the recommendation of the Committee, a medal executed by Karl Dauert of Berlin, and bearing on the obverse the head of Lidzbarski with the legend MARK LIDZBARSKI 1868-1928 and on the reverse LIDZBARSKI-MEDAILLE VERLIEHEN AN NIKOLAUS RHODOKANAKIS AUF DEM XIX. INTERNATIONALEN ORIENTALISTENKONGRESS SEPTEMBER 1935 ROM was awarded to Professor N. Rhodokanakis of Graz University.

The subject selected for a prize composition is "The Additions to our Knowledge of the Aramaic Dialects since the publications of Theodor Nöldeke".

Competitors should send in their works to the Geschäftsführer of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft not later than six months before the next International Congress of Orientalists.

Notices

Copies of every article published in the *Journal* are available for purchase at the time of publication. In the case of a few of the older *Journals* the copies of certain articles are sold out, but in most cases they are still obtainable. The cost varies in accordance with the number of pages and plates ; the average price is about 1s. 6d. each.

Will Library Subscribers whose subscriptions are paid through agents and who desire that their names should appear in the List of Members for next year kindly send their names to the Secretary, either direct or through their agent, before 1st April.

As it has been found necessary, owing to the financial situation, to reduce the number of pages in the *Journal of the R.A.S.* for the present, the space available for reviews of books has been proportionately restricted, and the Editor regrets that he is unable to publish a review of every book presented to the Library of the Society.

Dr. and Mrs. H. G. Quaritch Wales have left England to resume their excavations of the early Indian sites in Siam, under the auspices of the Greater-Indian Research Committee.

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TRANSLITERATION
OF THE
SANSKRIT, ARABIC
AND ALLIED ALPHABETS
TOGETHER WITH
NOTES ON CHINESE AND JAPANESE

THE system of Transliteration of the former, as shown in the Tables given within, is based on that approved by the International ORIENTAL CONGRESS of 1894. A few optional forms have been added so as to adapt it to the requirements of English and Indian scholars. The Council earnestly recommends its general adoption (as far as possible), in this country and in India, by those engaged in Oriental Studies.

SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ	.	.	.	a
आ	.	.	.	ā
इ	.	.	.	i
ई	.	.	.	ī
उ	.	.	.	u
ऊ	.	.	.	ū
ऋ	.	.	.	ṛ or ṝ
ॠ	.	.	.	ṝ or ṝ̄
ऌ	.	.	.	ḷ or ḹ
ॡ	.	.	.	ḹ or ḹ̄
ए	.	.	.	e or ē
ऐ	.	.	.	ai
ओ	.	.	.	o or ō
औ	.	.	.	au
क	.	.	.	ka
ख	.	.	.	kha
ग	.	.	.	ga
घ	.	.	.	gha
ङ	.	.	.	ṅa
च	.	.	.	ca or <u>cha</u> ¹
छ	.	.	.	cha or <u>chha</u> ¹
ज	.	.	.	ja
झ	.	.	.	jha
ञ	.	.	.	ña
ट	.	.	.	ṭa
ठ	.	.	.	ṭha
ड	.	.	.	ḍa
ढ	.	.	.	ḍha
न	.	.	.	na
त	.	.	.	ta
थ	.	.	.	tha
द	.	.	.	da

¹ In modern Indian languages only.

ध	.	.	.	<i>dha</i>
न	.	.	.	<i>na</i>
प	.	.	.	<i>pa</i>
फ	.	.	.	<i>pha</i>
ब	.	.	.	<i>ba</i>
भ	.	.	.	<i>bha</i>
म	.	.	.	<i>ma</i>
य	.	.	.	<i>ya</i>
र	.	.	.	<i>ra</i>
ल	.	.	.	<i>la</i>
व	.	.	.	<i>va</i>
श	.	.	.	<i>śa</i>
ष	.	.	.	<i>ṣa</i>
स	.	.	.	<i>sa</i>
ह	.	.	.	<i>ha</i>
ळ	.	.	.	<i>ḷa</i> or <i>ḷa</i>
• (<i>Anusvāra</i>)	.	.	.	<i>m̐</i>
◌ (<i>Anunāsika</i>)	.	.	.	<i>m̐</i>
:	(<i>visarga</i>)	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
×	(<i>jihvāmūlīya</i>)	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
≈	(<i>upadhmānīya</i>)	.	.	<i>ḥ</i>
§	(<i>avagraha</i>)	.	.	'
<i>Udātta</i>	.	.	.	'
<i>Svarita</i>	.	.	.	'
<i>Anudātta</i>	.	.	.	'

ADDITIONAL FOR MODERN VERNACULARS

ड़	.	.	.	<i>ṛa</i>
ढ़	.	.	.	<i>ṛha</i>

Where, as happens in some modern languages, the inherent *a* of a consonant is not sounded, it need not be written in transliteration. Thus Hindī करता *kartā* (not *karatā*), making; कल *kal* (not *kala*), to-morrow.

The sign ~, a tilde, has long been used by scholars to represent *anunāsika* and *anusvāra* and *nūn-i-qhunna*—when these stand for nasal vowels—in Prakrit and in the modern vernaculars: thus ँ *ā*, ञ *ā*, and so on. It is therefore permitted as an optional use in these circumstances.

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ʾ at beginning of word to be omitted ; hamza elsewhere '
or alternatively, hamza may be represented by ˘ or ˙

ب	b	ط	ṭ or ṭ ¹
ت	t	ظ	ẓ or ẓ ¹
ث	ṭ or <u>th</u>	ع	ʿ
ج	j or <u>dj</u> ¹	غ	g or <u>gh</u>
ح	h	ف	f
خ	ḥ or <u>kh</u>	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	ḏ or <u>dh</u>	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	و	w or v
ش	š or <u>sh</u>	ه	h
ص	ṣ	ي	t or <u>h</u>
ض	ḍ	ي	y

vowels ˘ a, ˙ i, ˙ u

lengthened ˘ ā, ˙ ī, ˙ ū

also ē and ō in Indian dialects, ü and ö in Turkish

Alif maqṣūrah may be represented by ā

diphthongs ˙ ay and ˙ aw, or ˙ ai and ˙ au
respectively

Also in India, in transliterating Indian dialects, and
for Persian, will be recognized š for ش, ẓ for
ظ, and ẓ for ض

wasla ˘

¹ Although allowed by the Geneva system, the use of *dj* for ج in England or India is not recommended ; nor for modern Indian languages should ط be transliterated by ṭ or ظ by ẓ, as these signs are there employed for other purposes.

A final silent *h* need not be transliterated,—thus بندہ *banda* (not *bandah*). When pronounced, it should be written,—thus گناه *gunāh*.

ADDITIONAL LETTERS

Persian, Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

پ	<i>p</i>
چ	<i>c</i> , <i>c</i> , or <i>ch</i>
ژ	<i>z</i> or <i>zh</i>
گ	<i>g</i>

Turkish letters.

ک	when pronounced as <i>y</i> , <i>k</i> is permitted
ن	<i>ñ</i>

Hindī, Urdū, and Paṣhtō.

ت or پ	<i>t</i>
ڈ or د	<i>d</i>
ڑ or ر	<i>r</i>

ں (*nūn-i-ghunna*) ~ as in the case of the Nāgari *anunāsika*

Paṣhtō letters.

ځ	<i>ś</i> , <i>z</i> , <i>ts</i> or <i>dz</i>
ږ	<i>zh</i> or <i>g</i> (according to dialect)
ښ	<i>n</i>
ښ	<i>sh</i> or <i>kh</i> (according to dialect)

HEBREW

א	א = 'a	ד	ד = <i>d</i>
ב	ב = <i>b</i>	ז	ז = <i>d</i>
ב	= <i>b</i>	ה	ה = <i>h</i>
ג	ג = ' <i>g</i> or <i>j</i>	ו	ו = <i>w</i>
ג	= <i>g</i>	ז	ז = <i>z</i>

ㄏ	ح = h	غ = ġ (or r)
	خ = h	ڤ = p
ㄝ	ط = t	ڤ ف = f
	ظ = z	ڤ ص = s
ي	ى = y	ڤ ض = d
ڤ	ك = k	ڤ ق = k or q
ڤ	= k	ڤ ر = r
ل	ل = l	ڤ ش = s
ڤ	م = m	ڤ = t
ڤ	ن = n	ڤ ت = t
ڤ	س = s	ڤ ث = t
ع	ع = 'c'	

CHINESE AND JAPANESE

For Chinese the use of the Wade system is requested, and for Japanese that of the Rōmaji-kwai (Romanization Society).

Authors and Reviewers who use Oriental names, words, or quotations in the text of their writings for the JOURNAL are requested, as a convenience for the general reader, to append a translation (into English) of all quotations and also a transliteration of all names or single words.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S JOURNAL

APRIL, 1936

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1936

PART II.—APRIL

Hindi Folk-Songs

By A. G. SHIRREFF

PANDIT RAM NARESH TRIPATHI. *Kavita Kaumudi*, Part V, *Gram Git.*
Published by Hindi Mandir, Allahabad.

SIR G. A. GRIERSON. "Some Bihari Folk-songs" (*JRAS.*, Vol. XVI,
p. 196).

SIR G. A. GRIERSON. "Some Bhojpuri Folk-songs" (*JRAS.*, Vol. XVIII,
p. 207).

JOGENDRA NATH RAE. "Baiswari Folk-songs" (*JASB.*, 1884, p. 232).

SOME ten years ago a Brahman scholar was travelling by rail from Jaunpur to Allahabad. At a country station there was an incident familiar in those parts: a number of women crowded the platform, weeping and bidding farewell to their men-folk, who were going to Calcutta to find work. Two or three of the women got into the carriage with their husbands, and, as the journey continued, began a song. One line of this made a great impression on the Pandit. "The railway, my rival, has carried away my beloved." A bold metaphor. In the poetry to which he was accustomed, the rival wife with her interference would be compared to the swan with its mythical power of dividing milk from water. But, after all, was not the railway simile much more natural and vigorous? The swan simile was part of the stock in trade of centuries of poets, and required a special education and tradition for its understanding. The railway simile spoke from the heart to the heart.

This incident (as he has described it) was the turning point in the literary life of Pandit Ram Naresh Tripathi, who had already made his mark as the editor of a scholarly library of selections from Sanskrit, Hindi, and Urdu literature (the first four volumes of his *Kavita Kaumudi*). He had known the folk-songs of the Eastern districts of the United Provinces from his childhood, but only as a subject for ridicule. They offended against the laws of prosody and grammar; they were composed by low caste and illiterate persons for their like, and, what was even worse, by women for women. But now he realized that they were real poetry, and, with the zeal of a convert, he set to work to study and collect them. For four years he toured in the villages of Benares, Azamgarh, Ballia, Ghazipur, and Jaunpur, spending (in his own words) more time, health, and wealth than he could afford, and gaining in exchange between ten and twelve thousand songs and a priceless experience of village life.

The result is a very remarkable book, the *Gram Git*, in which he has edited a selection of about 300 songs, those which appealed to him most as poetry or folk-lore. In an interesting introduction he describes his song-pilgrimage; we see him sitting beneath his umbrella on the knife-edge boundary of a rice field, scribbling notes of the songs sung by the weeding women, and sometimes, in the excitement of capturing a fresh lay, toppling over into the mud and slush below him. Or again standing, like Jonathan Oldbuck, outside a Chamar's cottage to record a ballad of love and chivalry recited by an aged crone. The strange phenomenon of a Brahman gentleman spending his time in such pursuits received different interpretations; he was an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department, a fugitive from justice, or a town Lothario bent on village intrigue.

The songs are arranged in classes according to the occasions on which they are sung, and they are accompanied by workman-like renderings in simple Hindi prose. The metre is rough and ready, but the language itself (Eastern Hindi).

is musical and expressive : it is a language which calls a spade a spade in the sense that there is one word for each material object, each action or each sentiment described, and that word is the right one, which is to say that this is folk-poetry, and folk-poetry at its best. The songs are natural and dramatic, and abound in pathos and humour, in romance and tragedy. Again and again, in reading them, one is struck by resemblances to the folk-poetry of other countries. Now it is Annie Laurie (before Burns improved her) :—

“She’s backit like the peacock ; she’s breistit like the swan,”—except that the Indian Annie¹ has a nose like a parrot’s beak and fingers like bunches of bananas—which are just as beautiful no doubt. Or we have what is almost a translation of that most dainty of German folk-songs, “Und schau ich hin, so schaut du her : Das macht mein Herz so schwer, so schwer,” in “Main chitawati tu chitawat nahin rahi rahi ji ghabrae.”² Or we hear an echo of “Edward, Edward !” in the tragedy of the brother’s murder, “Why does your brand sae drip wi’ bluid ?” To which the Indian Edward replies, much as his Scots prototype did, “I have killed a roedeer.”³

Pandit Ram Naresh is not actually the first in the field. Fifty years ago Sir George Grierson (then Magistrate of Patna) collected a number of similar songs, as sung in the neighbouring districts of Bihar, which he published in the two articles referred to in the heading. For a full account of the language and metre of these songs, of the classes into which they are divided, and the occasions on which they are sung, the reader should refer to these articles. But it was Pandit Ram Naresh who first brought to the attention of his fellow countrymen the wealth of poetry which they possess in these songs—poetry which he boldly prefers to that of Valmiki, of Kalidasa, even of Tulsi Das himself. His work may have far-reaching

¹ *Gram Git*, p. 77.

² *Gram Git*, p. 471.

³ *Gram Git*, p. 264.

results on Hindi poetry, as Percy's *Reliques* and the rediscovery of the Scots ballads and songs had on English poetry in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the translations which follow, my aim has been to give as accurate a rendering as possible in a form which may remind English readers of folk poetry with which they are more familiar. In some cases I have omitted a verse or two, but there was seldom any occasion for this, as the songs are remarkable for a brevity which is rare in Hindi narrative poetry. Here, for instance, is a masterpiece of compactness, a complete tragi-comedy of real life in four lines :—

¹ Black, black horse : Handsome rider (such as) sets up his standard in Kurukshetra.

The mother opens the window and sees him—" Would I had ten more daughters."

The wedding finished : the vermilion line on head : dower of nine lakhs too little :

She throws all the vessels out of the house—" I would not that my enemy had a daughter ! "

The ballad which follows² calls to mind " The Three Ravens " (the tenderer English version of the " Twa Corbies ") in which the " fallow deer " bears home the body of the slain knight.

THE FAITHFUL DOE

A green tree stands in the fair forest
Wi' leaves sae thick and fine O.
Beneath it lies a bonny doe
In mickle dule and pine O.

A bonny roe deer is grazing by :
" My love, what gars you greet O ?
Oh do ye lack for the green pasture
Or for the water sweet O ? "

¹ *Gram Git*, p. 152. Wedding Song 12.

² *Gram Git*, p. 48. Birth Song 25.

“ I do not lack for the green pasture
Nor for the water clear O,
But oh, my love, 'tis for your life
I am in deadly fear O.

“ A week sinsyne a Prince was born,
This day will the name-day be O,
And for the feast in the King's palace
I fear me ye maun dee O.”

The Queen was sitting upon her stule
All in her bower sae fair O,
When in there came the bonny wee doe
And meekly made her prayer O.

A boon, A boon my lady Queen,
I crave a boon of thee O ;
They are seething venison in thy kitchen ;
The hide pray give to me O.

“ I will hang the hide uptil a bough
All in the forest fair O,
And aye as I see it my heart will think
My bonny roe deer is there O.”

“ Awa, awa, ye silly doe !
Ye's get no hide frae me O.
My babe maun hae a bonny drum
To play sae merrily O.”

Whene'er she hears the sound of the drum
All in the forest fair O,
The bonny wee doe thinks on her love
And sighs and sobs sae sair O.

In the original, the Queen is Kausilya and her baby is Rama. Divine and legendary persons are treated in these ballads as ordinary human beings, much as in our medieval carols and nativity plays. The ballads in fact go further, and introduce any representative husband and wife as Rama and Sita, any father-in-law as Dasrath, and so forth.

Here is a ballad which reduces heroic figures to the level of everyday life in a notable way. In the Epic story Queen Kaikeyi obtained a boon from King Dasrath in virtue of her having replaced with her arm the broken axle of his chariot when he was battling with a demon. The boon was utilized to obtain the banishment of Rama. In the ballad the story is made to turn on a much more homely incident.

KAIKEYI'S WISH¹

Clop-clip-clop in his garden close
On his clogs of gold King Dasrath goes.

And as he wanders to and fro
A thorn runs into his royal toe.

"Whoever relieves me of my pain
Shall not ask for a boon in vain."

Out of the palace Kaikeyi trips
Dainty and trim to her finger tips.

"I will pull out the thorn and relieve your pain
If you grant the boon for which I am fain."

She pulls out the thorn with her fingers fair.
"Now, your Majesty, grant my prayer."

"Let Rama be to the forest sent
And Lachhman too in banishment,

"And let Prince Bharat, our son so dear,
Be lord and king in Ajudhya here."

"O lady, you know not what you ask;
To grant your prayer is a grievous task.

"His mother's pride, his father's stay,
My thoughts on Rama are fixed alway.

"He is in my mind and in my heart.
How can I live if Rama depart?"

¹ *Gram Git*, p. 103. Birth Song 58.

The following song is strangely reminiscent of the carol
"The Seven Joys of Mary".

SITA'S WISHES ¹

The first good thing that Sita wished, it was that she might be
The wedded wife of Rama and love him faithfully.

And Sita's wish was granted :

God gave her what she wanted :

As Sita's wish was granted, so may our wishes be.

The next good thing that Sita wished, it was that she might be
The mother of two bonny boys, and live in mirth and glee.

And Sita's wish was granted :

God gave her what she wanted :

As Sita's wish was granted, so may our wishes be.

The third good thing that Sita wished, it was that she might be
A happy wife throughout her life, no widowhood to dree.

And Sita's wish was granted :

God gave her what she wanted :

As Sita's wish was granted, so may our wishes be.

Pandit Ram Naresh finds in some of the wedding songs indications of a better age when child marriage was unknown. In these ballads as a whole there are very few historical dates or allusions. In some, the stage appears to be set in the times of Muhammadan conquest, for instance the following, in which the marriage of a Brahman maiden to a youth who would appear to be a Rajput is also perhaps a point of antiquarian interest.

THE FOREST BRIDAL ²

"O bridegroom, mount on your horse and ride

Under the greenwood tree.

With sword and buckler by your side "

Under the greenwood tree.

"Who is it hides in the forest glade ? "

"It is I, fair sir, a Brahman maid.

¹ *Gram Git*, p. 142. Wedding Song 4.

² *Gram Git*, p. 153. Wedding Song 13.

"From the fierce Moghuls I hide in fear.
They have slain my sire and my brother dear."

He lifts her behind him on his horse.
They ride a weary, weary course.

A weary, weary course they take.
"Ah for some water my thirst to slake!"

"Oh! the wells are dry and the pools are mud,
And water is worth its weight in blood."

He gazed afar from a vantage height;
"I see a fountain of water bright.

"I see a fountain of water fair;
But fifty Moghuls are standing there."

"Oh, if you love me, for love's sake
Bring me a drop, my thirst to slake."

On one side fifty Moghuls stand,
On the other the Raja, sword in hand.

Fifty Moghuls lie bathed in gore:
He stands alone, the conqueror.

Of the greenwood leaves he makes a cup:
"Drink, my pretty one, drink it up."

She sat her down in a shady place;
With a silken scarf he fanned her face.

"You have saved what is more to me than life;
You have saved my honour and won a wife."

A wreath of flowers for his neck she wove
Under the greenwood tree,
And chose him there for her lord and love
Under the greenwood tree.

The refrains which are attached to most of these songs are generally meaningless jingles: in this case, however, "under the greenwood tree" is a translation of "Yahi ran ban men" of the original.

There is a similar historical environment, but no such happy ending, in the ballad of Bhagabati,¹ of which Sir George Grierson gives a translation in his *Bihari Folksongs*. The story has also been retold in verse by Sir Edwin Arnold. Bhagabati, a Rajput maiden, after saving her brother, Horil Singh, by promising to become the wife of a Muhammadan conqueror, throws herself into a tank and is drowned. In Pandit Ram Naresh's collection besides the version given by Sir George Grierson there are several variants of this story, collected in different districts: in one,² the Muhammadan oppressor has become a Hindu: in another,³ by a remarkable anachronism, he makes use of British troops to accomplish his evil purpose:—

“ The Firingis came from the East and the West ;
 They set up their barracks at Dinapur
 The Mirza said to the Sahib, ‘ Send for Horil Singh and
 seize him.’ ”

There is one ballad which definitely dates from the days of the Mutiny, the ballad of “tough-hearted old Kunwar Singh who led the Shahabad Rajputs against the English in the Mutiny”.⁴ The ballad does not relate the actual death of Kunwar Singh; he was killed in the battle, after he had cut off his own arm, shattered by a cannon ball, and thrown it into the Ganges. The rough doggerel of the original, which I have tried to imitate, with its shouting refrain, is strangely reminiscent of a *laisse* of the *Chanson de Roland*, with its battle-cry of “Ahoy!”

KUNWAR SINGH ⁵

Kunwar Singh wrote to Amar Singh his brother

“ Brother, give heed to the word I say. Ho Ram !

“ Whoso bites on the leathern cartridge

Throws his Kshattriya caste away.” Ho Ram !

¹ *Gram Git*, p. 368. Weeding Song 3. Grierson, “ Bihari Folk-songs,” xvi.

² *Gram Git*, p. 379.

³ *Gram Git*, p. 381.

⁴ Grierson, “ Bhojpuri Folk-songs.” ⁵ *Gram Git*, p. 266. Mill Song 14.

Kunwar Singh, the elder, and Amar Singh, the younger,
 Brothers of Kshattriya breed were they. Ho Ram !

Kunwar Singh, true to his word of honour,
 Faced the Firangis in the fray. Ho Ram !

Out from Dinapure marched the Firangis ;
 At Koilwar their army lay. Ho Ram !

"Kunwar Singh, yield thy rule in Barharwa ;
 Countless cannon on thee shall play." Ho Ram !

Up to his face his kerchief holding,
 Kunwar Singh weeping went on his way. Ho Ram !

"In my old age I go forth to battle.
 What will the issue be, who shall say ?" Ho Ram !

Some of the most striking of these ballads are the most difficult to present in an adequate English form. There is a group of ballads¹ on the theme of the "Cruel Brother". An elder brother, for love of his sister-in-law, kills his younger brother in the forest, where he has taken him on the pretence of hunting. The widow, by promising to become the murderer's wife, persuades him to lead her to where the body lies, and there becomes Sati. The tragedy is brought out by simple and dramatic language :—

All the others' horses came back prancing with joy :
 Her lord's horse came back weeping.

"You were wont to come back both together :
 How is it, brother of my lord, that you come back to-day
 alone ?

How are your shoes wet, brother of my lord ?
 How is your sword wet ?"

"It is dew that has wet my shoes, wife of my brother :
 It was in hunting a roedeer that I wet my sword."

"Tell me the truth, brother of my lord :
 Tell me, and I shall be faithful to you and to none other.
 Where did you slay him ? where did you throw him ?
 Where do the kites circle above him ?"

¹ *Gram Git*, pp. 264, 310, 343, 381. Mill Song 13, 27, 37. Weeding Song 4. Grierson, "Bhojpuri Folk-songs," xlv (Basti Singh).

The ballad of "Edward, Edward!" was (says Bishop Percy) "transmitted to the editor by Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., late Lord Hailes," and the latter is by some suspected of having written it himself or refashioned it from verses now lost. If so, he might perhaps have made an English ballad from the Hindi materials. I shall not attempt it.

Another group deals with the sorrows of a wife who is ill-treated in her husband's house. Her brother visits her, and either takes her home ¹ (in this version they are both drowned on the way), or returns alone ² to be rebuked by his mother for not bringing her, or ³ slays the husband (a variant of the "Cruel Brother" theme—though in the English "Cruel Brother" it is the sister who is slain). Or ⁴ we have merely the domestic scene in the "sasural", the wife's conversation with her mother-in-law, who grudges her suitable food to celebrate her brother's visit, and her lament to her brother, how she has to do all the work of the house and is fed on scraps.

Some more examples may be quoted to show how these songs illustrate the humour and pathos of everyday village life.

THE FARMER'S BRIDE ⁵

On the high-road side a farmer's bride
Was drawing water from the well,
When a fine young lord rode by that way :
A crafty tale he had to tell.

" Oh I hae rade East and I hae rade West.
And I hae rade through the haill countrie,
But never saw I a lady fair
That her husband used sae shamefullie.

¹ *Gram Git*, p. 429. Swing Song 26.

² Grierson, " Bhojpuri Folk-songs," xliv.

³ *Gram Git*, p. 293. Mill Song 22.

⁴ *Gram Git*, p. 424. Swing Song 25.

⁵ *Gram Git*, p. 58. Birth Song 33.

"Can there be ane wi' a hairt of stane
That has a wife sae winsome sweet
And sends her oot in the noonday sun
To thole sic toil in the blazing heat ?

"Gin thou wert mine, come rain come fine,
I'd guard thee weel and thou wad rest
Safe as the apple of mine e'e
Or as the hairt within my breast."

"And gin thou were mine, thou lordling fine,
That speaks sic shame to a wedded wife,
I wad make thee carry my husband's shoon,
And be his bondman a' thy life."

(In the original, the young Lord (Rajputwa) suggests that the woman's husband must be away from home, and that it is her mother-in-law who is ill-treating her.)

GET UP, GUDAMAN¹

"Get up, gudeman, the coo is loose,
'Tis ye maun gae and find her.
Do on yer duds and quit the hoose.
What ailed ye no to bind her ?"

"Oh wives and coos are kittle to keep.
What gart her burst her tether ?
What gars ye wauk me frae my sleep
In siccan awfu' weather ?"

"Gudeman, gin ye had sold the coo
And coft me jewels bricht,
Ye micht ha' lain abed the noo
And slept the leelang nicht."

"And gin I could sell my wife at the fair
And buy a sack o' corn,
The coo wad stray for grass nae mair,
And I wad sleep till morn."

¹ *Gram Git*, p. 184. Wedding Song 25.

It was after adopting the lowland Scots dialect for some of these translations that I found good authority for so doing in Legge's translations from what is the oldest collection of folk-songs in the world, the Chinese Shi King. In one of these¹ the theme (and part of the actual words) is, as in my song, "Get up, gudeman." Probably Legge had in mind, as I had, the old Scots song, "Get up and bar the door," with which (and also with "Tak your auld cloak about ye") both the Chinese and the Hindi songs have much in common.

For the Englishman there are traditionally three duties : to build a house (with an alternative, to write a book), to plant a tree, and to beget a child. For the Hindu there are five meritorious acts : to make a well, to plant a grove, to dig a tank, to beget a son, and to marry a daughter. Each of these is referred to in one of the verses of the following song.

REWARDS²

"There comes a reward for making a well."

"When, tell me when?"

"When maidens throng round it, their pitchers to fill ;
Then, lady, then."

"There comes a reward for planting a grove."

"When, tell me when?"

"When wayfarers eat of the fruit thereof ;
Then, lady, then."

"There comes a reward for digging a tank."

"When, tell me when?"

"When cattle are crowding to drink from its bank ;
Then, lady, then."

¹ Quoted in Clement F. R. Allen's "The Chinese Book of the Odes for English Readers," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVI, p. 455.

² *Gram Git*, p. 74. Birth Song 43.

"There comes a reward for a girl being born."

"When, tell me when?"

"When she gives birth to a boy in her turn;
Then, lady, then."

"There comes a reward for the birth of a boy."

"When, tell me when?"

"When to the world he brings blessing and joy;
Then, lady, then."

I will close with a song sung by women weeding the fields, in which the Frog Prince of Grimm's fairy-tales seems to partake of the fortunes and fate of the frog in the nursery rhyme.

A FROG HE WOULD A-WOOING GO.¹

The good wife lifted her pitcher to land
With a hey and a ho.
Out jumped a frog, and caught hold of her hand.
With a hey nonnyno.

"Oh please, kind Sir, let me go," she cried.

"My goodman's sister shall be your bride."

Hoppity hop to the house came he.

"Give me the bride you promised me."

"How shall I give you my sister sweet
When you have neither blanket nor sheet?"

He went to the market, hoppity hop,
And bought the best in the draper's shop.

And hoppity hop to the house came he.

"Give me the bride you promised me."

"How shall I give you my sister dear
When you have neither house nor gear?"

He went to the carpenter's hoppity hop

"The finest wood you must saw and chop.

¹ *Gram Git*, p. 393. Weeding Song 7.

“ Build me a palace and fill it with gear
Fit for a bride who is sweet and dear.”

Hoppity hop to the house came he.

“ Now give me the bride you promised me.”

“ How shall I give you my sister dear
With none of the village headmen here ? ”

Hoppity hop to the village he sped.

“ Come all you headmen and see me wed.”

Hoppity hop he came back with them all,
And in he hopped to the wedding hall.

The headmen sat on each side of the room.
In the middle sat master Frog, the groom.

When down came a kite and took him away,
With a hey and a ho.

And that was the end of his wedding day.
With a hey nonnyno.

These few extracts must suffice to give an idea of the value of Pandit Ram Naresh's labours. These labours continue, and his net has been thrown wider. He wrote to me lately that he had returned from Southern and Western India with a large collection of folk-songs, and that he has been looking forward to some Society's taking up the burden of publication, the last volume having meant for him a financial loss. He also inquires whether the expenses of a journey to England in order to supervise the publication of selected translations are likely to be defrayed by the proceeds. I fear not, but I take the opportunity of broadcasting the suggestion.



The Combat of 'Aleyân-Ba'al and Môt

Two missing portions

By THEODOR H. GASTER

A LUCKY find in 1933 enables us to supply the missing beginning and end of the long Ras Shamra tablet printed in *JRAS.*, October, 1932.

It will be remembered that this text was the libretto of a ritual pantomime in which Autumn Rains ('Aleyân-Ba'al) defeated Summer Drought (Môt) and regained supremacy over the earth. Each incident of the myth corresponded to a scene in the pantomime, and only upon this basis could the text be interpreted.

The new extracts have been published by Virolleaud in the periodical *Syria*, xv (1934), fasc. 3, but are here presented according to the writer's own interpretation.

The first describes how the goddess 'Anat performed the funeral rites over the ousted Ba'al. She erected monuments to him, gashed her flesh and uttered lamentations. Then she dug furrows in the soil to prepare for his resurrection.

Summoning the aid of the Lady Sun (Shapash), she descended into the netherworld and rescued the dead god. Then she interred him on the holy hill of the gods and performed sacrifices.

This incident corresponds to that of the ritual in which the burial and subsequent restoration of the god was enacted. Analogies in the Osiris, Attis, and Adonis cults are well known.

The second extract is fragmentary. It describes how the Lady Sun is entreated (by Môt ?) to eat the bread of the underworld, it being represented to her that she has yet sufficient resources to worst the netherworld powers.

This is a regular element in the myth of the *Descensus ad Inferos*. The underworld powers try to entice the "saviour" into eating the bread of death. This prevents his return.

The reason why it is here the Sun who descends is because the pantomime was enacted at the autumn solstice, when the Sun was believed to descend into the earth.

For the student of Semitic folklore the present extracts have special importance inasmuch as they furnish a Semitic version of the Adonis ritual and of the Descensus ad Inferos.

Further, there is mention in them of the Rephaim or "shades" of the Old Testament, and of a fight with Tanin, the Dragon.

I

לבעל |

ערי באבון | חר | [פסלתם | [ביער] |

תהדי | לחם ודקן | [תשלש] |

קן | שדעה | תחרש כם נן

אפלב | בעמק תשלש במת |

בעל מת | מי לאם | בן דגן |

מי המלת | אשר בעל | נרד

בארץ עמה | תרד נרת

אלם שפש | עד תשבע בכ |

10 תשת כן אדמעת | גם

תצח לנרת אלם שפש |

עמם לי אלאין בעל |

תשמע נרת אלם שפש |

תשא אלאין בעל | לכתף

15 ענת כ תשתה | תשעלינה

בצורת צפען | תבכינה

ותקברנה | תשתן בחרת |

אלם ארץ | תטבח | שבעם

ראמם | כגמן | אלאין בעל |

	אלפם	שבעם	תטבח	20
	בעל	אלאין	כגמן	
	צאן	שבעם	תטבח	
	בעל	אלאין	כגמן	
	אילם	שבעם	תטבח	
בעל	אלאין		כגמן	25
שבעם	יעלם		תטבח	
אלאין	בעל		כגמן	
חמרם			תטבח שבעם	

(The restorations follow Virolleaud.)

N.B.—The metre is 3 + 3, as frequently in the Old Testament. The *stichoi* are here marked by the vertical stroke.

I

She sets up a pillar unto Baal in the highland,
two graven stones on the plateau.

Cheek and chin she gashes ;

she raises a threefold dirge for her mate.

She scores furrows in the . . . like a garden,
triple furrows in the upland like a valley,

(crying)

“Baal now is dead ! . . .

Who now will be the comrade
of Ben-Dagan ?

How is she now made desolate,
the shrine-mate of Baal !

Let us go down into the earth after him ! ”

Goes down the Lady Sun,¹

the Light of the Gods,
the while she is sated with weeping
and drinks in tears like wine.

¹ Shapash.

Then speaks she to Lady Sun,
 that Light of the Gods :
 " Load upon me Baal Puissant !¹ . . . "

Hearkens the Lady Sun,
 the Light of the Gods,
 She raises Baal Puissant
 upon the shoulder of 'Anat.
 When she has placed him thereon,
 'Anat brings him up.
 In the Navel of the North²
 she bewails him and inters him ;
 She orders burning of incense to the gods of
 the netherworld.

She slaughters wild-oxen
 threescore and ten ;
 Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
 then slaughters she oxen
 threescore and ten ;
 Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
 then slaughters she sheep
 threescore and ten ;
 Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
 then slaughters she harts
 threescore and ten ;
 Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
 then slaughters she mountain-goats
 threescore and ten ;
 Unto Baal Puissant as an offering,
 then slaughters she asses
 threescore and ten . . .

¹ Aleyan-Baal.

² Zaphon.

COMMENTARY

¹ עֵר, as a parallel to פסלתם, can only be the Arabic غَر "bedaubed stone", often set up as a religious monument; v. Robertson-Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 157, 201, 210. The word may be detected in Hebrew in Micah, v, 13: וְנִתְּשָׁתִי אֲשֶׁרֶךְ מִקְרָגֶךְ וְהִשְׁמַדְתִּי עִירֶךְ (usually emended to עֲצָבֶיךָ).

² אֲבָן, as a parallel to יַעַר, must be used in the sense of Assyrian *abnu* "peak, crag", and Hebrew אֶבֶן in Genesis, xlix, 24. Cf. Arabic mountain-name أبان.

^{2a} תֵּד Cf. As. *nadu* "deposit".

³ פסלתם: The dual is explained by the fact that sacred stones in Semitic antiquity were often set up in pairs. Cf. the *ghariyan* at Faid and Hira; Robertson-Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, locc. citt.; Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 43.

⁴ יַעַר, like the Arabic وعى, does not necessarily mean a woodland (as in Hebrew יַעַר), but denotes any intractable stretch of land.

⁵ תִּדְדִי What is here described is the familiar "cuttings for the dead"; cf. Deut. xiv, 1; 1 Kings, xviii, 28; Jer., xvi, 6; xlvii, 5. Cf. also Isaiah, xv, 2 (נָדַע וְקָן), and Jer., xlviii, 37 (נָרַע וְקָן). On this rite in pre-Islamic usage cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 161. For parallels, including the Roman "radere genas", v. Driver, *Deut.*, p. 156.

The verb וְדִי must hence connect with Arabic هَدَّ and هَدَأ "cut, sever, amputate", on the analogy of נָדַד and נָדַע.

⁶ דִּקָּן; as in Arabic ذقن "chin", balancing لَحْم "cheeks."

⁷ תִּשְׁלֵשׁ קָן "she raises a threefold lament". In illustration of this it is worth noting that in the Poem of Shalem-Shahar from Ras Shamra (Ginsberg, *JRAS.*, Jan., 1935; Gaster, *Stud. e. Mat. n. Storia d. Religione*, Jan., 1935) the god Môt is bewailed in a threefold dirge. However, תִּשְׁלֵשׁ may have the wider meaning of "manifold"; cf. BH. בְּדַמְעוֹת שְׁלִישׁ (Ps. lxxx, 6). Cf. Greek *τριπλόθης* "Adonis".

⁸ קָן: not merely "lamentation" but more specifically "dirge"; cf. Ethiopic ቀረ "song", and Arabic قَيْتَة "songstress".

The reference here is to the ritual ululation, on which v. Eitrem, *Beiträge*, iii, 44 sqq.; Jane Harrison, *Themis*, 160.

⁹ שִׁרְעָה: This word, which has puzzled Virolleaud, is a noun formed from the Shaf'el base of רָעַי "unite". Cf. exactly Ethiopic ሰረጸ "bridegroom", and BH. רֵעַ ("friend") and רַעִיה. Perhaps

also cf. Ar. "wife, consort". Thus the meaning is "her mate", and we must regard Aleyan-Baal as the Tammuz-like lover of 'Anat.

¹⁰ **אֶפֶלֶב**: it is difficult to determine what is here indicated.

Presumably, 'Anat digs furrows in the "high place" (cf. **בִּמְצָא**... **וְזָרַעְתָּ**) and in something analogous to it described in the mysterious complex **אֶפֶלֶב**. This may quite conceivably refer to the act of "ploughing the Adonis-field" or the "field of Osiris" and sowing it with seed in order to achieve his resurrection. For this as an Osirian mystery-rite, cf. Moret, *La Mise à Mort du Roi en Egypte*, p. 39.

The meaning of **אֶפֶלֶב** is unknown. If it be a single word it is evidently non-Semitic, and probably imported from the technical vocabulary of some foreign mystery-cult adopted in the Semitic sanctuary at Ugarit (Ras Shamra).

¹¹ **בַּעַל מַת**: there is additional point in this cry when it is remembered that **בַּעַל** and **מוֹת** are mutually antithetical terms, the former equating with Ar. **بعل** "fertile soil", and the latter with **מוֹת** "sterile soil" (v. fully our remarks in *Archiv Orientali*, v, 119).

This cry answers to such a ritual cry in the mysteries as e.g. "the great god Pan is dead" or *ἀπώλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνις*.

¹² **לֵאֵם** "friend, companion", from rt. **לֵאֵם**, Ar. **لأي**, Assyrian *lāmu* "bind"; cf. semasiologically Heb. **חֵבֵר** (from **חָבַר**); **אֱלֹהִים** (from **אֵלֶּה** = Ar. **ألف**, Assyrian *alāpu*), etc.

¹³ **בֶּן דָּגַן** is again mentioned in 1 AB., l. 24, but we await further light concerning him.

¹⁴ **הַמִּלְלָה** "desolate". Cf. Arabic **ممل** and Hebrew **מַלְלָה**.

¹⁵ **אֶשֶׁר בַּעַל**: lit. "shrine of Baal", a regular paraphrase for 'Anat in other parts of the poem (1 AB., ii, 9, 30; 2 AB., iv, 18). Mentioned also in the list of deities, RS., 1929, xvii.

This means literally "shrine-mate of Baal"; cf. the South-Arabian style *Moṭab Naṣiyan*, *Moṭab Kbī*, and *Moṭab Madgab*, as well as the Egyptian *Hathor* = *Ht. Hr.* "house of Horus".

¹⁶ **עִמָּה**: not "with him", but "after him", since **עִם** in this language always means "toward", like BH. **לְעִמָּתָא**. For the construction cf. 1932, ii, last line **שֶׁנִּשְׁלַח בְּסִפְרִי עִמִּי** and *ibid.*, i, 10: **לֵאךְ עִמִּי** "send a message to me".

¹⁷ **תִּשְׁעֲלִינָה בְּצִרְרַת צִפְעָן**; cf. 1 AB., i, 29: **תִּשְׁעֲלִינָה בְּצִרְרַת צִפְעָן** since **צִרְרַת צִפְעָן**, abode of the gods, is on a mountain-top; v. our note 25 in *JRAS.*, 1932, 880.

צֶרֶת links up with Arabic ضَرْة and Assyrian *surru* "navel", and connects with the widespread idea that the abode of the gods (e.g. Jerusalem, Mt. Gerizim, Delos) is the navel or "omphalos" of the earth; cf. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth* (1917). צָפֶן indicates the northern area; cf. *Amurru* "the Westland" and *Kedem* "the Eastland".

¹⁸ ותקברנה and תבכינה: For the juxtaposition cf. Job, xxvii, 15: שְׂרִידוֹ בְּמִיתָ יִקְבְּרוּ וְאִלְמְנוֹתָיו לֹא תִבְכֶּינָה which must be translated: "those that survive him shall be buried at death with no widows bewailing them."

^{18a} בַּחֲרָת "incense-burning". Cf. Arabic بَحْر; As. *baḥāru* (v. Langdon, *Menologies*, p. 16, n. 1).

¹⁹ תַּטְבַּח in the sense "sacrifice, slaughter"; so in *Shalem-Shahar*, i, 14.

²⁰ נִמְן meaning uncertain. Virolleaud acutely compares נִמְיָאֲנִי ("drink up") in Gen., xxiv, 17, which is again spelt without final Aleph in the Samaritan text. The reference will then be to Aleyan-Baal's drinking up the blood of the sacrifices.

The difficulty about this is that נִמַּא is apparently itself merely a softened form of נִמַּע, as in Aramaic and as in Arabic جَم. Hence it can scarcely be treated as a genuine נ"ל verb, with an alternative cognate form medial Waw. Bauer suggests that כְּנִמֵּן = BH. כְּנִמַּל "as an offering of repayment (unto)", the interchange of *lamed* with *nun* being paralleled in other instances.

²¹ אֵיל: Since Heb. אֵיל "ram" appears in *RS.* as אֵל (2 AB., vi, 42, and ? 2 AB., i, 31), this must be a word where the medial yod is radical. Hence it is Hebrew אֵיל; Ar. إَيْل; Ethiopic ሀፋል; Syriac ܐܝܠ; Assy. *ajalu* "hart".

II

פֶּאֶת
 קִבְּאֶת
 דִּאֲנֶשֶׁת 40
 וְלִתְבֵּאֶל לְתִשְׁתַּקֵּל
 וְטִיִּי אֶף לְתִלְחֵם
 וְלִחֵם תִּרְמַמֵּת לְתִשְׁתַּקֵּל
 וְתַעֲצִית שֶׁשֶׁשׁ

45 רַסְאִים תַּחַתְךָ |
 שֶׁשׁ תַּחַתְךָ אֱלֹנִים |
 עֹדְךָ אֱלִים הֵן מֵתִים |
 עֹדְךָ כְּשֶׁרִים חֲבֹרְךָ |
 וְחֹסֶם דַּעַתְךָ |
 50 בִּים " אֶרֶשׁ וְתִגֵּן |
 כְּשֶׁר וְחֹסֶם יָדְךָ |
 יִתְרִי כְּשֶׁר וְחֹסֶם |

38: מֵאֵת? Virolleaud.

41: *ipse supplevi.*

(Three broken lines)

" dost come, dost hie;
 from afar!
 Moreover, now eat thou the bread of corruption,
 Now drink thou the wine of decay!

O Lady Sun, the shades are under thee;
 O Lady Sun, under thee are the Hollow Men!
 At thy side are the gods; behold, the dead are
 At thy side; forsooth, Kashir is thy henchman
 And Hasis thy company!
 Into the sea both Monster and Dragon
 Doth Kashir-cum-Hasis hurl,
 Doth Kashir-cum-Hasis make to spring!". . .

In this speech Môt endeavours to entice the Sun-goddess (Shapash) to eat the fatal bread of the dead, which, once eaten, prevents release from the netherworld. He urges upon her that even if she do so she still has sufficient power to vanquish its hosts, in view of the fact that Kashir-cum-Hasis is her henchman, able to cast into the sea the great dragons.

This episode of enticement is a regular motif in tables of the "Descensus ad Inferos" and occurs in all the better-known forms, as does also the vanquishing of the dragons. This last is mentioned both in the Old and New Testaments (cf. Is., li, 9; Ps., lxxiv, 13; Rev., xx, 3).

This extract contains Mōt's reply to the following speech of the Sun-goddess, Shapash (1 AB. vi, 24 ff.):

"Hearken, pray, unto me

O Mōt, son of the gods!

How canst thou now contend

Against Ba'al Puissant?

How doth not thy sire,

Even El, the Great Bull

Now claim thy submission?

Lo, he uprooteth the portals of thy dwelling,

Lo, he overturneth the throne of thy dominion,

Lo, he breaketh in sunder the sceptre of thy sway!"

The first part of Mōt's reply is contained in a fragmentary passage which follows:

יִרְדּוּ בֶן אֱלֹהִים <ם> מֵתָּה שְׁתַּעֲ ¹
 דָּד אֱלֹהִים עֶזְרָה יַעֲרִי ² מֵתָּה
 בְּקִלָּהּ ³ יִי . . . [אֱלֹהִים]
 בַּעַל יִשְׁשָׁבֶן [לְכַסָּא]
 מִלְכָּה לִּי . . . [כַּחֲשָׁ]
 דְּרַכְתָּח ⁴ . . .

(1 AB. vi, 30-5).

Then Mōt, the son of the gods,

Proceeded, he made smooth talk,

Yea, Ġazar, the darling of El

Made protestation (thus):

"Now Ba'al (Puissant goes up),

He sits throned (on the throne of) his kingdom,

Lo, he is now (ascended

To the dais of) his dominion! . . .

After three broken lines the speech continues as in the present fragment.

¹ שְׁתַּע secondary from שַׁע in orig. sense. Cf. Syriac ܫܬܐ (in Ethpa'el) "converse".

² יַעֲרִי בְּקִלָּה Cf. Aram. עָרַר, NH. עָרַע "utter a protestation".

The opening lines of the new text are beyond restoration, but their contents may be deduced from the analogous passage, 2 AB. iv, 31 ff., where El welcomes Asherat:

"How hast thou journeyed forth,
O Asherat, Queen of the Sea,
How art thou now arrived,
O Mistress of the Gods!
Very hungry art thou and hast been roaming,
Yea, blindly hast thou wandered (?) and strayed!
Behold, here is bread and here is drink," etc.

In the present text the words **לחבא לחשחקל** ("lo, thou art come, lo hiest hither") answer to **לחבא לחשחקל** in that passage, whilst **לחבא לחשחקל** suggests the equivalent of the phrase "blindly hast thou wandered (?) and strayed", the word **לחבא** linking with Arabic **طرا** "come from afar".

COMMENTARY

לחשחקל According to Virolleaud (*Syria*, xv, 238) **שקל** occurs often in RS., and means "come, hie". I would compare Syriac **ܫܠܐ** which renders BH. **שָׁלַח** in Pesh. Numbers, ix, 18; Ps. lxxviii, 52; and Greek **μετῆγεν** in Matthew, xix, 1.

לחבא . . . ; cf. Arabic **طرا** *venire e loco longinquo*. The first word would mean "thy journeying" *vel simile*.

תרממת is a tiqfal formation from **רמם** equating with BH., id. (Ex. xvi, 20), whence the noun **רָמָה** "worm". Cf. also the Arabic **رَمَّ**.

תעצית as a parallel to **תרממת** equates with Ethiopic **ጥጥ** "worm", which in turn equates with Ar. **عُتِي** and BH. **עָשָׂה**.

רפאם "the shades". Cf. Is. xiv, 9; xxvi, 14; Psalm lxxxviii, 11; Job, xxvi, 5, etc.

אלנים is a synonym of **רפאם**, but the etymology is not clear. Virolleaud thinks it an ethnic (the 'Elonites) denoting an ancient tribe now believed to people the netherworld. Dussaud (*Syria*, xv, 303) compares the *alonim* "gods" of Plautus, but this does not account for the intrusive *yod*.

Possibly the word is an artificial formation, like **שבעני** "Sir Seventh" from **שבע** in Shalem-Shahar, i, 64, from a root **ללל** identical with Syriac **ܠܠܠ** and Ass. *ulālu* "be weak". For this as a name for the dead cf. **רפאם** from **רפה**, and Greek *οἱ καμόντες*. For the idea cf. Job, iii, 17; Psalm lxxxviii, 5.

עדד in contrast with **תחתך**, may be equated with Ethiopic **ዓዳ** = "at thy side".

אלם denotes the gods of the netherworld. Cf. 1 Sam., xxviii, 13.

כשרם The suffix is not that of the masc. plural, as taken by Virolleaud and Dussaud. It is the enclitic **ם**, corresponding to Eth. **መ** and Assyrian *-ma*. This is common in RS. texts.

כשר וחם is a composite figure who recurs in 2 AB. (v. *JRAS.*, 1935, p. 10, n. 15). I now regard him as an eponymous deity, like **קדש ואמור** "god of Kadesh and Amurru" or **נפן ואנר** "god of Byblos and Ugarit", since both **כשר** and **חם** occur as tribal-names in the (unpublished) Epic of Keret. The latter also occurs as a place-name in the obscure text published by Virolleaud in *Syria*, xv, fasc. ii.

חברך: BH. **חֵבֶר**; Assyr. *eburu*, etc., "friend," here in the sense of "comrade-in-arms".

דעתך, as a synonym of **חברך**, must be a collective of **ודע**, in the sense of BH. **מוֹדַע** and Syriac *id.* It means "circle of allies".

בים; the underworld lies at the bottom of the sea; cf. Job, xxvi, 5.

ארש, as a parallel to **תנן**, must mean "sea-monster", but I do not know the etymology.

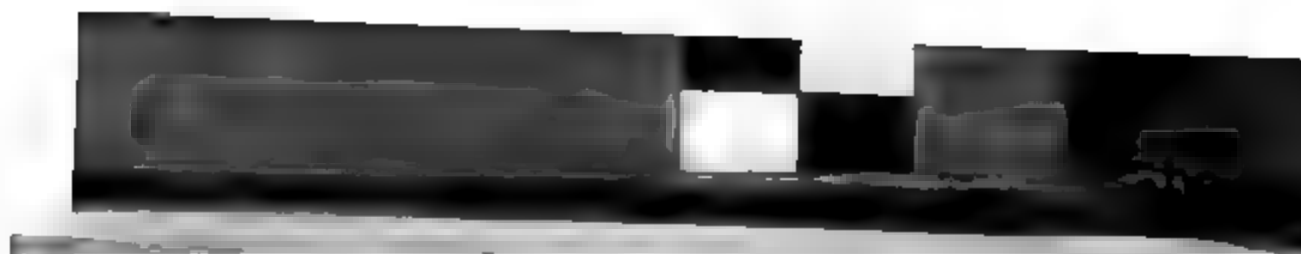
ארש and **תנן** answer to **לִיָּתָן** and **בְּהֵמַת** of O.T. mythology.

תנן; cf. Isaiah, li, 9; Psalm lxxiv, 13, for allusions to this mythological figure.

יד from **יד** "throw, hurl", akin to Arabic **وَدَى** and Assyrian *nadu*.

יתר as a parallel to **יד** connects with the root **נתר**, Arabic **تَلَّ** "spring" in a causative sense.

Although in fact a composite being, **כשר וחם** is treated grammatically as a plural.



The Ratnavali of Nagarjuna

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

IN the April issue, 1934, of this JOURNAL, I edited and translated the first chapter of this work of the great Nāgārjuna, still a fundamental treatise in the monasteries of Tibet. I now publish the remaining portions of the second and fourth chapters, the second being incomplete and the third entirely missing. The fifth and last *pariccheda* contains chiefly *vinaya*-rules, and will be published in a subsequent issue, along with the Tibetan text and the English translation of the missing portions.

In this way, another of the most important works of Nāgārjuna will be made accessible to Buddhist scholars.

I have nothing to add to the short notes which I prefixed to the edition of the first chapter. To the sources there referred to I must add a short but very useful commentary upon this treatise from the pen of one of the two most famous pupils of Tson k'a pa, namely rGyal ts'ab rje. It is contained in the first volume of his complete works (*gsum abum*, sNart'ang edition). It bears the title: *dBu ma rin c'en ap'reñ bai sñiñ poi don gsal bar byed pa*.

II ¹

[6a] Kadalī pāṭitā yadvan niḥśeṣāvayavaiḥ saha |
na kiṃcit puruṣas tadvat pātitaḥ saha dhātubhiḥ || 1
sarvadharmā anātmāna ity ato bhāṣitaṃ jinaiḥ |
dhātuṣaṭkaṃ ca taiḥ sarvaṃ nirṇītaṃ tac ca nārthataḥ || 2
naivam ātmā na cānātmā yāthābhūtyena labhyate |
ātmānātmakṛtadr̥ṣṭī varvārāsmān mahāmuniḥ || 3
dr̥ṣṭaśruṭādyam muninā na satyam na mṛṣoditam |
pakṣād dhi pratipakṣaḥ syād ubhayaṃ tac ca nārthataḥ || 4
iti satyānrtātīto loko 'yam paramārthataḥ |

¹ See *Journal*, April, 1934, p. 397.

asmād eva ca tattvena nopaity asti ca nāsti ca || 5
 yac caivam sarvathā neti sarvajñas tat katham vadet |
 sāntam ity athavānantam dvayam vādvayam eva vā || 6
 asaṃkhyeyā gatā buddhās tathaiṣyanty atha sāmpratāḥ |
 koṭyagraśas ca sattvāntas tebhyaḥ traikālyajo mataḥ || 7
 vṛddhihetur na lokasya, kṣayas traikālyasambhavaḥ |
 sarvajñena katham tasya pūrvānto 'vyākṛtaḥ kṛtaḥ || 8
 etat tu dharmagāmbhīryam yat tad guhyam pṛthagjane |
 māyopamatvam lokasya buddhānām śāsanāmṛtam || 9
 māyāgajasya drśyeta yathā janmānta eva ca |
 na ca kaścit sa tattvena janmāntas caiva vidyate || 10
 māyopamasyalokasya tathā janmānta eva ca |
 drśyate paramārthena na ca janmānta eva ca || 11
 yathā māyāgajo naiti kutaścid yāti (6b) na kvacit |
 cittamohanamātratvād bhāvatvena na tiṣṭhati || 12
 tathā māyopamo loko naiti yāti na kutrācit |
 cittamohanamātratvād bhāvatvena na tiṣṭhati || 13
 traikālyavyativṛttātmā loka evam nu ko 'rthataḥ |
 yo 'sti nāsty athavāpi syād anyatra vyavahārataḥ || 14
 catusprakāram ity asmāt sānto 'nanto dvayo 'dvayaḥ |
 buddhena hetor nānyasmād ayam avyākṛtaḥ kṛtaḥ || 15
 śarīrāsucitā tāvan sthūlā pratyakṣagocarā |
 satatam drśyamānāpi yadā citte na tiṣṭhati || 16
 tadātisūksmo gambhīraḥ saddharmo 'yam anālayaḥ |
 apratyakṣaḥ katham citte sukhena vataṛiṣyati || 17
 sambudhyāsmān nirvṛtto 'bhūd dharmaṃ deśayitum munīḥ |
 durjñānam atigāmbhīryā jñātvā dharmam imam janaiḥ || 18
 vināśayati durjñāto dharmo 'yam avipaścitam |
 nāstitādrṣṭisamale yasmād asmin nimajjati || 19
 aparo 'py asya durjñānān mūrkhāḥ paṇḍitamānikāḥ |
 pratikṣepavinaṣṭātmā yāty avicim adhomukhaḥ || 20
 durbhuktena yathānnena vināśam adhigacchati |
 subhuktenāyur ārogyam balaṃ saukhyāni cāśnute || 21
 durjñātena tathānnena vināśam adhigacchati |
 samyagjñātenātra sukhaṃ bodhiṃ cāpnoty anuttarāṃ || 22
 tasmād atra pratikṣepam drṣṭim tyaktvā ca nāstikīm |

samyagjñānaparam yatnam kuru [7a] sarvārthasiddhaye || 23
 dharmasyāsyāparijñānād ahamkāro 'nuvartate |
 tataḥ śubhāśubham karma tato janma śubhāśubham || 24
 tasmād yāvad avijñāto dharmo 'hamkāraśātanah |
 dānaśīlakṣamādharme tāvad ādaravān bhava || 25
 dharmapūrvāṇi kāryāṇi dharmamadhyāni pārthiva |
 sādhasya dharmaniṣṭhāni neha nāmutra sīdati || 26
 dharmāt kīrtiḥ sukham caiva neha bhīr na mumūṣataḥ |
 paralokasukham sphītam tasmād dharmam sadā bhaja || 27
 dharmā eva parā nītir dharmāl loko 'nurajyate |
 rañjitenā hi lokena neha nāmutra vañcyate || 28
 adharमेण तु यं नित्यं तत्र लोके 'parajyate |
 lokāparañjanāc caiva neha nāmutra nandati || 29
 parātisandhānaparā kṣāntā durgatipaddhatī |
 anarthavidyā duṣprajñair arthavidyā katham kṛtā || 30
 parātisandhānaparo nītimān katham arthataḥ |
 yena janmasahasrāṇi bahūny ātmaiva vañcyate || 31
 ripor apriyam anvicchan dosāms tyaktvā guṇān śraya |
 svahitāvāptir eva tu ripos cāpy apriyam bhavet || 32
 dānena priyavadyena hitenaikārthacaryayā |
 ebhir ācara lokasya dharmasyaiva ca saṅgraham || 33
 viśvāsam janayaty ekam satyam rājñām yathā dr̥ḍham |
 tathāivābhūtam apy eṣāṃ aviśvāsakaram param || 34
 nāvisamvādavat satyam [sattve] [7b] odgataḥ arthataḥ |
 paraikāntahitam satyam ahitatvān mṛṣetarat || 35
 doṣān pracchādayaty ekas tyāgo rājñām yathojjvalah |
 tathā kārpaṇyam apy eṣāṃ guṇasarvasvaghātakam || 36
 upasāntasya gāmbhīryam gāmbhīryād gauravam param |
 gauravād dīptir ājñā ca tasmād upasāmam bhaja || 37
 ahāryabuddhiḥ prajñatvād aparapratyayaḥ sthiraḥ |
 nātisandhīyate rājā tasmāt prajñāparo bhava || 38
 satyatyāgaśamaprajño caturbhadro narādhipaḥ |
 dharmāś caturbhadrā iva stūyate devamānuṣaiḥ || 39
 nigrhyavādibhiḥ śuddhaiḥ prajñākāruṇyanirmalaiḥ |
 saḥāsinasya satataḥ prajñā dharmāś ca varddhate || 40
 durlabhāḥ pathyavaktārah śrotāras tv atidurlabhāḥ |

tebhyo 'tidurlabhatamā ye pathyasyāśu kāriṇaḥ || 41
 pathyam apy apriyam tasmā jñātvā śīghram samācara |
 pibed auśadham apy ugram ārogyāyātmavān iva || 42
 jivitārogyarājyānām cintayānityatām sadā |
 tataḥ samvegavān dharmam ekāntena prayāsyase || 43
 avaśyam maraṇam paśyan pāpād duḥkham mṛtasya ca |
 aihikena sukhenāpi na pāpam kṣātum arhasi || 44
 kasmimś ced abhayam dṛṣṭam bhayaṁ dṛṣṭam kvacit kṣaṇe |
 yady ekasmin samāśvāsaḥ kim ekasmin na te bhayaṁ || 45
 madyāt paribhavo loka kāryahānir dhanakṣayaḥ |
 akāryakāraṇam mohāt [madyam tyaja tataḥ sadā] ||

1. As the plantain tree, split down along with all its components, is naught, even so the individual, when split down along with its constituents.¹

2. The Victorious ones said therefore that everything is devoid of self; they have ascertained the real nature of the constituents [forming an individual] and [shown] that they also are devoid of any reality.²

3. In this way from the standpoint of the absolute truth [the notion] of a self or of a non-self cannot be conceived. Therefore the Great Ascetic excluded both views, viz. that of the existence of a self and that of the non-existence of a self.³

4. The Ascetic stated that whatever is perceived by the senses, viz. is seen or heard and so forth, is neither true nor

¹ Reference is made here to a simile to be met very often in the *sūtra* literature.

² Tib. ལྷོ, 128 b, *k'ams drug de kun bdag med par k'yod la glad la p'ab pa yin*. "It has been ascertained for you that the six constituents are devoid of self."

³ Three are the statements to be demonstrated: (a) existence or non-existence of a self cannot be proved *in se*; (b) existence or non-existence of an essence cannot be proved *in se*; (c) refutation of those who argue against the view of the Master, viz. that the question whether this world has an end or not must be left undetermined: (a) = v. 3; (b) = vv. 4-5; (c) = vv. 6-15. This verse is quoted by Candrakīrti. PP. p. 359.

false. In fact, if there is a thesis, an antithesis is derived from it, but both thesis and antithesis do not really exist (as *per se* existent without their contrary).¹

5. Therefore from the metaphysical standpoint this universe transcends both reality and unreality, and so, in truth, it cannot admit either of existence or of non-existence.

6. How could therefore the all-knower affirm that this universe, about which no statement is absolutely possible, has an end or is without an end, is a duality or a non-duality ? ²

7. "Many Buddhas have gone, will come, or do appear in this very moment. The notion of a limit as regards living beings in their innumerable series is said by them to be born from the threefold temporal relation." ³

8. "There is no cause for the increasing of the world of creatures ; their passing away is determined by the threefold temporal relation. How could then the Buddha, who is the all-knower, leave this question as regards the commencement or the end of the world unanswered ? " ⁴

9. In this consists the very depth of our doctrine, viz. that it remains a secret for the ordinary people. The teaching that the world is to be compared with a magic play represents the essence of the doctrine of all Buddhas.

10. We can perceive the birth or the end of an elephant

¹ Ibid.

² Here the third argument (c) begins ; it is intended to prove that the Buddha is right in maintaining that no determination is possible as regards this world. After the thesis (v. 6) there is the objection of the opponent (vv. 7-8), and then the reply, which consists of two examples (10, 11, 12) and a conclusion.

³ The reason of the appearance of the Buddhas in this world is their desire to lead human creatures towards *nirvāṇa*. If their preaching is really efficacious, this implies that numberless creatures have been saved, are saved, and will be saved by them.

⁴ There is no reason for admitting that beings may come to existence now who did not exist before ; since, then, the number of creatures does not increase and, on the other hand, their disappearance into *nirvāṇa* through the preaching of the Buddhas is proved by past experience, it would seem that the ultimate end of this world is a well established fact. Here the objection of the opponent ends.

created by magic power, though in reality, it has neither birth nor end ;

11. even so we can see a beginning and an end in this world, though, from the standpoint of the metaphysical truth, it has neither origin nor end.

12. As an elephant created by magic power comes from nowhere and goes to nowhere, in so far as, being due to a mere bewilderment, it does not stay anywhere as something existent,

13. even so, this universe like a magic play comes from nowhere and goes to nowhere ; being due to a mere mental bewilderment, it does not stay anywhere.

14. What is, therefore, in its essence this universe, which, transcending the threefold temporal relation, cannot be said to be or not to be, except from the standpoint of the conventional truth ?

15. Therefore for this very reason, and for no other one, the Buddha left this world undetermined as regards four points, viz. if it has an end, if it has no end, if it is duality, if it is a unity.¹

16. The uncleanness of the body, though it is something material and perceivable, does not abide in the mind, though it is continually under our eyes ;

17. how, then, could this perfect doctrine, extremely subtle and deep and devoid of any support, easily descend into our mind ?

18. This is why the ascetic, after having realized this doctrine, declined, at the first moment,² to preach it ; he

¹ According to rGyal ts'ab, instead of duality and unity, we should understand : " both " and " neither ". This verse refers to the four points as held by four different schools : (a) No existence when this life is over ; is Lokāyata, *rgyan p'as pa*. (b) Continuation of the *ātmā*s when this life is over ; Sāṃkhya, *gras can pa*. (c) Both end and non-end (viz. its modalities—*gnas skabs*—subject to an end but not its essence) ; Nirgranthas, *ger bu pa*. (d) Neither end nor non-end ; opinion held by some Vātsīputriyas (*gnas ma bui ode*), since, for them, individuals are undeterminable.

² Another discussion is here introduced as regards the depth of this teaching. Three points : (a) general statement (vv. 16-17) ; (b) this depth

knew in fact that this very doctrine is very difficult to be understood by common people on account of its depth.

19. If this doctrine is not well understood it causes the ruin of the unintelligent man, since he sinks into the impurity of nihilism.

20. Some other fools who think themselves to be wise do not understand it properly, and therefore fall head down into the hell Avīci, being ruined by their criticism against the perfect doctrine.¹

21. By food badly digested a man gets his ruin, but by food well digested he enjoys long life, good health, physical strength, and other pleasures ;

22. even so those who do not properly understand the doctrine will get their ruin ; on the contrary, by its right understanding one obtains happiness in this life and the supreme illumination.

23. Therefore, giving up any criticism against this doctrine and getting rid of the nihilistic view, strive after the right knowledge in order to arrive at the complete attainment of your object.

24. If one does not thoroughly understand this doctrine egotism is originated ; from this, karma, both moral and immoral is derived, and from this a new life which will accordingly take place in good conditions of existence or in bad ones.²

25. Therefore as long as this doctrine, which annihilates egotism, is not thoroughly understood, so long apply yourself with great care to the [practice of] the law, which consists in liberality, moral conduct, and patience.

is the reason why the Buddha did not preach the doctrine to those who were not in a condition to understand it properly (v. 18). (c) Why this depth must be considered : three subdivisions : (a) its wrong interpretation and the sin which follows from it (vv. 19–20) ; (b) advantages of its right understanding (vv. 21–21) ; (c) instruction for its proper understanding (v. 23).

¹ vv. 19–20 are quoted by Candrakīrti PP., p. 496, ll. 1 and 8 ; in 19a *durdṛṣṭo* instead of *durjñāto*.

² The discussion on *abhyudaya* is here introduced.

26. Therefore, o king, whoever in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end accomplishes his actions according to the law, never sinks either here or in the other world.¹

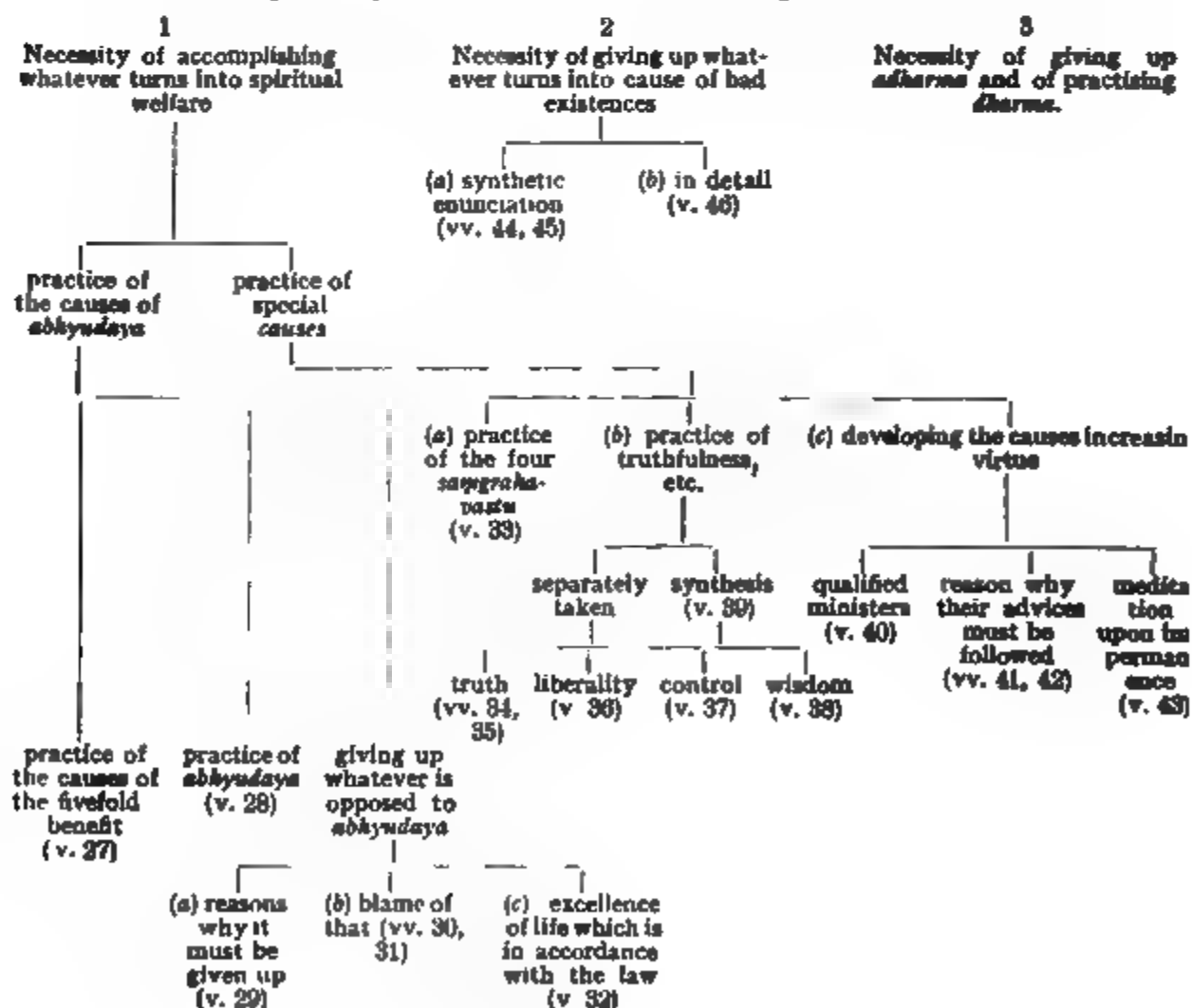
27. From the law one gets renown and happiness and has no cause of fear either during life or at the point of death ; he will share copious happiness in another existence ; be therefore always a partaker of the law.

28. The law alone is the supreme policy, because the affection of men is captivated by the law. When the affection of men is captivated, the king is not deceived either here or in the after life.

29. That policy which is against the law displeases subjects ; and when subjects are displeased, the king cannot rejoice either in this or in another life.

30. How is it possible that some men of mischievous

¹ According to rGyal ts'ab the order of the arguments is as follows :—



intelligence could think a science productive of evil, intended to deceiving others, harmful, conducive to bad rebirths (viz. politics) to be a science aiming at the public welfare ?

31. How can a man addicted to deceive others be considered as really clever when, on the contrary, he deceives only himself for thousands of rebirths ?

32. If you want to displease your enemy, give up every sin and take shelter in virtue ; in this way you will obtain your own benefit and at the same time your enemy will not be pleased.

33. Liberality, kindness in speaking, benefiting others, being intended to the spiritual profit (of others as well as of oneself), through these virtues behave towards men and religion.

34. Truth alone begets firm confidence [of subjects] in kings ; even so untruth engenders extreme mistrust towards them.

35. Truth in reality is not that which is devoid of falsehood, nor that which develops in a pure mind¹ ; truth is the absolute good done to others ; its contrary is falsehood on account of its being harmful to others.

36. A single brilliant act of liberality overshadows the faults of the kings ; even so miserliness ruins all their virtues.

37. A man who has control over himself acquires deepness of mind ; from deepness of mind he obtains dignity ; from dignity lustre is derived ; from lustre authority. Practise therefore control over thyself.

38. A king who, on account of his wisdom, is resolute in his ideas, who does not depend on others and is determined, cannot be deceived ; be therefore solely devoted to wisdom.

39. A king who is possessed of the four blessings, viz. truth, liberality, self-control, and wisdom, is praised by gods and men, as the law itself with its four blessings.

40. When [a king] sits together with his ministers restrained in their speeches, spotless, purified by their wisdom and

¹ Tib. slu ba mi ldan bden min te | sems dpas la sgyur ba don du min ||

their compassion, wisdom and law will then grow in him for ever.

41. Scarce are those who can give wholesome advice, scarcer are those who listen to them, but far scarcer still are those who immediately practise wholesome counsel.¹

42. Having therefore understood that something is wholesome though unpalatable, do it at once; even so a clever man in order to recover his health drinks a medicine however acrid.

43. Keep always in your mind that things such as life, good health, and kingship are impermanent; frightened therefore [by impermanence], you will seek for the law as the only refuge.

44. Realizing that death is inevitable and that, as soon as one is dead, the consequence of sin is sorrow, you cannot annihilate sin even through the enjoyment of this life.

45. If, in a certain moment, you see no danger and in another moment you see a danger, then, if you trust in one, how is it that you do not fear the other?

46. By being addicted to drinking one is in this world despised by others, is unable to carry out his business, loses his wealth and, on account of the bewilderment that proceeds from that, he cannot accomplish his duty. Give up therefore drinking.²

IV

[15a] adharmam anyāyyam api prāyo rājā 'nujīvbhiḥ |
 ācaran stūyate tasmāt kṛcchrād vetti kṣamā'kṣamam || 1
 anyo 'pi tāvad yaḥ kaścid durvacāḥ kṣamam apriyam |
 kim u rājā mahābhaumas tvam mayā bhikṣuṇā satā || 2
 tvatkr̥tād eva tu snehāj jagatām anukampayā |
 aham eko vadāmi tvām pathyam apy apriyam bhr̥ṣam || 3
 satyam ślakṣṇārthavat pathyam śiṣyaḥ kāle 'anukampayā |
 vācya ity āha bhagavāms tad evam abhidhīyase || 4
 akrodhe satyavākye ca ślāghyamāṇo yadi sthitah |

¹ Tib. de dag las kyaṅ mi sñan yin | p'an pai rjes su byed pa dkon ||

² Tib. de bas c'añ ni rtag tu spoṅs |

śravyaṃ samparigrhṇīyāt sattoyaṃ snāpyamānavat || 5
 tasya me vadato vākyam tvam ihāmutra ca kṣamam |
 jñātvā kuru hitāyedaṃ ātmano jagato 'pi ca || 6
 yācakebhyaḥ purā dānāt prāpyārthāṃś cen na dāsyasi |
 akṛtajñatvalobhābhyāṃ nārthāṇ punar avāpsyasi || 7
 iha pathy adanam loke na vahaty abhṛto bhṛtaḥ |
 yācakas tv abhṛto 'mutra hīnaḥ śatagunodvahaḥ || 8
 udāracittaḥ satataṃ bhavodārakriyārataḥ |
 udārakarmaṇaḥ sarvam udāraṃ jāyate phalam || 9
 manorathair api klībair anālīḍhaṃ narādhipaiḥ |
 kuru dharmāspadam śrīmat khyātaṃ ratnatrayāspadam || 10
 sāmantarājaromāñcakaram dharmāspadam na yat |
 mṛtasyāpy apraśasyatvād rājams tad akṛtaṃ varam || 11
 atyaudāryād [15b] udārāṇāṃ vismayotsāhavadhaṇam |
 utsāhaghaṇam ca mandānāṃ sarvasvenāpi kāraya || 12
 utsṛjyāmutra gantavyaṃ sarvasvam avaśena te |
 dharme niyuktaṃ yāty eva purastāt sarvam eva tat || 13
 sarvasvam pūrvanṛpateḥ nṛpasya vaśam āgataṃ |
 kiṃ pūrvakasya dharmāya sukhāya yaśase 'pi vā || 14
 bhuktād arthād iha sukhaṃ dattāt pāratrikam sukhaṃ |
 abhuktādattanaṣṭatvād duḥkham eva kutaḥ sukhaṃ || 15
 vinaśyan sacivair dātum asvātantryān na śakyasi |
 āpatichedaniḥsnehair navarājapriyaiḥ || 16
 sarvasvenāpy ataḥ svasthaḥ śīghraṃ dharmāspadam kuru |
 mṛtyupratyayamadhyasthaḥ pravāstasthapradīpavat || 17
 dharmādhikārā ye cānye pūrvarājapravartitāḥ |
 devadronyādayas te 'pi pravartyantāṃ yathā sthitāḥ || 18
 ahimsakaiḥ śubhācārair vratasthair atithipriyaiḥ |
 sarvakṣamair akalahair bhajyerams taiḥ sado(dya)taiḥ || 19
 andhavyādhitahīnāṅgadīnānāthavanīpakāḥ |
 te 'py annapānam sāmyena labherann avighaṭṭitāḥ || 20
 anarthināṃ api satāṃ dhārmikāṇāṃ anugrahān |
 apy anyarājyasamsthānāṃ anurūpān pravarttaya || 21
 sarvadharmādhikāreṣu dharmādhikṛtam utthitam |
 alubdham paṇḍitam dharmyaṃ kuru teṣāṃ abādhakam || 22
 nītijñān dhārmikān snigdhān śucin bhaktān akātarān |

kulinān śilasampannān [16a] kṛtajñān sacivān kuru || 23
 akṣudrāṃs tyāgināḥ śūrān snigdhān sambhogināḥ sthīrān |
 kuru nityāpramattāṃs ca dhārmikān daṇḍanāyakān || 24
 dharmasīlān śucīn dakṣān kāryajñān śāstrakovidān |
 kṛtavṛttīn samān snigdhān vṛddhān adhikṛtān kuru || 25
 pratimāsaṃ ca tebhyaḥ tvam sarvaṃ āyavyayaṃ śṛṇu |
 śrutvā dharmādhikārādyam kāryam sarvaṃ svayaṃ vada || 26
 dharmārtham yadi te rājyam na kīrtiyartham na kāmataḥ |
 tataḥ saphalam atyartham anarthārtham ato 'nyathā || 27
 parasparāmiśībhūte loke 'amin prāyaśo nṛpa |
 yathā rājyam ca dharmas ca bhavet tava tathā śṛṇu || 28
 jñānavṛddhā kule jātā nyāyajñāḥ pāpabhiravaḥ |
 sametā bahavo nityam santu te kāryadarśināḥ || 29
 daṇḍabandhaprahārādīn kuryus te nyāyato 'pi cet |
 kārunyārdraḥ sadā bhūtvā tvam anugrahavān bhava || 30
 hitāyaiva tvayā cittam unnāmyam sarvadehinām |
 kārunyāt satatam rājams tivrāpāpakṛtām api || 31
 tivrāpāpeṣu himsreṣu kṛpā kāryā viśeṣataḥ |
 ta eva hi kṛpāsthānam hatāmāno mahātmanām || 32
 pratyaham pañcarātram vā baddhān kṣīnān vimocaya |
 śeṣān api yathāyogam mā kāmāścit naiva mocaya || 33
 yeṣv amokṣaṇacittam te jāyate teṣv 'asaṃvaraḥ |
 tasmād asaṃvarāt pāpam ajasram upacīyate || 34
 [16b] yāvac ca na vimucyerāṃs tāvat syuḥ sukhabandhanāḥ |
 nāpitāsnānapānānnabhaiṣajyavasānānvitāḥ || 35
 apātresv iva putresu pātrikaraṇakāṅkṣayā |
 kāruṇy [āt tāḍanam kāryam na dveṣān] nārthālipsayā || 36
 vimṛśya samyag vijñāya praduṣṭān ghātakān api |
 ahatvā'pīdayitvā ca kuru nirviṣayān narān || 37
 svatantraḥ paśya sarvaṃ ca viṣayam cāracakṣuṣā |
 nityāpramattaḥ smṛtimān kuru kāryam ca dhārmikam || 38
 pradānamānasatkārair guṇasthān satatam bhaja |
 udārair anurūpais tu śeṣān api yathāvidhi || 39
 sammānasphītakusumaḥ sampradānamahāphalaḥ |
 rājavṛkṣaḥ kṣamācchāyaḥ sevyate bhṛtyapakṣibhiḥ || 40
 tyāgaśīlamayo rājā tejasvī bhavati priyaḥ |

śarkarāmodako yadvad elāmaricakarkaśaḥ || 41
 mātṣyanyāyaś ca te naivam nyāyād rājyam bhaviṣyati |
 na cānyāyo na vā'dharmo dharmāś caivam bhaviṣyati || 42
 paralokāt tvayā rājyam nānītam nāpi neṣyasi |
 dharmāt prāptam ato 'syārthe nādharmam kartum arhasi || 43
 rājyena bhāṇḍamūlyena duḥkhabhāṇḍaparamparām |
 rājan yathā nārjayasi prayatnaḥ kriyatām tathā || 44
 rājyena bhāṇḍamūlyena rājyabhāṇḍaparamparām |
 rājan yathā nirviśasi prayatnaḥ kriyatām tathā || 45
 caturdvīpām api prāpya pṛthivīm cakravartināḥ [17a] |
 śārīram mānasam caiva sukhadvayam idaṁ matam || 46
 duḥkhapratikriyāmātram śārīram vedanāsukham |
 samjñāmayam mānasam tu kevalam kalpanākṛtam || 47
 duḥkhapratikriyāmātram kalpanāmātram eva ca |
 lokasya sukhasarvasvam vyartham etad ato'rthataḥ || 48
 dvīpadeśapurāvāsapradeśasānavāsasām |
 śayyā'nnapānahastyāśvāstriṇām caikaikabhogyatā || 49
 yadā ca yatra cittam syāt tadānena sukham kila |
 śeṣānām amanaskārāt teṣām vyarthatvam arthataḥ || 50
 viṣayān pañcabhiḥ pañca cakṣurādibhir indriyaiḥ |
 na kalpayati yed gṛhṇan nāsmāt teṣu tadā sukham || 51
 jānīte viṣayam yam yam yena yenendriyeṇa ca |
 tadā na śeṣaiḥ śeṣāṇi vyarthāny eva yatas tadā || 52
 indriyair upalabdhasya viṣayasyākṛtiṁ manāḥ |
 upalabhya vyatītasya kalpayan manyate sukham || 53
 ekam artham vijānāti yady apy ekam ihendriyam |
 tad apy artham vinā vyartham vyartho 'rtho pi ca tad vinā || 54
 pratītya mātāpitarau yathoktaḥ putrasambhavaḥ |
 cakṣūrūpe pratītyaivam ukto vijñānasambhavaḥ || 55
 atītānāgatā vyarthāḥ viṣayāḥ sārddham indriyaiḥ |
 taddvayānatiriktatvād vyarthā ye 'pi ca sāmpratāḥ || 56
 alātacakram gṛhṇāti yathā cakṣur viparyayāt |
 tathendriyāṇi [17b] gṛhṇanti viṣayān sāmpratān iva || 57
 indriyāṇīndriyārthāś ca pañcabhūtamayā matāḥ |
 pratisvam bhūtavaiyarthyaḥ eṣām vyarthatvam arthataḥ || 58
 nirindhano 'gnir bhūtānām vinirbhāge prasajyate |

samparke lakṣaṇābhāvaḥ śeṣeṣv apy eṣa nirṇayaḥ || 59
 evaṃ dvidhāpi bhūtānāṃ vyarthatvāt saṅgatiḥ vṛthā |
 vyarthatvāt saṅgateś caivaṃ rūpaṃ vyartham ato 'rthataḥ || 60
 vijñānavedanāsamjñāsamskārāṇāṃ ca sarvaśaḥ |
 pratyekam ātmavaiyarthyaḥ vaiyarthyaṃ paramārthataḥ || 61
 sukhābhimāno duḥkhasya pratikāre yathārthataḥ |
 tathā dukhābhimāno 'pi sukhasya pratighātajaḥ || 62
 sukhe saṃyogatrāṇaivaṃ naiḥsvābhāvyāt prahīyate |
 duḥkhe viyogatrāṇā ca paśyatām muktir ity ataḥ || 63
 kaḥ paśyatīti cec cittam vyavahāreṇa kathyate |
 na hi caittam vinā cittam vyarthatvān na saheṣyate || 64
 vyartham evaṃ jagan matvā yāthābhūtyān nirāspadaḥ |
 nirvāti nirupādāno nirupādānavahnivat || 65
 bodhisattvo 'pi dṛṣṭvaivaṃ sambodhau niyato mataḥ |
 kevalam tv asya kāruṇyād ābodher bhavasamptatiḥ || 66
 bodhisattvasya sambhāro mahāyāne tathāgataiḥ |
 nirdiṣṭaḥ sa tu sammūḍhaiḥ pradviṣṭaiś caiva nindyate || 67
 guṇadoṣānabhijño vā doṣasamjñī guṇeṣu vā |
 athavāpi guṇadveṣī mahāyānasya nindakaḥ || 68
 paropaghātino [18a] doṣān parānugrahiṇo guṇān |
 jñātvo cyate guṇadveṣī mahāyānasya nindakaḥ || 69
 yat svārthanirapekṣatvāt parārthaikarasapriyam |
 guṇākaram mahāyānam tad dveṣī tena dahyate || 70
 śrāddho 'pi durgrhītena dviṣyāt kruddho 'thavetaraḥ |
 śrāddho 'pi dagdha ity uktaḥ kā cintā dveṣabandhure || 71
 viṣeṇāpi viṣaṃ hanyād yathāivoktam cikitsakaiḥ |
 duḥkhenāpy ahitam hanyād ity ukte kim virudhyate || 72
 manaḥpūrvāṅgamā dharmā manaḥśreṣṭhā iti śruteḥ |
 hitam hitamanāḥ kurvan duḥkhenāpy ahitam katham || 73
 duḥkham apy āyatīpathyam kāryam kimu sukham hitam |
 ātmanaś ca pareṣāṃ ca dharma eṣa sanātanaḥ || 74
 mātrāsukhaparityāgāt paścāc ced vipulam sukham |
 tyajen mātrāsukham dhīraḥ sampaśyan vipulam sukham || 75
 na mṛṣyate ca yady etat kaṭubhaiṣajyadāyinaḥ |
 tataś cikitsakādyaś ca hatā naivam ca yujyate || 76
 apathyam api yad dṛṣṭam tat pathyam paṇḍitaiḥ kvacit |

- utsargaś cāpavādaś ca sarvaśāstreṣu śaṃsyate || 77
karuṇāpūrvakāḥ sarve niṣyandā jñānanirmalāḥ |
uktā yatra mahāyāne kaś tan nindet sacetanaḥ || 78
atyaudāryātigāmbhīryād viṣaṇṇair akṛtātmabhiḥ |
nindyate 'dya mahāyānaṃ mohāt svaparavairibhiḥ || 79
dānaśīlakṣamāvīryadhyānaprajñākṛpātmakam [18b] |
mahāyānam atas tasmin kasmād durbhāṣitam vacaḥ || 80
parārtho dānaśīlābhyāṃ kṣāntyā vīryeṇa cātmanaḥ |
dhyānam prajñā ca mokṣāya mahāyānārthasaṃgrahaḥ || 81
parā[tmahita]mokṣārthāḥ saṃkṣepād buddhaśāsanam |
te saṭpāramitāgarbhās tasmād bauddham idam vacaḥ || 82
puṇyajñānamayo yatra buddhair bodher mahāpathaḥ |
deśitas tan mahāyānam ajñānād vai na drśyate || 83
kham ivācintyaguṇatvād ukto 'cintyaguṇo jinaḥ |
mahāyāne yato buddhamāhātmyam kṣamyatām idam || 84
āryaśāradvatasyāpi śīlamātre 'py agocaraḥ |
yasmāt tad buddhamāhātmyam acintyam kiṃ na mṛśyate || 85
anutpādo mahāyāne pareṣāṃ śūnyātā kṣayaḥ |
kṣayānutpādāyoś caikyam arthataḥ kṣamyatām yataḥ || 86
śūnyatābuddhamāhātmyam evaṃ yuktyānupaśyatām |
mahāyānetaroktāni na sameyuh katham satām || 87
tathāgatābhisandhyoktāny asukham jñātum ity ataḥ |
ekayānatrīyānoktād ātmā rakṣya upekṣayā || 88
upekṣayā hi nāpuṇyam dveṣāt pāpam kutaḥ śubham |
mahāyāne yato dveṣo nātmakāmaiḥ kṛto 'rhati || 89
na bodhisattvapraṇidhir na caryāpariṇāmanā |
uktāḥ śrāvakayāne 'smād bodhisattvaḥ kutas tataḥ || 90
adhiṣṭhānāni noktāni [19a] bodhisattvasya bodhaye |
buddhair anyat pramāṇam ca ko 'smin arthe jinādhikaḥ || 91
adhiṣṭhānāryasatyārthabodhipakṣopasaṃhitāt |
mārgāc chrāvakasāmānyād bauddham kenādhikam phalam || 92
bodhicaryāpratīṣṭhārtham na sūtre bhāṣitam vacaḥ |
bhāṣitam ca mahāyāne grāhyam asmād vicakṣaṇaiḥ || 93
yathaiva vaiyākaraṇo mātṛkām api pāṭhayet |
buddho 'vadat tathā dharmam vineyānām yathākṣamam || 94
keśāṃcid avadad dharmam pāpebhyo vinivṛttaye |

keśāṃcit puṇyasiddhyartham keśāṃcid dvayanihāritam || 95
 dvayānīśritam ekeśāṃ gāmbhīram bhīrubhīṣaṇam |
 śūnyatākaruṇāgarbham ekeśāṃ bodhisādhanam || 96
 iti sadbhir mahāyāne kartavyaḥ pratighakṣayaḥ |
 prasādaś cādhikaḥ kāryaḥ saṃyaksambodhisiddhaye || 97
 mahāyānaprasādena taduktācaranena ca |
 prāpyate 'nuttarā bodhiḥ sarvasaukhyāni cāntarā || 98
 dānaśīlakṣamāsatyam gr̥hasthasya viśeṣataḥ |
 dharma uktaḥ kṛpāgarbhaḥ sa sāttnīkriyatām dṛḍham || 99
 atha lokasya vaidharṃyād rājyaṃ dharmeṇa duṣkaram |
 tato dharmayaśo'rtham te prayujyādhighamāḥ kṣamaḥ || 100
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(To be continued.)

Four Anthologies of Arabic Poetry

By F. KRENKOW

‘ABD ALLĀH IBN AL-MU‘TAZZ ; KITĀB AL-BADĪ‘. Ed. by
IGNATIUS KRATCHKOVSKY. pp. 142 and 31. Gibb
Memorial New Series, No. 10. London, 1935.

ABU BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ AṢ-ṢŪLĪ, KITĀB AL-AWRĀḤ.
Ed. by J. HEYWORTH DUNNE. pp. 256 and 17. London,
1934.

ABŪ HILĀL AL-‘ASKARĪ, DĪWĀN AL-MA‘ĀNĪ. Ed. by ḤUSĀM
AD-DĪN AL-QUDSĪ. pp. 368 and 269. Cairo, 1352.

ISMA‘ĪL B. AḤMAD B. ZIYĀDAT ALLĀH AT-TUJĪBĪ AL-BARQĪ ;
AL-MUKHTĀR MIN SHI‘R BASHSHĀR. Ed. by SAYYID
MUḤAMMAD BADR AD-DĪN AL-‘ALAWĪ. pp. 341, 15, 27,
9 and 9. Cairo, 1353 (1934). Lajnat at-Ta’lif.

It is remarkable that four important works on the criticism of Arabic poetry, and at the same time anthologies, should appear in one year and, to avoid any misunderstanding, I shall deal with them in the chronological order of the deaths of their authors.

‘Abd Allāh, son of the caliph al-Mu‘tazz, lived the life of a patron of letters and men of learning and no doubt his social position as the son of a ruler not only assured him an ample income, but also attracted to a prince of his literary tastes men of similar inclinations. These men were also responsible for inducing him to be proclaimed caliph on Saturday the 20th of Rabī‘ I, 296 (18th December, 908), and one of the chief leaders in the movement was his friend Muḥammad b. Dā’ūd b. al-Jarrāḥ, who was appointed Wazīr. The coup was unsuccessful and both Ibn al-Mu‘tazz and Ibn al-Jarrāḥ were killed the following day. Ibn al-Mu‘tazz was born in Shā‘bān 247, and consequently was not 49 years old

when he was killed. The work on the *New Style* was written in the year 274 when he was a young man of 27 years and, if such a comparison may be made, resembles both in size and contents a modern dissertation for the doctorate. As the first work upon the subject of literary criticism, unless we can call the *Ṭabaqāt* of al-Jumāhī such, it is not very exhaustive, but, as the learned editor has proved, served as a basis for later works and almost all have made ample use of its contents, both avowedly and anonymously. There cannot be any doubt that we possess the genuine work of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, and probably complete, apart from possible trivial omissions, due to copyists, as indicated by the editor in the critical notes. The examples, with very few exceptions, are drawn from well-known authors, both in prose and verse. There are a few exceptions. No. 190 is attributed to Abul Ghamr at-Ṭuhawī, while No. 115, cited anonymously, is attributed by al-Qālī to a poet named Abul Ghamr al-Jabalī. Both pieces without doubt belong to the same poem. Abul Ghamr is not known otherwise unless he is Abul Ghamr Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Āmulī, a humorous poem of whom is cited in the *Dīwān al-Ma'ānī* of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (i, 196), on the authority of Abū Bakr ibn al-Anbārī. The verses in question are repeated in the works of authors who have copied from the *Kitāb al-Badī'*. The attribution of these verses by Sharīḥī to Abul Ghūl, as indicated in the notes, is one of the many errors committed by substituting the name of a well-known poet for that of an unknown one, and has no weight. The verses of Abū Ghūl, who lived to the time of the grammarian al-Mufaḍḍal ad-Dabbi (Abū Zaid, *Nawādir* 58) do not show such bad taste as found in the verses of this Abul Ghamr. No. 126 Maṣṣūr b. al-Faraj is known only from the *Kitāb al-Badī'* and such works which have borrowed from it, and he is not mentioned by al-Marzubānī in his *Mu'jam* nor by the Khaṭīb in the *Tārīkh Baghdād*, yet he must have lived in the early part of the third century of the Hijra.

In the English introduction the editor gives a clear account

of the importance of the work, but this introduction has unfortunately suffered by translation, which in several places is beyond my comprehension. On p. 16 the words: "Since the manuscript itself, being unique, gives no *purchase* for an investigation, etc.," are probably meant to say "gives no clue" or "does not permit an investigation." On p. 18 the words "the use made of the *Kitab al-Badi'* is more frequent than al-'Askari thinks it necessary to mention" are meant to say: "al-'Askari makes so frequently use of the *Kitāb al-Badī'* that he has not considered it necessary to mention the fact each time." I am altogether at a loss to know what is meant, p. 20, by: "We find a definition of the term *jins* with a rather *obscure transition*." Again, on p. 24, the words: "Only C. Lang in his critical remarks called out by the work of the latter, recalled it to mind." It appears to mean that the manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Badī'* was mentioned once more by C. Lang when he wrote a criticism on the work of Loth. In many other cases it is only too obvious that the translator of the introduction has only been too liberal in the use of the dictionary and the choice of big words, with disastrous results.

In the Arabic text, 14, 3, read *اتذوق* (misprint); 17, 5,

I think this should read *جاهلة* as *جاذبة الزمام* does not

give any sense. 34, 3, I prefer the vocalization *لِمْة* to

distinguish it from *لِمْة* "a piece of flesh". 47, 13, read

أوتامش, cf. Tabarī Index and Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*

334, 2. p. 70, the poet's name is Abū Duwād without Hamza, an ancient diminutive of Dūd = worm. The name appears to be confined to persons who claimed to belong to the tribe Iyād, e.g. the wazīr Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād. The word is triptoton. The Hamza, if found in MSS., is due to a false analogy with the name Dā'ūd. p. 71, 8, read with the Diwan

شَرَف "height"; I know شَرَف only as a plural with the meaning "pinnacle". p. 74, 9, read خَصْر with Fath = "waist".

As regards the indices I regret to say that I can read them only with the aid of a magnifying glass.

I differ from the author in several cases in the definitions of the vocabulary. اُنْيَ is *not* "a rivulet", it is "a wild torrent coming from an unknown distant place". Examples of its sweeping away *camels* are found. حَلَمَة means "nipple

of the breast" (whether of a woman or a man). اُسْفَ means "to skim the ground in flying" *not* "to approach the earth". It is also used of clouds which drift along at a low altitude. As an example of many the often cited verse of 'Abid b. al-Abras, 28, v. 7, may suffice. Anyone who has observed swallows before thunder will understand what is meant.

لَذَمَ is more than "a tap", it means "a heavy thud".

لَهَاءَ does *not* mean "Jaws, nor throat" but "the uvula in the throat". نَخَاحَة means "thick glutinous mucus, phlegm". The word "humour" has no such meaning in

modern English. هَرَّ does *not* mean "to whine" but "to growl". It is the voice of a dog when angry and the lexica explain it correctly as coming from the inside of the dog.

أَهْلَبَ does *not* mean "coarse-haired" but "fuzzy", it is derived from the tuft of fine hair at the end of the camel's

tail. *جامعة* does not mean "collar" but "handcuffs with which the two hands (or feet) are fettered together".

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣūlī came from a family which for several generations had been in the service of the caliphs and his earliest biographer, al-Marzubānī, says of him in his Mu'jam: Our Shaikh, upon whom God have mercy, was a Nadīm (close companion or courtier) of the caliph al-Muktafī Billāh; he had wide knowledge and excellent memory in the domain of belles-lettres, was intelligent in the composition of books and he placed many things in this branch of learning into their proper places. He died in al-Basra in A.H. 336. His poems are many. Marzubānī cites four fragments. The *Khaṭīb* in the history of Baghdād devotes a long article (iii, 427-432) to him in which he repeats some sentences of Marzubānī verbatim. Interesting is the account of the magnificent library aṣ-Ṣūlī possessed. The books were arranged in rows in a room on the ground floor, each row being bound in a different colour. The *Khaṭīb* gives as the date of his death either 335 or 336, but the last date agrees with the statement of Marzubānī and that of Ibn al-Jauzī in the Muntazam. He had fled from Baghdad as high and low were on the look-out for him, because he had made in one of his works a statement about 'Alī which displeased them and they were now in power with the Shī'ah Buwaihis ruling. Several of his works are preserved. The *Adab al-Kātib* has been published in Cairo, 1341. The *Akhbār Abī Tammām* exist in manuscript and are being prepared for edition by an Indian scholar, while several manuscript recensions of early poets still exist. A complete list of his works, as mentioned by his biographers, is found in the introduction of the edition of the *Adab al-Kātib* mentioned above, but some of the titles will have to be cancelled as they are referring either to the same work under another name, or form part of larger works. That he did *not*

compose the *Akhbār Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Mausilī* is proved from the last lines of the work under consideration. Ibn al-Jarrāḥ had composed a work of biographical notices which he called *al-Waraqā* (the leaf) because only one leaf was devoted to each biography and probably aṣ-Ṣūlī called this work of his *al-Aurāq* because the biographies filled several pages. The *Kitāb al-Aurāq* is of an anecdotal character, and the editor tells us in his introduction that of the seven or eight volumes, of which the work originally consisted, four portions are preserved in different libraries and the present volume represents the last volume. Unfortunately the beginning of this volume is lost, but the editor has most ably supplied the beginning of the biography of the poet Abān al-Lāhiqī from other accessible sources by authors who have copied the work of aṣ-Ṣūlī. The original manuscript is not distinguished by a good text, and all credit is due to the editor in producing a good text, considering that most of the prose texts and poetry are not found elsewhere. The reason for so much new material is principally because the poets mentioned are of the second and third order, and probably only Abān and Ashja' as-Sulamī can be described as poets by profession. The poems contained in this volume, taken as a whole, are of a very inferior type, and I should say this especially of Ashja', the poet of the Barmakīs, and one wonders whether they considered that they got good value for their lavishly spent money. In reading these poems I was forcibly reminded of the tale about Sulaimān b. Wahb (*Muwashshah* 352), to whom a poet addressed a poem in condolence with the death of his mother. Sulaiman turned to those present and said: "Has anyone ever before been so severely tried? My mother has died and she was the dearest on earth to me, and now I am consoled with such an elegy! He gives me two patronyms, neither of which I know, and once he calls me Sulaim and the next time Sālim, and omits the name which my parents gave me! Has ever anyone been tried like I am tried?"

If one has to pass such judgment upon the poetry found in this volume, it does not detract from the merit of the editor, for this volume gives us an insight into what depths poetry had sunk and also what price patrons, who as a rule had become wealthy by robbing the public treasury, would pay for insipid praise to satisfy their vanity.

More important are in my opinion the accounts dealing with Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Ṣabīḥ, wazīr of al-Ma'mūn, and his family. Here we find aṣ-Ṣūlī correcting Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr, author of the Kitāb Baghdād. Then he says: "I saw him in al-Baṣra in 277 when he came there to visit Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Mādarā'i, and I copied two or three of his lectures. But when I saw that he was a man who derived his knowledge from books and I did not see in him what I wanted, I left him. It is hard for me to speak evil of any man of learning or that I should belittle him, but there is no help, one must give learning its due and speak the truth in its place."

Speaking of the work of the editor one can only praise his carefulness, though often one would like a vowel, while a good many are superfluous. I believe I have read the whole book with care, and give below a few cases where I discovered errors. I hope that Mr. Dunne will not let us wait too long for the remaining volumes which he proposes to publish.

p. 17, 12, read اصبع. p. 21, 8, read يُبْرِغُ الارماح
 اِبْرَاغَا "he makes the lances pierce like an awl (pierces
 leather)". p. 75, 4, أَنْ added after كاد is wrong in good
 Arabic (*vide* grammars). p. 85, 12, read المهرق المنشور
 "the spread-out parchment". p. 91, 13, read خُفَاف meant
 is Khufāf ibn Nadba, the poet. p. 92, 2, read الجُحَاف.

p. 92, 3, read **الغراف**. p. 92, 10, read **خود**, in apposition to **الرباب**. p. 95, 10, read **العنان**. p. 100, 13, read **دورها**. p. 100, 14, **تزورني**. p. 110, 12, read **جُحرها**. p. 150, 4, read **تهذره**. p. 150, 17, read **أخافه** "made him fear". p. 151, 10, in two copies which I possess some name after Muḥammad b. Ziyad is not legible, through the type having broken off. In the following line **شيأ** (according to Yaqut a village near Bukhārā) may be right, I do not know. p. 154, 7, read **حَتَفُ شَبَابَةٍ كُلِّ جُلَس طَامِح**. p. 156, 18, probably **أزعج = نخس** "and worry him". **فأنخسه** is generally construed with **ب**. p. 158, 2, here is something missing, perhaps we should read **قال علمته ما كان بيني** p. 164, 14, **الحصان** without Tashdid "a chaste woman". p. 176, 17, probably **الشاه مَرُغ** "a falcon" lit. "the kingbird".

The *Dīwān al-Ma'ānī* of Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī carries us a generation further. His borrowings from Ibn al-Mu'tazz have been mentioned and also to aṣ-Ṣūlī he owes a debt for borrowings, though as a rule when he cites aṣ-Ṣūlī it is through Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī. Yāqūt in the *Irshād* tells us that for years he was unable to obtain reliable information about the two scholars bearing the Nisba al-'Askarī, but finally succeeded in Damascus from information furnished by

as-Silafī (Irshād, iii, 126–139). Abū Aḥmad was born in 293 and died in 382, but he could not ascertain the date of the death of Abū Hilāl, except that he found in a manuscript of his Kitāb al-Awā'il that he completed that work in 395. (We find a similar statement at the end of the printed edition of his Kitāb aṣ-Ṣinā'atāin that he completed that work in 394.) He may have died soon after, as 395 is sometimes given as the date of his death. The uncertainty about the lives of the two 'Askaris may be due to their having spent the greater part of their lives in 'Askar Mukram in Khūzistān. Both, as is proved from their existing works, were men of profound learning, sound judgment, and good taste. If we find in the Kitāb aṣ-Ṣinā'atāin of Abū Hilāl how much further the science of literary criticism had advanced since the time of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, the anthology under consideration is a further proof of his discernment. The work is divided into twelve parts, each subdivided in sections. The amount of poetry included is very considerable, and as a rule quotations are introduced by words like: "The best saying on this subject which I have found is the following." Or in other cases he excuses himself for citing poor specimens by saying that he does so that all sides of the question come under review. Until recently only one manuscript was accessible, that in the British Museum, but the editor, Ḥusām ad-Dīn al-Qudṣī, found in the State Library at Cairo copies by Shinqīṭī and Shaikh 'Abdoh, which decided him to attempt an edition, though the first volume of the manuscripts mentioned left much to be desired in respect of correctness. He asked me to read through the work *after* the sheets were printed off and most of my emendations are printed in the rather long lists of errata at the end of each volume. The manuscript in the British Museum proved in many cases to present a better text, and Dr. Tritton had the kindness of verifying a number of passages before I was able to procure photos.

In addition to being one of the largest anthologies of early times, we find in this book some curious information upon

entirely other matters. Vol. ii, 148, he informs us that al-Āmidī wrote a book on *flies* and apparently had no knowledge whatever of the *Kitāb al-Hayawān* of al-Jāhiz, and that the book of Āmidī contained matter which cannot be found in the work of al-Jāhiz. Nobody interested in Arabic poetry can neglect this book, which is printed in a pleasant type, and considering the large amount of otherwise unknown poetry the text is very good, though one would at times have liked a more liberal vocalization. The chapter on the various kinds of food offers difficulties which cannot always be solved by existing dictionaries. An index of the poets cited adds to the usefulness of the work.

The *Mukhtār Ash'ār Bashshār* offers a worthy supplement to the works discussed above. If any poet was responsible for the introduction of the *New Style* (al-Badī') it was Bashshār. His biography at considerable length is found in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii, 19-73 (old edition, iii, 19-73), and verses of his are scattered in several other volumes of that work and almost every work dealing with Arabic poetry. Bashshār was battered to death by command of the caliph al-Mahdī in A.H. 167 or 168, at the age of nearly sixty years. Some years ago appeared in Cairo a small volume pretending to be the *Dīwān* of this poet. The copy I possessed has been lost through lending, but I had written an article containing a supplement of more than double the quantity of verse contained in the above-mentioned *Dīwān*, with a view of publishing it, but fortunately I desisted. Entirely unknown to literary history was the selection of Bashshār's poetry made by the two brothers, Abū Bakr Muḥammad and Abū 'Uṭhmān Sa'id, sons of Hāshim known as al-Khālidiyān, who as poets frequented the court of Saif ad-Daula at Ḥalab, and are known as the joint compilers of an anthology of modern poets, known under the title of *Ḥamāsa*, a copy of which is preserved in the State Library at Cairo. It is this selection of the poems of Bashshār which an otherwise unknown North African scholar

Ismā'il b. Aḥmad b. Ziyādat Allāh at-Tujībī al-Barqī made the basis of an anthology of early Arabic poetry. This Tujībī must have led a wandering life, for in this work he mentions having been in Sicily, then after the year 400 we find him in Spain, in 406 in Malaga, but in 415 he was in Egypt, which is the latest date mentioned. As Abū Bakr al-Khālidī died in 380 and his brother, Abū 'Uthmān, about the year 400, the *Mukhtār* must have reached North Africa at an early date after its composition. Maulawi 'Abd al-'Azīz Maiman, in an introduction to the edition, has, as far as possible from availing sources, tried to elucidate the historical data found scattered in the work. While in Aligarh I went with Sayyid Badr ad-Din through the whole work and, to make sure that he had read the original correctly, I had the original codex before me while he compared his copy made from the same. The original, the property of the State Library of Haidarābād, has lost a considerable portion at the beginning (mentioned by the editor in his introduction) and is well-written and in a good state of preservation. The text in general is good and errors of the scribe have been corrected by the editor, who has had the assistance of his learned colleague, Maulawi 'Abd al-'Aziz, whose knowledge of Arabic poetry is perhaps unequalled by any living scholar. The result is that we have an almost faultless text which is a great credit to Sayyid Badr ad-Din. He has in the footnotes given references to a great number of other works, including the *Kitāb al-La'ālī* of Abū 'Ubaid al-Bakrī (a critique of the *Amālī* of al-Qālī which 'Abd al-'Aziz intends to publish). These notes prove again the confusion which has been caused in Arabic literature by careless attribution of verses to wrong authors. The indices enable us to find quickly the names of the poets and all verses cited in the work. I do not know why, but strangely the editor has *not* given these references for the verses of the poet whose poems form the basis of the work. I know that he intended to publish as a separate work a collection of all verses of *Bashshār* which he had collected from many sources.

This labour, I fear, is unfortunately wasted, for the Shaikh al-Islām Sidi Muḥammad at-Ṭāhir ben 'Ashūr of Tunis informed me that he possesses a manuscript of the complete *Dīwān* of Bashshār, containing some eight thousand verses, which he hopes to publish at an early date with a commentary. When this collection of his poetry is available we shall be able to judge much better than by the guidance of Arabic critics how far the poetry of Bashshār has influenced that of Abū Nuwās and hundreds of the later poets who followed in their steps.

The Muntazam of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Jauzi

An Arabic proverb says: "To hear of the Mu'aiddī is a different thing from seeing him." So it is with this chronicle. In catalogues of manuscripts and Brockelmann's *History of Arabic Literature* mention is made of the odd volumes which are found in European libraries. In 1907 Horovitz gave an account of other manuscripts found by him in Eastern libraries,¹ and Gabrieli² a summary of contents. In a long article in this journal³ de Somogyi gave a detailed description of the manuscripts preserved in England, while Amedroz had published in the notes to his edition of the literary remains of Hilāl as-Ṣābi' extracts supplementing the statements of Hilāl from the Berlin and Paris manuscripts. Probably others have drawn upon these last two mentioned manuscripts. Finally Hashim Nadwī in his *Tadkirat an-Nawādir*⁴ enumerates this chronicle as one of the works which the Dairat al-ma'arif intends to publish. Though Horovitz and Gabrieli enumerate manuscript copies and de Somogyi gives long details of the contents of the manuscripts examined by him, none of them makes a statement as to the *real* value of the work nor the quality of the manuscripts. The most valuable account on the copies existing in Istanbul is by O. Spies in his *Beiträge zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*

¹ *MSOS.*, vol. x, 1907, pp. 6 ff.

² *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 49-76.

³ *RRAL.*, 1916, pp. 1159 ff.

⁴ *Hyderābād*, 1350, p. 75.

(pp. 61-9), in which he also gives a summary of the years covered by those manuscripts.

I fear de Somogyi did not quite realize the *defects* of this history in the volumes he considered in his article. It is *useless* to give for any historical account the final authority only. A close examination reveals that Ibn al-Jauzi, working at great speed *to produce another book*, availed himself of the early volumes of a *few* historical works by predecessors. He copies the chronicle of Ṭabari word for word, omitting in most cases the most precious details, carefully *avoiding* embarrassing names. His second source is the Tārīkh of the Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, which he extracts ; but again he leaves out much that is of importance and, as a rule, most of the names of the Shaikhs, making a selection only which to me appears made for the purpose of establishing *his own chains* of traditionists. It is only when he enters upon the domains of polemics against heretics or Shī'ahs that he adds something new. I would for this reason proclaim the earlier half of the work ¹ as *utterly worthless*, and some twenty pages in a journal would in all probability fill all that is new.

As a Muhaddith he gives for his accounts, except where he has drawn from books for which he had no Riwāya, the chain of authorities. He has none for Ṭabari, but for other works which he has used we find it hundreds of times the same. For the Tārīkh Baghdād it is Abu Mansūr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz ² after the Khaṭīb ; for the Tārīkh Naisabūr by al-Ḥākim it is Zāhir b. Ṭāhir ³ after Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Baihaqī ⁴ after al-Ḥākim ; for the history of Sūfis by Abū 'Abd ar-Raḥman as-Sulamī it is Muḥammad b. Nāsir ⁵ after Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Ali b. Khalaf ⁶ after as-Sulamī ; for the Nishwār of Tanūkhī it is Muḥammad b.

¹ In the set of manuscripts Aya Sofia, 3093-3098, the work is divided into eight volumes, while those Köprülū, 1174 and 1173, belong to a copy consisting of four volumes. The last volume, comprising the years 521-574 (A.S. 3098), is only of half the size of the other volumes.

² Died A.H. 535.

³ Died 535.

⁴ Died A.H. 458.

⁵ Died A.H. 550.

⁶ Died A.H. 487.

'Abd al-Bāqī¹ after Tanūkhī. He has for the later portions of his work made use of the works of Abū Bakr as-Ṣūlī, Sinān b. Thābit as-Ṣābi', but as he does not give any intermediary authorities, it is quite certain that he used them as books. Now and then he also has drawn upon the *Tārīkh Miṣr* by Ibn Yūnus, but it is quite evident that he had the book at hand only at times, and the extracts are by no means exhaustive. As a stray bird one Spaniard Baqī b. Makhḥad has two lines under the year A.H. 276.²

As regards the author himself I have pointed out that he must have worked in great haste and this accounts for many very bad mistakes on his part. On several occasions he has made a mistake of a hundred years in the obituary notices. So far I have discovered the following, all of which he has taken from the *Tārīkh Baghdād*. As the printed text of the *Muntazam* is not available I cite the passages under the years in which they are found in the work: A.H. 320, al-Ḥasan b. ar-Rabī' al-Baja'i, died 220; A.H. 339, al-Ḥasan b. Dā'ūd b. Bābshādh, died 439; A.H. 344, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qādī as-Samnāni, died 444; A.H. 346, al-Ḥasan b. Khalaf, died 246; A.H. 347, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ghandajānī, died 447; A.H. 351, Muḥammad b. Sahl b. 'Askar died 251; A.H. 354, Abul Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad at-Tanūkhī, died 358.³

There are more cases like this, but they prove that he did not look long enough into his book to discover his error. For a Muḥaddith whose memory was proverbial it is astonishing that he did not discover his error when he enumerated the *Shaikhs* whom he should have known to have died long before or after the person under notice.

In two cases, so far, I have discovered that he gives the

¹ Died A.H. 535. He cites many passages verbatim as found in the portions edited by Professor Margoliouth as well as others taken from the lost volumes. These extracts are often without curtailment, contrary with his habit in citing from other works.

² That this biography is also taken from the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Yūnus is clear from the *Ṣilah* of Ibn Pascual, p. 122, line 15.

³ All these biographies are taken from the *Tārīkh Baghdad* and I have found over twenty such errors, which will be noted in the footnotes of the edition.

obituary notices under *two* different years, because he used different books or made his notes at different times and blundered once. These are: 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. 'Adī is mentioned as having died in 320 and 323; Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm b. al-Ḥusain Ibn as-Sukkarī is stated to have died in A.H. 342 and 355.

A special feature of the Muntazam is the animosity displayed against other sects, especially the Shī'ah and Ash'aris, attacks against whom recur whenever the author has an opportunity. The last volume, which deals with events of the author's lifetime, is filled with swaggering vanity of his prowess as a preacher and with pride he mentions that the congregations of competitors were attended by far smaller numbers than his own. His contemporary, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī, also of the Ḥanbalī Madhhab is, in quite a modern way, almost ignored.¹

As specimens of his adverse criticism of men who have been and are to this day acknowledged as ranking among the greatest Arabic authors, I translate the biographies of Abul Faraj al-Iṣbahānī and Ibn as-Sam'ānī, the author of the Ansāb, as they give the student an idea what he may expect.

Among the obituaries of the year A.H. 356 we read: 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Haitam b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Marwān Abul Faraj al-Iṣbahānī the Kātib. He transmitted traditions after Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī Muṭayyin² and a quantity of others. He principally transmitted historical tales and belles-lettres. He was learned in the *Days* of the people and biographies. He was a poet and composed many books, among them the

¹ Under the year 571 he has four lines of a biography of Ibn 'Asākir, in which he tells us that he heard many Ḥadīth and composed a history of Damascus in eighty big volumes and that he was one of the supporters of the Ash'arī school, even writing a book named Tahdhīb al-Muftarī (printed Damascus, 1347). This biography has caused the copyist of the manuscript to insert a protest in which he says that Ibn al-Jauzi's words "He had knowledge" were uncalled for as Ibn al-Asakir was a better scholar than Ibn al-Jauzi.

² This is an apparent act of spitefulness as Muṭayyin, who is the only Shaikh of al-Iṣbahānī whom he mentions by name, was considered as untrustworthy (*vide Lisān al-Mizān*, v, 233).

Aghānī (Book of Songs) and the book of the Ayyām al-‘Arab, in which he mentions one thousand and seven hundred battle-days. Ad-Dāraquṭni transmits on his authority, but he had Shi‘ah tendencies and such people cannot be trusted in their Riwāya, for in his books he openly mentions what must be called prevarication, and he makes little of drinking wine, nay, he at times relates that of himself. Anyone who looks into the Kitāb al-Aghānī can see all that is evil and disapproved. He died in Dul-Hijja of this year.

Among the obituaries of the year A.H. 563 figures Ibn as-Sam‘ānī. He says of him : “ ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Manṣūr Abū Sa‘d as-Sam‘ānī. He came to Baghdād in the year 32, and studied with me under the Shaikhs and travelled. He composed an appendix to the Tārīkh Baghdād after Shujā’ ad-Duhli had written something of an appendix. Also Abul Faḍl ibn Khairūn had written on the deceases of the Shaikhs and he gathered from our Shaikhs like ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir and others, who survived, such matter as was suitable to be mentioned from the time of the Khaṭīb to his time, except that he had a bias against the followers of the Maḍhab of Aḥmad (ibn Hanbal) and went out of his way to mention a number of our people and criticize them adversely where adverse criticism was not deserved. He said concerning ‘Abd al-Qādir that he does his teaching in samples (Shastaka), yet the man was visibly ill. He says of Ibn Nāṣir that he loved to criticize others adversely. Yet *this one* took the bulk of his book from him and uses his words when criticizing scholars, and in this manner disparages only what he himself says in everything which he brings forward in the way of criticism on his authority ; and he ought not to cite him as an authority in his criticisms. He, then, ought to have said that he found fault with such and such person and that there was no cause for adverse criticism. What business has a traditionist except criticism ? And he who considers *that* a blameworthy accusation does not know anything of this science. So Abu Sa‘d cools his anger in his book by what has no real value and he did not succeed in the diffusion of his book on account of

his evil intentions. He died and his hopes were not fulfilled. If anyone were to search for what is found in his book in the way of errors, mixed-up genealogies, and the records of the *deaths* of people who are *alive* he would find many things, but time is too precious to waste on matters like this. This man had a strange complaint, he used to take a man from Baghdād and sit with him on the banks of the river 'Īsā¹ and then would say: A man from beyond the river (or Mā warā' an-Nahr) related to me. Then he would sit with him in the Raqqa of Baghdād and say: "Such a one related to me at ar-Raqqa." And so on in this manner, which is not hidden from traditionists (who *are* traditionists). Moreover, he had a bad grasp (of what was required of a critic), for he would say in the biography of a man that he was of fine stature, which is not an argument in praise of a traditionist. Again he would say of an old woman under which he was reading traditions: "She comes from a family of traditionists, her father was a traditionist, her husband is a traditionist, and she is seventy years and over and is chaste." That is not the way of a man who knows what criticism is. In the biography of Ibn Sa-Saifī the poet he says: "The loose folk in Baghdād say he is al-Haiṣ Baiṣ and he has a sister whose name is Dakhala wa Kharaja. No person who has any intellect would mention matters like this, but why shall I enlarge upon these shameful things? Ibn as-Sam'ani died in his country in this year and the news arrived (in Baghdād) about it."

Complete copies of the Muntazam do not exist in European libraries, but in the public libraries in Stambul are preserved a number of manuscripts which make it possible to assemble a complete set. I have at my disposal photos of a set preserved in the Āyā Sofia (3096-8) which contain the sixth to eighth volumes covering the years A.H. 285 to 574, written in a uniform hand. The last volume of this set, for the years 521-574, is at present the only one of which a MS. is known to me, unless there may be a copy in the Serāi as indicated by Spies. For comparison I have also photos of the MS.

¹ On the western side of Baghdād.

Köprülü 1174, originally the latter portion of the *third* volume in a set divided into four volumes. If the text of the Ayā Sofia MSS. leaves much to be desired as regards correctness, this latter MS., apparently written by a Persian or Turk, is simply full of errors of all kinds. Names like al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, 'Amr and 'Umar all are alike to the scribe, and as if Iblis had been looking over his shoulders generally the wrong name is found in this MS. However, occasionally this manuscript contains biographies which the Ayā Sofia MSS. have omitted, and I have had to get the assistance of the Paris MS. (No. 5909) in cases where the text of the Stambul MSS. was hopelessly wrong. There can, as far as I am able to ascertain, be no question of different recensions. Omissions or additions in one manuscript or the other are simply due to the carelessness of the scribes. As the author did not continue his history beyond the year 574, we may assume that he was too busy in writing more books. Or had times changed? The caliph an-Nasir was perhaps not interested in sermons and preferred pigeon sport and Futuwwa—trousers.

I must say that with the advent of the Saljuq dynasty Ibn al-Jauzi does give us some more historical details, and he frequently cites official correspondence at length. It is for this reason that the publication of the last three volumes should be undertaken before the earlier ones, if these latter may be considered worth the paper and cost of printing.

As so far only one manuscript is known to me of the Muntazam for the years 412-574, I have compared the facsimile of the Mir'āt az-Zamān by the author's grandson, Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi, in the facsimile published by Jewet,¹ which contains *some* extracts from the Muntazam, but this publication can be of very little use as the manuscript vies with the Köprülü manuscripts of the Muntazam in incorrectness.

¹ The Librarian of the School of Oriental Studies has kindly lent me the copy belonging to that Institution, for which I express my thanks in this place.

The Origin of the Ras Shamra Alphabet

By ERIC BURROWS

IN 1931 the cuneiform alphabet of Ras Shamra was derived from the Sinaitic alphabet by M. Sprengling and A. T. Olmstead (*The Alphabet: Its Rise and Development from the Sinaitic Inscriptions*, Chicago)¹; and in March, 1934, by E. Ebeling, apparently without knowledge of the work of Sprengling and Olmstead, from Babylonian cuneiform (*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Keilschriftalphabets von Ras Schamra*, *Sitz.-Ber. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*). In June, 1934, J. G. Février, also independently of Sprengling and Olmstead, showed connections with South Semitic, suggesting that the South Semitic alphabet was for the most part derived from the Ras Shamra cuneiform or from a common source (*Rev. des Études sémitiques*, pp. xiii-xvi). In the same month T. Gaster accepted the theory of Olmstead (*Ancient Egypt*, 1934, p. 34), and in July, 1935, defended in some detail the origin of the Ras Shamra alphabet from a derivative of the Sinaitic approximating to the Phœnician (*PEF. Quarterly*, 135 ff.).

It can hardly be doubted that the derivation of the Ras Shamra cuneiform from the earlier Semitic alphabet is correct.² It remains to determine to what stage of the development of the Sinaitic-Canaanite-Phœnician alphabet the alphabet of Ras Shamra corresponds; and to re-investigate the origin of certain signs in the latter (particularly Nos. 1, 4, 7, 10, 11, 14, 20, 21, 22 in the Table). The variant forms of many

¹ Cf. Sayce, writing about the same time in this *Journal* (Oct., 1931, p. 784): "the imitation of [the Phœnician or Sinaitic-Phœnician letters] in the cuneiform script [of Ras Shamra]."

² Cf. the suggestion made by M. Virolleaud as early as 1929: "L'alphabet de Ras Shamra est-il plus ancien que celui des Phéniciens? N'en est-il, au contraire, qu'une imitation ou une adaptation?" (*Syria*, 1929, p. 310.)

Prototypes of the Ras Shamra Alphabet

		a		b				a		b			
1	K	K^A				a	15	b	$\varnothing^A L^H$			I	
2	U	$U^{G^x} O^H$				b	16	U	$\xi^A \zeta^P$			U	
3	L	$L^S \Lambda^A \gamma^P$				g	17	L				L	
4	T	$T^{S^x} [\Delta^x]$				d	18	T	$\Delta^S (\gamma^S) \equiv^P$			T	
5	H	$-E^A E^{P^x}$				h	19	Y	O^A			H	
6	H	“				e	20	Y	$\odot^S \odot^A$			H	
7	H	“				e^2 u^2	21	D	$\gamma^A \gamma^P$			H	
8	I	$\gamma^D \gamma^{P^x}$				w	22	Y	h^P			I	
9	I	$h^{S^x} h^{A^x}$				z	23	Y	$\delta^S [\gamma^S] \gamma^{P^x}$			I	
10	H	Π^A				h	24	P	$\gamma^S \gamma^{G^x}$			H	
11	H	∞^{S^x}				h	25	L	$\gamma^S \gamma^A$			H	
12	D	$\gamma^S \gamma^P$				t	26	W	w^D			D	
13	Y	$\gamma^S \gamma^G$				y	27	W				Y	
14	U	$\gamma^{S^x} \gamma^D \gamma^{P^x}$				K	28	L	γ^{SAD}			U	

S = Sinaitic. G = Gezer. A = Ain Shems. H = Tel-Hesi. D = Tel-Duwein. P = Phen. x = inversion

signs also deserve more attention than they have yet received.¹

We now know many letters of the pre-Phoenician Canaanite alphabet from about the period of the Sinaitic inscriptions to that of the earliest Phoenician. The following are the documents :—

1. Gezer potsherd (Taylor, *Journ. of the Pal. Orient. Soc.*, 1930, pp. 17, 80) ; probably early Bronze II [2000–1600] ; giving the letters BNI or BLI (Taylor), BNI (Sprengling, *op. cit.*, p. 45 ; Butin, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1932, p. 201), BWI ([']yb) (Grimme, *Arch. f. Orientf.*, 1935, p. 268), BLI (Gaster), or perhaps rather BQI, a known proper name.

2. Ain Shems potsherd (Grant, *Ain Shems Excavations*, i, pl. x) may very well belong to last phase of Bronze II (1700–1600) or first of Bronze III (1600–1500), according to the excavator (*Rev. bib.*, 1930, 401) ; so far as legible a list of names, beginning (with Grimme) *l'z'ht* [] and ending (it seems) *n'mn* and (with Dussaud) *hnn*. In Grimme's interpretation other letters are identified, including H, P, R (*loc. cit.*, 270 f.) ; other readings by Dussaud (*Syria*, 1930, 392) and by Gaster (*loc. cit.*, pl. i), including G.

3. Tell el-Hesi potsherd ; thirteenth century ; giving BL' (Albright, *Arch. f. Orientf.*, 1929, 150).

4. Tell Duweir I (ewer) ; thirteenth century ; giving probably *mtn šw* [] *t w'lt* (*PEF. Quart. Statem.*, 1934, 179).

5. Tell Duweir II (bowl) ; thirteenth century (*PEF. Quart. Statem.*, 1935, p. 202) ; giving *bšlšt* and probably K as first and third letters of what follows.

In the work of Olmstead and Sprengling the script of Ras Shamra was compared almost wholly with the Sinaitic of Serabit el-Khadim. Analogies with documents 1 and 2 were

¹ As to the prototypes of the other nineteen signs I find myself in agreement, broadly speaking, with Sprengling and Olmstead as regards Nos. 15, 25, 28 (Gaster leaves these unexplained), and with Gaster as regards Nos. 3, 6, 12, 16, 18, 23. Concerning the prototype of the remaining ten we agree to a great extent.

perhaps somewhat minimized: 4 and 5 were unknown; 2 had been little studied. To-day it is reasonable to begin by a comparison with the Canaanite documents which in place and (mostly) in time are nearer to those of Ras Shamra. The comparison has been made by Gaster in the case of certain letters (cf. *b*, *g*, *z*, *y*, *n*, ' , *s* in his Table). Probably, however, as many as fourteen proto-Canaanite letters are known, or eighteen if *g*, *h*, *p*, *r* may be read on the Ain Shems ostrakon. It will be seen from the Table, Nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, that all these would provide types for the Ras Shamra signs having the same values, the latter being schematizations of the cursive by parallelism or alignment of wedges equivalent in number to the lines of the cursive or less by one, and by cuneification of original circles or loops into the oblique wedge (cf. statistics, p. 277).¹

From four to eight letters of the traditional alphabet have probably not yet been found in early Canaanite: *d*, *t*, *s*, *š*; and perhaps *g*, *h*, *p*, *r*. These last, if not identified on the Ain Shems ostrakon, must be compared with Sinaitic (*g*, *r*) and Phoenician (*g*, *h*, *p*). The analogy between Ras Shamra *d* and *b* suggests for the prototype of *d* a sign like *b* with extensions; this is probably documented in Sinaitic. *s* is a sign intermediate between Sinaitic² and Phoenician. The correspondence of *t* to the probable Sinaitic and to the Phoenician *t* is evident. *š* seems to approximate to the Phoenician form.

¹ In *m* the zigzag has been simplified into a single wedge. The formula applies to all the rest of the suggested eighteen equations if as is probable the *y* of six wedges was derived from a form a little younger than that of Gezer and the fuller forms of *n* and *r* from forms a little nearer to the Sinaitic than the *n* and *r* (?) of Ain Shems. Sinaitic forms in the Table are from Butin, *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, 1932, 129: Phoenician from Ahiḥam, except *š* (wanting there) from Abiba'1 (No. 22) and the arrow of Rouisseh (No. 23). In Nos. 9, 16, and 5, *z*, *m*, and the doubtful *h* are given, rather differently from Grimm, as I see them in the published copy and photograph of the Ain Shems ostrakon.

² The second specimen of samek in the Table is Butin's unidentified sign xxiii from Sinai, No. 357, where it would make the proper name *sm*' (as in Sabean).

So much of equations between Ras Shamra and the twenty-two letters of the traditional alphabet. There are also to be considered six Ras Shamra signs (Nos. 6, 7, 11, 20, 23, 27) representing values not specially provided for in the ordinary alphabet.

27*a* may well be, as Gaster notes, a differentiation from 26—or rather from its abbreviation, 26*b*.

The following appear to have been derived from variants already existing in the non-cuneiform alphabet. No. 20*a* ghain, is the sign 'ain with an additional stroke. This corresponds to one of the two forms of 'ain in Sinaitic: the eye with the pupil or other detail. It appears from the Ain Shems ostrakon that this variant survived in early Canaanite. No. 11 may be derived from an already existing duplicate to *hēth/hēth*. It would correspond to the Sinaitic letter which may be conjectured to have survived (like the Sinaitic 'ain) in early Canaanite. The oblique wedges represent, according to the usual convention, the loops of the original. Analogously No. 23, with its oblique wedge, would be derived from an archaic variant of original *š/s*, corresponding perfectly to the theoretical intermediary between the looped Sinaitic form and the earliest Phœnician (Rouisseh).

No. 6, the vowel *e*, is doubtless to be explained (with Gaster) as a derivative from Canaanite *he*; and No. 7 (originally another *e*?) is obviously *he* in another position. Aleph being adopted for *a*, the specialization of variants of *he* for *e* was natural.¹

For thirteen of the twenty-eight letters (*b, d, ḥ, y, w, m, n, s, ' , gh, r, š/ś, š*) there are duplicate forms, none of which (unless possibly No. 26*b*) have phonetic significance.

No. 18*b* is presumably an abbreviation of 18*a*, the most elaborate sign in the Ras Shamra alphabet, and obsolescent

¹ The similar (or connected?) adaptations of aleph and hē in Greek suggest that 'ain may have, as in Greek, been occasionally used for *o*; and, in fact, Bauer has recently noticed that there is a probable example of this use in *šp'n = špn, šapōn, Syria, 1934, p. 154 (OLZ., 1935, 129 f.)*.

at the time of our documents.¹ No. 26*b* has all the appearance of an abbreviation from 26*a*. 27*b*² is abbreviated from 27*a*.

Bauer has remarked on the longer form of *n* and *r* which occur in some of the documents of 1929 (*Entzifferung der Keilschrifttafeln von Ras Shamra*, p. 11). *n* has four, instead of the usual three, aligned wedges always on Tab. 12, and sometimes on 3 and 9; in 9, 14 it has five wedges. The *n* with four wedges may be seen also in *Syria*, 1934, p. 148, 2 and 5; 1935, p. 184, Rev. 3. Evidently the variants are in accord with the Sinaitic derivation of the sign; the parts or sinuosities of the snake may be three, four, or five. The fuller form of *r*, No. 25*b*, occurs in *Syria*, 1929, 3, and 9; six or seven wedges instead of the usual five. The picture of a head, one of the most elaborate signs in the Sinaitic alphabet, might well be schematized in cuneiform of Ras Shamra by as many as seven wedges. There is also a variant *h*, analogous to variant *n*, with four instead of the usual three wedges: *Syria*, 1929, No. 3, 1, and 1934, p. 148, 20. This is such a rendering as one might have expected: Canaanite *h* had four lines and (as indicated below) Ras Shamra often reduces the number of lines by one, but rarely by more than one. For the variant *l* (15*a*, a better equivalent than 15*b* to the prototype) see *Syria*, 1932, 143; 1934, 230.

In No. 19*b*, the curious variant of 'ain found in one document (*Syria*, 1934, p. 149), the circle has already been explained by Virolleaud as a diacritical sign derived from the Canaanite alphabet.

The probably archaic variant *m*, No. 16*a* (*Syria*, 1934, p. 103; 1935, p. 186) gives a link between Canaanite *m* and the ordinary *m* of Ras Shamra. In Nos. 2*b*, 4*b*, the unusual forms of *b* and *d* (*Syria*, 1934, p. 103), the oblique wedges in the lower part of the signs may indicate rounded lines in the prototypes. A rounding of *b* appears already in Tell el-Ḥesi,

¹ For some of the rare examples see *Syria*, 1931, p. 194, n. 1; 1934, p. 79, 21, and 32; p. 245, 6, and 15.

² *Syria*, 1934, p. 149.

and an early rounding of *d* is probably to be postulated to account for the later triangular form. The probable variant of *w* in the same text confirms the assumption that the two aligned wedges of the stem of the usual sign represent a bend like that of the *w* of Tell Duweir I (*PEF. Quart. Statemo*, 1934, p. 179).

In the second form of ghain, No. 20*b* (*Syria*, 1934, p. 148), if not a mere corruption, one may see the elongated eye of Sinaitic type instead of the circular eye.¹

Statistics.—The large, oblique wedge in the primary signs (except š) always represents a circle or loop in the prototype : Nos. 11, 12, 19, 20, 23, 24. In the majority of cases the number of wedges may be regarded as equal to the number of lines and loops in the prototype : Nos. 2, 4 (?), 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25. In most of the rest the number is reduced by one : Nos. 1, 3, 5, 9, 10, 21, 26, 28. The number of wedges never exceeds the probable number of lines in the prototype.

Date.—Olmstead concluded that the Ras Shamra alphabet was nearer to that of Serabit than to any early Canaanite type (*op. cit.*, 62) ; Gaster that it was an adaptation from a form of writing between his “Sinaitic II” (represented by Tell Duweir) and Phœnician.² Our results seem to indicate an intermediate position. Signs 1, 8, 10, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 27, and perhaps 2*a*, 4*a*, 5–7, suggest post-Sinaitic prototypes ; signs 2, 4, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25 suggest prototypes well before that of formalized Phœnician. About 1500 ?

¹ In this case the duplication might well be derived from variants that already existed in the non-cuneiform writing ; but all the other duplicates could be sufficiently explained by secondary developments within the cuneiform alphabet. If I am not mistaken the major mythological texts contain no duplicate forms except those for š/ś (and the occasional variant to l [15*a*]). The fact would be favourable to the hypothesis that No. 26*b* was not, originally at least, merely a graphic variant. On these signs see *Syria*, 1931, p. 197, n. 2 ; Bauer, *OLZ.*, 1935, 131 ; *Syria*, 1934, p. 306, 17 ; p. 330, 20. No. 26*a* corresponds both with š and ś, but No. 26*b* could always, so far as I have observed, be equated to ś. [The observation has already been made by H. L. Ginsberg, *JRAS.*, 1935, p. 45.]

² So p. 135. P. 140, “between S. III and Phœnician” : misprint ?



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A NEW (?) CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF AURANGZEB'S REIGN

Among the contemporary writers on Aurangzeb's reign, Muhammad Kāzim of 'Ālamgīr Nāma, Rai Bindrāban of Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh, Musta'id Khān of Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī, Ishar Dāss of Fatūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī, Bhīm Sen of Nuskhā-i-Dilkushā and Khāfi Khān of Muntakhib-Al-Lubāb occupy a very important place. But the place of honour among chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign has so far been occupied by Khāfi Khān's Muntakhib-al-Lubāb. He has been wearing a triple crown as a historian. His love of history and sacrifices he was prepared to make in its cause are—so it is said—proved by his facing the wrath of Aurangzeb rather than abandon his work. His impartiality is borne out by his occasional flings at Aurangzeb and his policy. His unique place among historians of Mughal India is assured by his compiling an account of the *entire reign* of Aurangzeb.

But a critical examination of his history of 'Ālamgīr's reign proves him to be one of the biggest imposters among historians. He nowhere mentions himself that he went on compiling an account of Aurangzeb's reign during the life-time of the emperor. He refers to the Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī of Musta'id Khān which was compiled after the death of Aurangzeb. He claims to have examined Rai Bindrāban's Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh which was not written earlier than 1694. He speaks of the 'Ālamgīr Nāma of Muhammad Kāzim which closes with the 10th year of Aurangzeb's reign.¹ To have used Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī and find out its defects, Khāfi Khān's history could not have been written during Aurangzeb's times. In another place he gives an indication of the date of the composition. While describing the carrying off

¹ Khāfi Khān, ii, 212.

of Ajit Singh, son of Mahārājā Jaswant Singh from Delhi, Khāfi Khān adds that Aurangzeb went on describing him as an imposter till he was married to a daughter of the Mahārānā of Udaipur.¹ Obviously this could not have been written before this marriage which could not have taken place earlier than the nineties of the seventeenth century. While narrating the account of Muhammad Murād Bakhsh, Khāfi Khān claims to describe the events as detailed to him by his father, who was a trusted servant of Murād Bakhsh, implying thereby that he himself had no personal knowledge of the events. Khāfi Khān began the writing of his book in the year A.H. 1030 (1717), as he himself seems to indicate in the introduction to the first volume,² and completed it in A.H. 1045 (1732), to which date he brings down his narrative in the second volume. Thus even according to our author the book was begun ten years after the death of Aurangzeb,³ all the pains the author had to take concerned collecting materials from such sources as he could then command. He had, as we have already seen, certain general contemporary histories of Aurangzeb's reign to help him.

Though he has named some of these works, he has scrupulously avoided mentioning an author whose writings he used most. This is another historian of Aurangzeb, Abu'l Fazl Ma'mūrī. Khāfi Khān has purloined his history of Aurangzeb almost verbatim. Unfortunately, the only two extant copies of this work are found bound up with a history of the reign of Shah Jahan, *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of Sādiq Khān. One of these copies belonged to Sir H. M. Elliot.⁴ Professor Dowson, who examined it, rightly came to the conclusion

¹ Khāfi Khān, ii, 260.

This addition is not to be found in Abu'l Fazl.

² Vol. i, p. 2.

³ Even Professor Dowson's addition to Sir H. M. Elliot's note on Khāfi Khān (Elliot and Dowson, vol. vii, p. 209) wrongly asserts that Khāfi Khān compiled an account of the reign of Aurangzeb during the emperor's lifetime, and kept it suppressed.

⁴ Elliot and Dowson, vol. vii, p. 133.

that the account of the reign of Aurangzeb that it contained could not have been written by Sādiq Khān. He dismissed the matter there without probably examining the account itself in detail, as it seemed to him a copy of Khāfī Khān with only slight variations.¹ The other copy of this work is bound up with a modern MS. of *Shāh Jahān Nāma* of Sādiq Khān in the State Library, Rampur (India). In the course of my work on a Bibliography of the Mughal Period of Indian History, I examined this MS. last summer by the courtesy of the State authorities. An analysis of the work revealed the fact that though it seems to be a copy of Khāfī Khān, it claims an author of its own, Abu'l Fazl Ma'mūri.² The author's name is mentioned in several places, and we are also informed about the important places he filled in the reign of Aurangzeb. He is further mentioned in the '*Ālamgīr Nāma* and the first volume of Khāfī Khān. From all these sources we learn that he accompanied Aurangzeb from Burhānpur when he started for the North for the purpose of disputing succession to Shah Jahan's empire.³ He was first of all raised to the rank of a commander of 1,000, and after the battle of Dharmat he was promoted to the command of 1,500.⁴ Early in Aurangzeb's reign he seems to have been appointed Darogha-i-Buyūtāt which office he occupied for thirty years till the thirty-sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign.⁵ Towards the end of the year 25 he was appointed Waqa'-i-Nawis of Burhānpur to hold it along with his old appointment as a Mīr-i-Sāmān.⁶ In the year 1686 he was sent to the army commanded by Prince A'zam with some important instructions.⁷ In the year 36 of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed Mīr-i-Bahr.⁸ He seems to have either continued in the department of Buyūtāt or was again reverted thereto,

¹ Elliot and Dowson, vol. vii, p. 133.

² Rampur MS., p. 577.

³ Khāfī Khān, vol. i, p. 747.

⁴ '*Ālamgīr Nāma*, pp. 53, 77.

⁵ Abu'l Fazl's history of the reign of Aurangzeb, Rampur MS., p. 653.

⁶ Ibid., p. 548.

⁷ Ibid., p. 577.

⁸ Ibid., p. 653.

as we find him visiting the army besieging Panhāla with certain important papers in the year 44.¹ In the year 46 he was employed as a negotiator on behalf of the besieging Mughal commanders to settle the terms of surrender with Parārama, the commander of the fort of Khelna, which they were besieging.² He seems to have survived Aurangzeb.

The author mentions certain events which he himself witnessed. He was present in Delhi when the Hindus from the city and the neighbouring places gathered together for the purpose of holding a demonstration of protest against the imposition of the Jizya.³ Earlier still he saw the musicians of Delhi carry the bier of music to the burial ground when Aurangzeb banished them from the court.⁴

An examination of this MS. proves that Khāfi Khān incorporated it almost word for word in his own history. Where he differs from its text, it is usually in suppressing the personal part played by Abu'l Fazl in various affairs. Not only is the prose narrative a copy of the account written by Abu'l Fazl, but the verses used by both to embellish their works are almost the same. There seems no reason to doubt that the original account of Aurangzeb's reign which Khāfi Khān subsequently made his own, was written by Abu'l Fazl. It covers pp. 378 to 733 of the Rampur MS. It closes with the death of Aurangzeb, short of the account of the burial which Khāfi Khān gives. The work really comes to an end with the verses found on p. 549 of Khāfi Khān, volume ii.

It may be suggested that our author may have copied Khāfi Khān's account of the reign. This is impossible. To have been able to use Khāfi Khān's history which was completed in 1732, our author must have lived at least more than 105 years. During the time of the war of succession he was raised to the command of 1,500. To have attained that rank, he must have been about 30 at least. Copies of Khāfi Khān's history could not have become common

¹ Ibid., p. 699. ² Ibid., p. 707. ³ Ibid., p. 529. ⁴ Ibid., p. 491.

till some time after its completion in 1722. To have copied it then, and that too up to the account of Aurangzeb's death, suppressing the account of Aurangzeb's burial, would seem unreasonable, as well as unprofitable. It is more reasonable to suppose that just as Khāfī Khān used Sādiq Khān's Shāh Jahān Nāma for the reign of Shāh Jahān,¹ he may have used Abu'l Fazl's Annals of Aurangzeb's reign. A writer of a universal history of Mughal India up to his own times is more likely to use a work on a particular reign, than a writer on the reign of one emperor to lift it from a universal history. The internal evidence of the MS. makes it possible for Khāfī Khān to have used a work which might have been compiled by a contemporary. The additions he usually makes and alterations he effects fit in well with this suggestion. But for a contemporary of Aurangzeb to purloin Khāfī Khān's work and add to its account his own participation in certain events seems impossible and unlikely. The balance of plagiarism is turned against Khāfī Khān when we remember that his account of Shāh Jahān's reign is also indebted to another contemporary work. This seems to have been Khāfī Khān's usual method of writing history !

The fact that what we have long known as Khāfī Khān's account of Aurangzeb's reign turns out to be written by an important public servant of Aurangzeb's reign increases its value. It ceases to be the compilation of an historian who, with difficulty, ascertained the truth some years after the passage of those events. It becomes the work of a man who long participated in many important public events, and who as a newswriter and Darogha-i-Buyūtāt, had abundant opportunities of learning the true account of many important public events. It becomes an important document of Aurangzeb's reign precisely because it ceases to be Khāfī Khān's work.

SRI RAM SHARMA.

October, 1934.

¹ Elliot and Dowson, vii, p. 133.

INTERPRETATION OF PSALM XLI

The right interpretation of Psalm xli depends upon the meaning of v. 2a: **אשרי משכיל אל דל**. It is generally assumed that these words mean: "Happy is he who considereth the poor," i.e. who takes care of the poor. The words that follow, i.e. from v. 2b till v. 4 (inclusive), are taken to refer to the **משכיל אל דל** and to describe the reward that will be given to the **משכיל אל דל**. What follows after v. 4 does not seem to fit in very well unless we say that the Psalmist speaks now (v. 5 ff.) as one who was a **משכיל אל דל** and complains that his fate is different from what it should be. But of this there is no mention in v. 5 ff. Some commentators say that the Psalmist is complaining (v. 5 ff.) that he is not visited by **משכילים אל דל** but by enemies. This is not mentioned either in v. 5 ff. Gunkel does not like **משכיל אל דל** and suggests **מסבִּיחַ אל** "der Vertraute Gottes" (*Die Psalmen*, p. 175; see also the translation on p. 172). He also quotes a suggestion by Gressmann: **משכיל-אל** "der auf Gott achtet". All one can say about such suggestions is that they are incomprehensible.

It seems to me that the meaning of **משכיל אל דל** is quite different from what it is generally taken to be. I suggest that **משכיל אל דל** means "he who understands the poor", i.e. he who looks at the poor and sees what happens to him. He will then find that God protects and helps him. The results of his observations are described in v. 2b and vv. 3-4. The poor is the lowly, the weak, the righteous man who is pursued by the haughty, wicked men. He suffers, but in the end no harm comes to him.

The governing word in **אשרי משכיל אל דל** is **משכיל**. Does **משכיל** ever mean in the Bible "to take care of", or "to consider", "to pay attention to" in the sense of "to take care of"? As far as I can see **משכיל** never has that meaning. **וְלִהְיוּ מְשָׁכִילִים אֶל דְּבַר הַתּוֹרָה** (Nehemiah

viii, 13) means "and to understand the words of the Torah". Cf. also Proverbs xvi, 20, and xxi, 12. In Genesis iii, 6, לְהִשְׁכִּיל means "to look at". Cf. also Deuteronomy xxxii, 29; Isaiah xli, 20; Daniel ix, 13, 22. The general meaning of הִשְׁכִּיל is "to understand", "to look at", "to look at and draw the conclusion". מִשְׁכִּיל, therefore, means "he who understands", or "looks with understanding at".

"He who takes care of the poor," "he who deals well with the poor," would have been חוֹנֵן דָּל, or דָּלִים; cf. Prov. xix, 17; xxviii, 8. Cf. also Psalm lxxii, 13; lxxxii, 3, 4; cxiii, 7.

Instead of דָּל the Psalmist could have said just as well עֲנִי or אֲבִיּוֹן, see Psalm xl, 18; cf. also lxxii, 13; lxxxii, 3, 4; cxiii, 7. דָּל was probably chosen because of the alliteration: מִשְׁכִּיל אֵל דָּל. One may assume that alliteration was the reason for choosing these three particular words.

Now we come to the word אֲשֶׁרִי. אֲשֶׁרִי is generally translated by "blessed". And "blessed" no doubt contributed to the current interpretation. One thought at once of Psalm i, where v. 3 describes the reward of the good man, and one applied the same idea to Psalm xli. But the only Psalm with אֲשֶׁרִי that has a construction similar to that of Psalm i is Psalm cxii. In all other Psalms in which אֲשֶׁרִי occurs—and אֲשֶׁרִי occurs in the Book of Psalms twenty-five times—no reward follows upon אֲשֶׁרִי. Cf., e.g., Psalm xxxii, 1, 2; xciv, 12; cxix, 1, 2; cf. also Job v, 17. אֲשֶׁרִי has more the meaning of "It is good for one". A free translation of מִשְׁכִּיל אֵל דָּל אֲשֶׁרִי would be: "It is good for one to (observe and to) understand the (life of the) poor." One will then see that God protects him. And אֲשֶׁרִי was also no doubt chosen because of the alliteration: מִשְׁכִּיל אֲשֶׁרִי. It is interesting to note that in the Psalms אֲשֶׁרִי always occurs where there is assonance with the other words of the phrase. The same applies to nearly all other passages in the Bible where אֲשֶׁרִי occurs.

The Psalmist says then what the observer of the poor sees. He sees: **בְּיָוֶם רָעָה יִמְלֹטֵהוּ יְהוָה**. Verse 2b contains the general idea of the protection of God. Cf. Psalm xxvii, 5. **יִמְלֹטֵהוּ** is not a prayer. It is a statement of fact. The same applies to vv. 3 and 4. In v. 3 the general idea is continued. In view of **כִּוְנֵן אֱשׁוּרִי** in Psalm xl, 3, I am inclined to take **וְאִשׁוּר** as meaning "and he is firmly established" (see also Gunkel, p. 175). The change of person (3rd to 2nd, in v. 3b and v. 4b) occurs often in the Psalms. Cf., e.g., Psalm v, 7; xl, 18; cf. also Job v, 17.

A few remarks on v. 4. The words in v. 4a are chosen because of alliteration: **יְהוָה יִסְעֲדֵנִי עַל עֵרְשׁ דָּוִי**. Cf. Psalm xciv, 18b: **יְהוָה יִסְעֲדֵנִי חֶסֶד דָּוִד**, and Proverbs xx, 28: **וְיִסְעֵךְ בְּחֶסֶד כִּסְאוֹ**. This alliteration supports, by the way, the traditional reading of **יְהוָה** as *Adonai*. We find **יְהוָה** in the Psalms mostly in verses with *d*-sounds. A good example is: **יְהוָה מִי אֱלֹהֵי מַבְלַעַי דָּוִד**, Psalm xviii, 32a (see also II Samuel xxii, 32a). Therefore also **עֵבֶד יְהוָה** = *Ebed Adonai*, Psalm xviii, 1. Cf. also **יְהוָה לְבָדָךְ** in Psalm iv, 9. Verse 4b is regarded as difficult. See the emendations in Duhm and Gunkel. The words as they are in the MT seem to me right and simple. **כֹּל** has the same function as **אֵת**. **כֹּל** has been chosen because of alliteration. **כֹּל מִשְׁכְּבוֹ הִפַּכְתָּ בְּחַלְוֵי**. These words mean: his couch (or bed) thou hast turned in his illness. **כֹּל** need not be stressed. "To turn the bed" means "to make the bed". Verse 4 wants to say: God himself acts as his nurse.

אֲנִי אֶמְרָתִי, in v. 5, continues the theme; cf. Psalm xl, 8, **אֲנִי אֶמְרָתִי**. The Psalmist himself is a **דָּל**. He knows that God will help him. He prays to God in the assurance that deliverance will come. His enemies wish him ill. He knows that. But he is not afraid of them. Verses 6-7 contain ideas very similar to those in Psalm xxxv, 11-28. Cf. also Psalm xxxviii, 12-23, and Psalm cix, 2-5 and 20-31. What Mowinckel says (*Psalmen-Studien*, i, pp. 17-19) about Psalm xli falls away completely. The enemies did not cause

the illness. There is not a trace of magic in יתלחשו. Verse 8 has the same meaning as Psalm xxxv, 16, or Psalm cix, 2-3, 25. יתלחשו is chosen because of alliteration. The enemies hope that his disease is dangerous (v. 9a), and they curse him (v. 9b). Cf. Psalm cix, 28a. In losing this passage Mowinckel loses considerable support for his magic theory; see Mowinckel, loc. cit., p. 12. In v. 7 alliteration shows that לבו belongs to יקבץ און לו. Verse 7 is a remarkable parallel to Psalm xxxv, 15 (see my interpretation of that verse in *The Expository Times*, May, 1932). Cf. also Psalm xxxviii, 21; lv, 13-14, 21-2. דגדיל עלי עקב gives very good sense; see Gesenius-Brown, s.v. עקב. The alliteration shows that the word עקב is genuine; דגדיל עלי עקב. Verses 11-13 are simple. Cf. Psalm xxxv, 22-26; cix, 26-31. Verse 14 contains the Doxology. Cf. Psalm lxxii, 18, 19; lxxxix, 53; cvi, 48.

I submit that this interpretation explains Psalm xli satisfactorily.

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SAMUEL DAICHES.

AN IMPORTANT MS. OF BUKHĀRĪ'S *ṢAḤĪḤ*

Among the Islamic Arabic MSS. of my collection is one, numbered "Mingana Arab. Isl. 225", which contains an important text of the second part of the famous collection of Islamic Traditions by Bukhārī. The *kitābs* which it contains are only the *Zakāt*, the *Ṣaum*, and the *Ḥajj*.

The MS. is unfortunately incomplete at the end, and so bears no date, but on palæographical grounds it cannot be later than A.D. 1000, and is probably earlier, and so may easily be ascribed to not more than about a hundred years after the author's death, which took place in A.D. 870. This is borne out also by the fact that the title-page contains inscriptions, one of which is dated Ramaḍān A.H. 464 (A.D. 1072), and the other Dhu'l Ḥijjah 574 (A.D. 1178).

The first inscription, which is evidently by an eminent Sheikh whose full name has been rendered illegible, is as follows¹ :—

... سمع مني هذا الجز من اوله الى اخره . . . ابو محمد عبد
الله بن عبد السلم بن شجاع وكتابه هذا ممسك له الى اخره
كتابي الذي سمعته على الشيخ ابي حفص عمر بن الحسن الهوزني
بقراءة ولدي مروان في اصل نسختي وذلك بغير الاسكندرية حماء
الله في شهر رمضان سنة اربع وستين واربعماية

The second inscription is :

قرا فيه . . . الفقير الى ربه حرمل بن جميل الحنفي بتاريخ ذي
الحجة سنة اربع وسبعين وخمسماية

The MS. probably contains the oldest text of Bukhāri in existence.

On the same title-page is also a long note containing a list of authorities bearing on the authenticity of the text of Bukhāri. The note, which is by a later hand, may be ascribed to about A.D. 1300-1350. At the end of this list a copyist, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Maṣ'ūbi, states that he compared the text of this MS. with a copy in the handwriting of Abu Waqt and with another copy in the handwriting of Abu Dharr, the variants of which he noted on the margins of the MS. Abu Waqt and Abu Dharr are, of course, two of the best transmitters of the text of Bukhāri.

The MS. has fairly broad margins, on which is found a comparative apparatus, by a still later hand, between the text of Bukhāri and that of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, and that of the well-known *Muwatta'* by Mālik b. Anas.

The importance of the MS. is further emphasized by marginal notes on ff. 31 and 36, dated 744 and 745 respectively, to

¹ I supply the diacritical points which are completely missing.

the effect that its text was read in Alexandria before the judge Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar Bilbīsi.

A feature exhibited in the MS. is that no other names of Muslim saints or pious men, apart from that of the Prophet, are followed by the complimentary formulæ: "May God be pleased with him, or her," or "May God bless or save him, or her", etc.

A much more important feature is that every section begins with the sentence: "Bukhārī has informed us, saying" (اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا الخ), which would imply that it was not Bukhārī himself who wrote the text of his famous book, but one of his disciples. One is tempted to go farther, and to state in this connection that it was not an immediate disciple of Bukhārī who first committed it to writing, but a hearer of one of these immediate disciples. What renders this hypothesis almost certain is the fact that sometimes a chain of two authorities separates Bukhārī, the author, from the man who first put the book down in writing. So the first *bāb* of *Kitāb az-Zakāt* begins as follows: "We have been informed by Abu Zaid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, who said that Muḥammad b. Yūsuf told us, saying that Bukhārī informed us saying: 'We have been told by Abu 'Āsim Ḍaḥḥāk b. Mukhallad,' " etc.

اخبرنا ابو زيد محمد بن احمد قال حدثنا محمد بن يوسف قال اخبرنا
البخاري قال حدثنا ابو عاصم الضحاك بن مخلد الخ

To my knowledge no other MS. of Bukhārī shows this characteristic, which may throw much light on the transmission of the text of the most important Islamic book after the *Qur'ān*. It should, however, be remarked that some historical notes placed at the beginning of many MSS. of Bukhārī appear to suggest that the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* was not always identical in all the ancient MSS.

The discrepancies which characterize the text of the present MS. as compared with that found in other MSS. and in the

printed texts show themselves also in the phraseology of the text, which sometimes exhibits considerable differences of wording. I will give below the text of one *bāb* of Bukhārī from the *Kitāb al-Hajj*, as found in the authoritative and fully vowelled edition printed in Cairo in A.H. 1345, side by side with the corresponding *bāb* as found in our MS. :—

Mingana Arab. Isl. 225 (fol. 45a) :—

باب من اين يخرج من مكة

اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا مسدد بن مسرهد قال حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله عن نافع عن ابن عمر ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل مكة من كذا من الثنية العليا التي بالبطحاء وخرج من الثنية السفلى. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا الحميدي ومحمد بن المثنى قالا حدثنا سفين بن عينة عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما جا الى مكة دخلها من اعلاها وخرج من اسفلها. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا احمد قال اخبرنا عمرو عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كذا من اعلا مكة قال هشام وكان عروة يدخل على كليهما من كذا وكدى واكثر ما يدخل من كدى وكانت اقربها الى منزله. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا ابن عبد الوهاب قال حدثنا حاتم عن هشام بن عروة دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كذا من اعلا مكة وكان عروة اكثر ما يدخل من كذا وكان اقربها الى منزله. هـ. قال محمد حدثنا يونس قال حدثنا وهيب قال حدثنا هشام عن ابيه دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كدى وكان عروة يدخل منها كليهما واكثر ما يدخل من كدى اقربها الى

منزله. هـ. اخبرنا البخاري قال حدثنا محمود قال حدثنا ابواسامة قال حدثنا هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عايشة ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كُدى وخرج من كُدا من اعلا مكة. هـ.

Edit. Cairo, A.H. 1345 (vol. ii, p. 178).

باب من اين يخرج من مكة

حدثنا مسدد بن مسرهد البصري حدثنا يحيى عن عبيد الله عن نافع عن ابن عمر رضي الله عنهما ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل مكة من كُداء من الثنية العليا التي بالبطحاء ويخرج من الثنية السفلى. قال ابو عبد الله كان يقال هو مسدد كاسمه قال ابو عبد الله سمعت يحيى بن معين يقول سمعت يحيى بن سعيد يقول لو ان مسددا اتته في بيته فحدثته لاستحق ذلك وما ابالي كتي كانت عندي او عند مسدد. حدثنا الحميدي ومحمد بن المثنى قال حدثنا سفيان بن عيينة عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم لما جاء الى مكة دخل من اعلاها وخرج من اسفلها. حدثنا محمود بن غيلان المروزي حدثنا ابواسامة حدثنا هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كُداء وخرج من كُدا من اعلى مكة. حدثنا احمد حدثنا ابن وهب اخبرنا عمرو عن هشام بن عروة عن ابيه عن عائشة رضي الله عنها ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم دخل عام الفتح من كُداء اعلى مكة. قال هشام وكان عروة يدخل على كليهما من كُداء وكُدا واكثر ما يدخل من كُدا وكانت اقربهما الى منزله. حدثنا عبد الله بن عبد الوهاب حدثنا حاتم عن هشام عن عروة دخل

النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كداء من اعلى مكة وكان عروة اكثر ما يدخل من كداء وكان اقربها الى منزله. حدثنا موسى حدثنا وهيب حدثنا هشام عن ابيه دخل النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم عام الفتح من كداء وكان عروة يدخل منها كليهما واكثر ما يدخل من كداء اقربها الى منزله. قال ابو عبد الله كداء وكداء موضعان.

Another and equally important feature exhibited in the text of the MS. is that the *kitābs* are not in the same order as that found in other MSS. and in the printed texts. So in our MS. the whole of the book of *Ṣaum* (fol. 26b) precedes that of *Hajj* (fol. 45a), and an early copyist states on fol. 26b that the MS. in the handwriting of Abu Waqt, with which he compared the present one, had the *Kitāb al-Hajj* immediately after the *Kitāb az-Zakāt* and before the *Kitāb as-Ṣaum*.

The above lines show without any doubt that the text of Bukhārī underwent many vicissitudes before it reached its present standardized form. It is not my intention to enter into details and to elucidate the discrepancies between the old text of Bukhārī, as exhibited in the MS. under consideration,¹ and that contained in the more modern MSS. and in the printed texts, nor to explain how and when that text was finally fixed. I only draw attention to the above facts, and leave the task of accounting for them to others.

A. MINGANA.

¹ A complete set of facsimile reproductions of all the folios of the MS. will soon be published in book form.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

VISVA BHARATI QUARTERLY, May-July, 1935.

We offer a welcome to this the first number of a new series. The quarterly, true to its traditions, devotes itself to art and literature with breadth of mind and general fairness of outlook. This number contains in its 132 pages twenty articles and twelve illustrations. One of the illustrations is an autographed poem in facsimile by Rabindranath Tagore, the revered founder of the magazine.

There are reviews of five books ; the most important review is that of the " Rise and Fulfilment of British Power in India ", by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrett. This review should be compared with Professor Dodwell's in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. viii, part i, p. 264.

We may hope that the future of this quarterly in its new series will be even more prosperous than its past and that it will continue to promote successfully the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and the creation or contemplation of beauty.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE ASSYRIAN LAWS. By G. R. DRIVER, M.A., and JOHN C. MILES, Kt., M.A. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1935. 35s. net.

It is hardly necessary now to describe the material of which this book should be, for many years to come, the definitive edition, for the tablets and fragments inscribed with laws, discovered in the excavations at Ashur, and first published in 1920, have taken their place in the interest of all students of antiquity as second in importance only to the Code of Hammurabi, revealed some twenty years earlier, and this inferiority is due only to the accident that the code, being mostly preserved, covers a much wider variety of topics than

the Assyrian laws, of which only two considerable extracts and a few small fragments have as yet been found.

The plan of this edition, as indicated by the names and qualifications of the authors, is to give a full transcription and translation of all the laws in the light of the most recent philological knowledge, and, based upon this, an interpretation of their meaning as disclosed by a critical study of the text, illustrated by the comparison of ancient, classical, and even modern legislation. To these principal sections, the latter of which rather surprisingly precedes the former in the order of the book, are added a bibliography, a glossary of Assyrian words, and an index of subjects and terms, all of them invaluable aids to finding what is wanted among a great wealth of discussions.

A translator of the Assyrian laws to-day finds his principal task in criticism, for the bibliography reveals that he has by now nearly half a score of predecessors whose labours, differing indeed in scope and originality, have at any rate yielded nearly all the possible interpretations of the text, about which, in its broader lines, there is in fact little room for disagreement, for the number of words of really doubtful meaning is quite small, as the glossary shows, and would be little increased even by the inclusion of a few others which are not perhaps as certain as generally believed. Consequently Mr. Driver's notes are much occupied in exhibiting his reasons for choice between slightly divergent renderings already published, a process in which it is gratifying to see how often he is led to prefer the earliest version of all, that of Father Scheil, already illustrious for his *editio princeps* of Hammurabi's Code. The choice is very properly based upon consideration of what makes the best sense as law, but Mr. Driver is generally capable of showing that what is good sense is good philology, a concord grounded indeed in nature, but not always achieved in the study. In his transliteration a careful variety of type indicates the degree of certainty with which signs can be read, and the extent of restorations. Exactitude possibly

demands that the " ideograms " shall be printed in capitals, but as these do not transcend the common usage of the writing, it may be thought that such apparent oddities as *ša-a ŠA^{bi}-ša* or *LÚ lu DUMU LÚ ù lu DUMU. SAL LÚ* are scarcely justified by this punctilio. In one instance (*Old Assyr. Law*, Tablet II, Rev. 1) the capitals *KÙ-AZAG* are not justified in themselves, for the text reads *kù-ki*, which surely denotes a phonetic reading of the ordinary " ideogram " for gold. On p. xxiv of the preliminary matter, in the note to p. 503 is found a strange translation of a passage involving the verb *zamaḥu*. How this is obtained appears from a note on p. 501, § 8, but it is more natural to translate " he incorporated it with the 6 homers of his land ". It seems a dubious advantage to render consistently the indefinite third person plural as a passive. It is done intentionally, and a full discussion of this usage is to be found on p. 352 ff., but the discussion itself brings out the possible implications of this formula, and it seems a pity to obscure it by a non-literal translation. Finally, why is *hubšu* specifically a " sapper " ? The passages quoted all seem to indicate merely a common soldier.

Of the Legal Commentary, mainly due to Sir John Miles, which occupies the greater part of the book it is hard to write in a review, for any consideration of any of the numerous questions which he discusses would require the same kind of patient and acute argumentation which he uses so lucidly, and for this there is not space here; nor indeed could I venture to claim any competence to follow him upon his own ground. Since, however, the genesis of his interest in these documents seems to have been a desire to re-examine the theory of Koschaker that they are not laws, but the compilation of a jurist, and contain many additions and explanations, one may be allowed the opinion that his criticism of this theory is effective, not only for the reasons which he gives, but from consideration both of the improbability of the theory in itself, and of the practice in other branches of Babylonian literature, where scribes were accustomed to make *ad hoc* excerpts for purposes

which were plain to them, but cannot be expected always to be intelligible to us. Thus if Tablet A is concerned to set forth "the laws which affect women and chiefly married women" we are free to speculate upon the motive of this proceeding, but not to be perplexed at such a thing having been done at all, nor to doubt for this reason the integrity or character of the excerpts themselves.

Marriage customs are the subject of a long and acute examination, generally critical of the opinions chiefly sponsored by Koschaker. In regard to one question, whether there were two forms of marriage in which the wife lived in her husband's or her father's house respectively, there might seem room for doubt whether this conception is successfully replaced by the theory of "inchoate" marriage in the latter case. Sir John Miles perhaps makes too light of the argument that such a wife may have children; it might be added from §38 that she can be divorced, a point which he does not apply to the general question when he discusses this paragraph (p. 192). As concerns the *terhatu*, however, he very effectively discredits the idea that this should be regarded as *pretium pudicitiae*. A hint of the purpose for which the *terhatu* was held to be accepted may possibly be found in a tablet from Arrapha (*R.A.*, xxiii, p. 119, no. 42). It appears elsewhere that 40 *SU* was the conventional amount of this sum, but in this document only 10 are accepted by the girl's father, who gives the remaining 30 to the bride herself "because *Eiši* (another woman) has brought her up". Whatever may have been the father's arrangement with *Eiši*, it might appear from this that the *terhatu* was considered mainly as payment for the expense of rearing a daughter and thus ultimately providing a wife for the son-in-law ("female children are a burden of small joy in a poor Moslem family; for whom the father shall at last receive but a slender bride-money, when they are divided from his household").

A subject respecting which some difficulty may be felt in sharing the author's opinion is that of the alleged social

classes, which are regarded by him as respectively the *mār awīli*, the "Assyrian", and the slave. In contrast with Hammurabi's Code it must be granted that these distinctions, if they existed in this form, are alluded to with an obscurity very inappropriate to so essential an element in the polity. Further, there is certainly at first sight much objection to allowing that one called "an Assyrian" could be a person of inferior status, since his designation would naturally be deemed analogous to that of the *civis Romanus*, and such a status would be conceivable only under foreign rule, which certainly did not prevail in Assyria at that time. In the two principal laws which are discussed in this connection (see p. 284 ff.) it would, I think, be possible to see a confirmation of the natural idea that the Assyrian is, in fact, of the fully-privileged class. In A, § 44, the "Assyrian" has been kept hitherto as a pledge, but, in the case envisaged, he "has been taken", that is, he has become the full property of the creditor, who has failed to obtain repayment of his loan. The creditor may then inflict upon him indignities from which an "Assyrian" in his free condition is understood to be exempt. In C, § 3, the text is uncertain, but, accepting the proposed restoration, the position seems to be just the same. A free man under pledge for debt cannot be sold abroad, but if an "Assyrian" has been "taken" in default of repayment, even he, a *civis*, can be sold into foreign slavery.

A 546.

C. J. GADD.

ELEMENTS OF BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. 12 × 8½, pp. iv + 95, pls. 15, figs. 9. Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press. London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1935. 15s.

The unpretentious title of this work hardly suffices to indicate its wide scope. It deals not so much with iconography itself as with a certain interpretation of four Buddhist symbols, the Tree, the Thunderbolt, the Lotus, and the Wheel,

and it is further admitted that there is nothing specifically Buddhist about them. "If any particular stress seems to be laid on Buddhism, this is strictly speaking an accident." The symbols are of Vedic origin. Does this mean that they have the same meaning for Buddhism? It does, for "every traditional symbol necessarily carries with it its original values", and Buddha is an incarnation of the Vedic Agni. If he appears as a man it is because he has become humanized, and the other symbols typify the ultimate conceptions of ontology and metaphysics.

The Tree is the Tree of Life, the World Tree, and it comes to represent the Buddha. He is shown as a fiery pillar, and as such is the survival of a purely Vedic formula in which Agni is represented as the Axis of the Universe, extending as a pillar between Earth and Heaven. The World Tree is also the procession of incessant life, an exteriorization of the Will to Life, and has to be cut down. Here appears a contradiction, but it is easily solved. "The conflict is precisely between those principles which are represented by Māra and Buddha; who, however, opposite in nature are one in essence, and therefore at one beyond experience where 'all principles are same'."

The *trishūla* in Buddhism is commonly understood to denote the jewel-trinity. Senart regarded it as a fire-symbol, but this would not conflict with its Śaiva association, for when doubled, as the author shows, it forms a vajra, the weapon with which Indra slew Vṛtra. Here it is not easy to follow the steps of the argument, but we learn that in the Buddha legend the Vedic aspect of Ahi-Vṛtra is represented (1) in the Māra-dharṣana and (2) in the Buddha's defeat of the serpent on the occasion of the jāṭilas.

The symbolism of the Lotus is complicated, but we find that in the actual iconography it represents the ground or substance of existence, both that whereon and that wherein existence is established firmly amid the sea of possibility. In its earliest form it is most conspicuously connected with

Śrī-Lakṣmī, who is essentially Aditi, Prakṛti, Māyā, Apsaras, Urvaśī, the Waters, all the possibilities of existence substantially and maternally personified. In the Buddhist lotus Foucher would see Buddha nativities represented. But the author will only admit that they are “virtually Buddha nativities, inasmuch as they represent Her who is the Mother of all Existence, and so pre-eminently the Buddha, when he is considered not as the man Siddhārtha, but as Universal Man”.

But Buddha appears not only as a form of Agni and as the World Tree. The Buddhas are represented also as Word-wheel and World-wheel or Wheel of the Law or Norm. Primarily the Wheel is the Revolution of the Year. In the sense that Time is the Sun it represents the Sun, but more exactly the movement of the Sun. However, the content of the wheel symbolism is extraordinarily rich. It is not only the Dharmacakra, the wheel of the Cakravartin, and the chariot of the Sun, but analogically the indefinite totality of all possible conditions, the entire *samsāra*.

The second part discusses the place of the Lotus-throne. This is evidently (in spite of Mount Meru) at the hub of the wheel, the navel of the world, and finally Buddha is the Axis of the Universe, “who surely takes the forms imagined by his worshippers, for all convenient means are at his command. He, Tathāgata, Agni Vaiśvānara, Brahmā-Prajāpati, Christ, or idea of Muḥammad, is one and the same, his throne is single.”

The comparative mythologists have dealt with the Buddha legend before, but they are probably all dead by now. There is thus reason for a more comprehensive and quite independent theory. It comes into a field, however, already occupied by very different theories, and what the linguists, the religionists, and the historians will make of it remains to be seen. The whole work and the numerous plates are most beautifully produced. The plates alone are enough to set the iconographers problems that have never before been pointed out.

EXÉGÈSE MIDRASIQUE DES PROPHÉTIES MESSIANIQUES.

By JEAN JOSEPH BRIERRE. 13 × 10, pp. 217. Paris :
Paul Geuthner, 1935. 80 fr.

The first part of this compilation gives a brief account of the Midrashic works from which the extracts are taken, and summarizes the Messianic doctrines contained therein. The Hebrew passages which follow are accompanied by a translation into French, with footnotes on the sources and parallel passages in other Rabbinic literature. The indices are very full and drawn up with care. The author might profitably have extended his researches beyond the Pentateuch in the *Pesikta Zutrata*, and beyond the Book of Genesis in the *Midraš Haggadol* (see, however, his remark on p. 29). The work of English scholars receives no attention ; and reference might well have been made to Friedlander's translation of *Pirke R. Eli'ezer*, Levertoff's of *Sifré*, and to those portions of the *Yalkuṭ Šim'oni* which have already appeared in English. The student may cover these omissions by referring to the lists, brought up to date, in the recent editions of the works of Strack and Mielziner on Talmudic and Midrashic literature. Our author's work is one of a series and further studies on Messianic interpretations in the Targums, Apocrypha, and Kabbala are announced.

A. 477.

A. W. GREENUP.

REALLEXIKON DER ASSYRIOLOGIE. Vol. II, Parts 1-3. Edited

by E. EBELING and B. MEISSNER. 10½ × 7, pp. 1-240.
Berlin and Leipzig : W. de Gruyter and Co., 1933-5.
20 Mks.

The rapidly increasing number of books and articles on Assyriology makes the appearance of every new part of this encyclopædia very welcome to the busy scholar. Considering the paramount importance of the work it seems a pity that

its publication could not be speeded up, perhaps by enlisting the services of a larger number of contributors. The first part was published in 1928, and other eight parts have since appeared at the rate of one a year.

The articles in the second volume, which is still incomplete, cover items *Ber-* to *Dun-* and include geographical notices of more than 200 place-names compounded with *Bît-*. Among the longer articles are *Berossos*, *Bett*, *Bier u. Bierbereitung*, *Briefe*, *Chemie*, *China u. Babylonien*, *Dagan*, *Dämonen*, *Daniel*, *Dârejauôš* (= Darius), *Darlehen*, *Diadem u. Krone*, *Diebstahl*, *Dienstvertrag*, *Dilbat*, and *Drachen u. Drachenkampf*. The longest and one of the most valuable is Ungnad's on *Datenlisten*. The work is not merely a compilation of existing material, but many articles, such as Ebeling's on *Dämonen*, contain valuable original discussions. The documentation is full, with excellent bibliographies of the more recent literature. It is perhaps worth pointing out that on pp. 107 and 113 the title of Thompson's book, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, is incorrectly given; on p. 114b "Ninive Gallery" should be "Nineveh Gallery"; on p. 104b "*Prims*" is a misprint for "*Prisms*". Citations of books are not always uniform, e.g. Bez *Catal.* (p. 36a) but "Bezold *Cat.*" (p. 38a) and "Bezold *Cat. Kuy. Coll.*" (p. 200b). It is to be hoped that an up-to-date list of abbreviations will be furnished to the public from time to time and will be scrupulously used by contributors. The *Reallexikon* is an invaluable reference-work for libraries and should be in the hands of every serious student of the Near East.

792. A. 270.

CECIL J. MULLO WEIR.

CHRONIQUE DU RÈGNE DE MÉNÉLIK II, ROI DES ROIS D'ETHIOPIE. Par GUEBRE SELLASIÉ. Traduite de l'amharique par TEFA SELLASIÉ. Publiée et annotée par MAURICE DE COPPET. Tome II. 11 × 7½, pp. viii + 389-796, pls. 31, figs. 43, photos 1. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1931.

An account of the first part of this work was given in the JOURNAL for 1932, p. 415. The death of M. de Coppet took place in September, 1930, the year of the publication of the first part, and a brief memoir of him is prefixed to the final volume by the well-known statesman and Orientalist, M. Gabriel Ferrand. From this it appears that M. de Coppet was a most energetic and able diplomatist and, besides, a linguist of extraordinary attainments, which indeed might be inferred from his commentary on this chronicle. There is one sentence in this memoir which may be quoted as calculated to justify scepticism about the value of internal evidence:—

Fils de pasteur, foncièrement protestant lui-même, il introduit les Lazaristes dans la capitale de l'Abyssinie.

The Lazarist Coulbeaux, in his *History of Abyssinia* (1929), speaks with great bitterness about Protestants; one would not have suspected that his Society had received so great a favour from one.

De Coppet's concluding volume displays the same thoroughness as the previous one. The narrative is of great interest as it records the victory of the Abyssinians over the Italians at Adoua, Menelik's various reforms, buildings, dealings with rebels, appointments of governors. The volume starts with the organization of the Abyssinian army, and the translation ends with Menelik's proclamation of a successor, when his health no longer permitted him to direct affairs. In one of the Appendixes de Coppet continues the history from 1909 to 1916, and, as might be expected, the French writer's sober and business-like style furnishes a far clearer view of the course of events than the official chronicle of the Abyssinian priest.

Menelik's choice of a successor proved unfortunate, as the lad whom he had proclaimed, when old enough to dispense with a regency, showed signs of embracing Islam and making that the official religion, procedure which resulted in his dethronement.

There are several other appendixes on the coinage, chronology, antiquities, and ecclesiastical institutions of Abyssinia, an ample bibliography, and an elaborate index (this last the work of Mdlle Colette Renié). Students of Abyssinian history will find this work indispensable.

669.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HINDU MYSTICISM ACCORDING TO THE UPANIṢADS. By MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6. pp. viii + 344. London : Kegan Paul, 1934. 15s. net.

The author of this book, who holds a chair of philosophy in Calcutta University, is well known for his studies in Hindu Mysticism. The Upaniṣads, as he tells us, are a perennial source of philosophical wisdom and mystical inspiration, but to Vedantic teachers truth is rather to be received than thought about. Therefore, the Upaniṣads do not present any logical system, but rather a series of intuitions and revelations which result in inspiration, and this Divine inspiration, they teach, is possible everywhere and to every soul. It is the cosmic spirit (*Puruṣa*), which is the source of inspiration from without and within. The path of spiritual emancipation to which the Upaniṣads point leads to final release : in "life's silence" the soul finds its identity with the transcendent, by which alone it can be set free. This is the goal of all mysticism, which teaches the unity of existence, and aims at the realization by the human soul of its identity with the Divine.

The author shows how the Upaniṣads teach of Reality as Absolute and as manifest, Brahman-in-itself and Brahman-

in-relation. Both Islamic and Christian mysticism have taught the same. "When the Essence is independent of us all," said Ibn al-'Arabī, "it is named Absolute Oneness and when It manifests Itself in attributes and names, It becomes Oneness in multiplicity." "God works," said the Christian Eckhart, "so doth not the Godhead." The Absolute can be described only by negatives, *Neti, Neti*, because Brahman-in-itself is beyond relation, inconceivable, and ineffable, and, therefore, beyond the reach of human thought and language. But the Real permeates all things, it is both transcendent and imminent—there is a metaphysical system of existence, and also a psychical and concrete system; the mystic with his bodily senses regards the phenomenal world, but pierces through its veils to the Reality underlying them. "Brahman is your soul," said Yājñavalkya, "and it is in all things." The individual self is one with the Universal Self, *Ātman* is identical with Brahman. The Upaniṣadic mysticism, therefore, finds no distinction between the Cosmic Being without, and the vivifying Self within, and the only real freedom is the consciousness of this identity with the Absolute. "Spirituality lies in the cognition of the Truth."

The realization of an original identity with the original Reality comes gradually, as the result of mystical intuition, to the mystic living a life of illuminated understanding and enlightened adaptation, an understanding which grows and cannot be satisfied until it finds rest in the Truth, and so Brahman is realized under various aspects, as Sustainer, as Creative Will, as Gnosis, as the Word, but underlying all is the Truth, made known to the soul which sets itself free from realistic instincts and habits, and this means the rejection of the path of darkness, the gratification of the natural man, and the choice of the path of light, which leads to wisdom and freedom, freedom from all that is unreal, including the illusion of time. "When the heart becomes free from all clinging to desires, then the mortal becomes immortal and attains

Brahman. When the heart-knots are all sundered, then the man attains immortality.”¹

The author devotes a chapter to the symbolism employed in the Upaniṣad texts and shows how natural forces are used as symbols to inspire an animated vision of nature, but this gives place to the idealistic vision of nature, and at this point symbolism gives way to spiritual perfection. The symbol *Om* has a deeper significance, representing the cosmic harmony itself, that spiritual rhythm transforming all things, which leads to discrimination between the material and the spiritual and to the gradual spiritualization of the mind and senses, and this symbol is the path and the end alike, “Meditate upon *Om* as *Ātman*.”

As he approaches the ultimate aim of the quest, the author deals with the paths of contemplation and silence, and the four stages of life, of which the contemplative life is the third, and realization the fourth and last. He who has reached the last is the wise man, the emancipated, who attains to *Mokṣa*, release, when “the fulness of life dawns suddenly upon the receptive soul. It can come to that one alone who has the proper attitude and this attitude is nothing but a silent watch of the soul. . . . This watchful silence makes it responsive to the currents of life, revealing its Divine orientation. . . . The seeker is reborn” (p. 322). In the last stage spirituality dispenses with all relativities of ethics, knowledge, and experience, and gives that transcendent freedom which is the silence permanently residing in the heart of being. *Mokṣa*, then, is the state of being which is beyond all real or ideal creative projections; it is release from the sense of relativity in all its forms, ethical, spiritual, or creative; it is the attainment of Truth, in its unicity, the identification of the Self with the Absolute Reality.

¹ Cf. the Ṣūfī mystic Junayd, “Perishability is ended and subsistence is made perfect. Weariness and care cease, the elements perish, and there remains what will not cease, as time that is timeless ceases not.” This is the “eternal present” of the Upaniṣads, the perfect freedom of attainment.

This is a thought-provoking book, and will be found of great interest and value to all students of mysticism and of Hindu literature. The nature of the subject involves a style which does not make for easy reading, but it will repay careful study, and Professor Mahendranath Sircar has laid all who are interested in Hindu philosophy, whether in the East or in the West, under a deep obligation to him for this scholarly book. It is well produced and very fully indexed.

A. 269.

MARGARET SMITH.

HAFT PEIKER. Ein romantisches Epos des Nizāmī Genge'ī.

Edited by H. RITTER and J. RYPKA. Monografie Archivu Orientalního, Vol. III. Československý Ústav Orientalní v Praze. 10 × 7, pp. xi + 303 + 43. Prague, 1934.

FERHÂD UND SCHÎRÎN. Die literarische Geschichte eines

Pepischen Sagenstoffes. By HERBERT W. DUDA.

Monografie Archivu Orientalního, Vol. II. Československý Ústav Orientalní v Praze. 10 × 7, pp. viii + 215.

Paris: P. Geuthner, 1923. Kc. 120.

The series of publications issued from the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague, under the editorship of Professor Rypka, is rendering a valuable service to students of Persian literature who know only too well how greatly they are hampered by the want of trustworthy texts. Besides the volumes already published, a critical edition of the *Zafarnāma* of Nizāmu'ddin Shāmī, with a commentary by Professor Felix Tauer, is in the press. The series has made an admirable start; we may hope that subsequent volumes will maintain the high standard set by those which are the subject of the present notice.

In Persian romance the *Khamṣa* occupies the position of the *Shāhnāma* in epic and the *Mathnawī* in mysticism; and among the five poems contained in it the *Haft Paykar*, which has been translated into English by Dr. C. E. Wilson, is

generally considered to be the masterpiece. This edition provides—what cannot be found in the Oriental lithographs—a carefully established text that does justice to the delicacy and fineness of the poet's art. How far it reproduces the original may be questioned, but the same doubt exists in connection with many classics of Persian poetry which have been freely handled by irresponsible and ingenious copyists. It is seldom easy and frequently impossible to distinguish these "improvements" from the genuine readings, unless MS. evidence be decisive, which in most cases it is not. The oldest surviving MSS. of the *Khamṣa*, written 160–200 years after the death of the poet, vary to such an extent that the editors, having divided the best of them into two groups, were probably justified in admitting the principle of æsthetic selection as a means of restoring the text. In a previous study of Nizámí's style and diction Dr. Ritter showed how well able he is to appreciate the subtle points which critics using this method have to weigh. For the chief part, of course, the results fall short of certainty, but they are very interesting and instructive, and fully repay the labour spent in obtaining them. Since all variants worth considering are recorded, the reader can form his own judgment as to the merit of the preferred in comparison with the rejected alternatives. Personally I find little occasion to disagree with the editors, who have done their work in an exemplary manner. The printing also is excellent.

The story of Khusraw Parwíz and his favourite wife as told by Nizámí and other poets always includes the tragic episode of Farhád and Shírín, which often in later times was detached from its environment and became an independent theme. That the march of events in modern Persia has not destroyed its popularity is curiously shown by its dramatization in the form of a film-libretto (*Sháh-i Irán u Bânú-yi Arman*, by Dhabíḥ Bihruz, formerly Lecturer in Persian at Cambridge). In the work under notice Dr. Herbert Duda has made an exhaustive study of the history and

literary development of the legend. His monograph is a mine of information on a fascinating subject, but here I can only summarize the contents very briefly: early references to Farhád, etc. (pp. 3-12); abstract of Nizámí's *Khusraw u Shírin* (pp. 13-34, 65-76); German translation of the passage concerning Farhád (pp. 35-65); treatment of the theme by Nizámí and his successors, Khusraw of Delhi, 'Árifí, 'Imádu'ddín Faqíh, Sultan Husayn Bayqará, Hátifí, Hilálí, Wahshí, 'Urfí of Shíráz, and others (pp. 77-120); the above-mentioned "film" by Bihrúz (pp. 121-6); Persian text of the Farhád episode in Nizámí, 607 verses, with an account of the MSS. on which the text is founded (pp. 131-179); description of 107 manuscripts of Stambul and its vicinity containing versions of "Farhád and Shírin" by various poets (pp. 180-213).

A. 380, A. 91.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

INDIA'S SOCIAL HERITAGE. By L. S. S. O'MALLEY. 7½ × 5, pp. 194. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 5s.

In the first four chapters of this book the author gives a very clear idea of the effects of caste and tribal customs and restrictions on the life of the Indian people. He then explains the village community, the family, marriage customs and the purdah system, and adds a very valuable summary of recent social changes. The handling of an enormous mass of material is skilful and lucid, and the book will be useful to many classes of reader, the anthropologist, the official, the missionary, and anybody who wishes to realize the social conditions in which the ordinary Indian lives.

A. 220.

R. BURN.

KARAKAMDACARIU OF MUNI KANAKĀMARA. Edited by HIRALAL JAIN. Karanja Jaina Series, Vol. IV. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 50 + 284, ill. 12. Karanja : Jaina Publication Society, 1934.

In editing this Apabhramśa life of the Pratyekabuddha Karakaṇḍa, Professor Hiralal Jain again lays students of Apabhramśa and of Jainism under a debt of gratitude for his activity. There is an introduction in Hindi followed by a short one in English, an English summary of the poem, the text itself with critical apparatus based on five MSS., an English translation, and—most excellent feature of nearly all Hiralal Jain's work—a complete index of all words with Sanskrit equivalents and references to the text.

A. 334.

R. L. TURNER.

SELECTIONS FROM THE PESHWA'S DAFTAR. Ed. by G. S. SARDESAI. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. Poona : Government Central Press.

No. 42. Papers referring to Pratap Sinh, Raja of Satara. pp. 3 + 114 + v. 1934. Rs. 1 annas 12, or 3s.

No. 43. Social and Religious Life under the Peshwas. pp. 2 + 135 + iv. 1934. Rs. 2 annas 2, or 4s.

No. 44. Some Historical Families. pp. 2 + 83 + iv. 1934. Rs. 1 annas 7, or 2s. 6d.

No. 45. Documents illustrating Maratha Administration. pp. 1 + 157 + v. 1934. Rs. 2 annas 7, or 4s. 6d.

The first of these volumes adds much to our knowledge of a somewhat unfortunate ruler. Starting with the full support of the British Government, which re-established his kingdom, with Mountstuart Elphinstone and Grant-Duff, the future historian and his first Resident, as his advisers and firm friends, he ended his career in deposition and exile. To some degree this was due to the hostility of the Brahmans, who bitterly opposed his claim to be a Kshatriya and thus entitled to

Vedic rites : a matter which is still a matter of dispute between the Deccani Brahmans and the great Maratha families. The letters, however, afford evidence of Pratapsinhji's haughty and intractable temper. He regarded the families of the Gaekwad and of Sindhia, rulers of territories wider than his own, as upstarts, and excommunicated one of his Sardars for allowing a marriage connection with the former. No evidence appears in these letters of his alleged intrigues with the Portuguese, but there is plenty to show his interest in matters in other parts of India, and the impression is strengthened that there were good grounds for his deposition. The letters throw a pleasing light on the character of Grant-Duff.

The forty-third portion contains much of interest regarding the religious and social aspects of the Peshwa's Government, especially as indicating that they proposed to exercise spiritual as well as temporal sovereignty over India, and in particular to restore Hindu orthodox practices which had been suppressed or had been dormant under Moslem domination. The judicial papers convey many of the decisions, though not the reasoned judgments, of the great jurist, Ram Shastri.

No. 44 contains genealogies which should prove useful for the details of Maratha history—and also includes many family stories of ancestral heroism which are at least picturesque.

No. 45 contains miscellaneous items relating to the general administration, and thus forms a suitable conclusion to a series which should prove invaluable to future students of Maratha history, and more especially to anyone who seeks to supplement the History of Grant-Duff, which has never been superseded. A word of thanks is due to the Government of Bombay for carrying through the publication of the series in a time of great financial difficulty.

A. 306, 307, 309, 310.

P. R. CADELL.

CAUCASICA. Edited by GERHARD DEETERS. Fasc. 11. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. pp. 138. Leipzig: Verlag Asia Major, 1934.

This eleventh number of the periodical founded by Adolf Dirr maintains the high standard to which the earlier issues had accustomed readers. The four subjects dealt with are:—

(1) pp. 1–39. Prince N. Trubetzkoy's notes on a stay among the Circassians in the Tuapse district in 1910, as a young guest of Vsevolod Miller. The sections deal with language, relics of paganism, songs, prose, legends of origin, folk tales.

(2) pp. 40–67. Karl Bouda's Osset Studies, under thirteen headings.

(3) pp. 68–83. Commentary by G. Deeters on some elementary Circassian texts, published at Krasnodar in 1929.

(4) pp. 84–126. Robert Blechsteiner's analysis of the specimens of Caucasian languages given by Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahetname* (cf. Evliya Effendi's *Narrative*, London, 1846–1850), as spoken in the seventeenth century.

The rest of the journal is occupied by reviews and notices of recent books on Caucasian subjects.

A. 475.

O. WARDROP.

L'APOCALYPSE ET LES CULTES DE DOMITIEN ET DE CYBÈLE.

Par P. TOUILLEUX. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. 192. Paris: Geuthner and Co., 1935. Frs. 30.

Fresh light on the Apocalypse would be welcome, since the most erudite commentaries on that book seem to furnish few, if any, convincing solutions of its problems. M. Touilleux has endeavoured to supply some, chiefly from the archæology of Asia Minor. Throughout he speaks of "Saint Jean" as the author, but he dates the work near the end of the first century, and supposes it to have undergone some later revision. According to his hypothesis the author's purpose was to fortify the Christians in Asia who had to suffer for refusing worship to Domitian and the *Magna Mater*, and for this purpose he

projects himself into an earlier period, giving a summary of past events in the form of a prophecy, proceeding after chapter xiv to a forecast of the future. His method was, further, the very remarkable one of showing that there was not very much difference between Christian mythology, rites, and even doctrines, and those of the pagans. Thus the story of Leto's miraculous escape from the dangers which threatened her, when about to give birth to Apollo (which M. Touilleux tries hard to transfer to Cybele), could be capped by the vision which commences chapter xiii; and the robes washed white in blood had their analogue in the practice of Cybele's priestess.

The reader will be interested in the solution offered of that time-honoured puzzle, the Number of the Beast. This is given by different authorities as 616 and 666. For the former the writer accepts a suggestion of Rolland Schütz, according to which it is taken from a seal of Domitian with the legend DCXVI, meaning *Domitianus Cæsar, xvith year of Tribunicia potestas*; at the same time it is the numerical equivalent of *ATTEI*, dative of *Attis*, beloved of Cybele. The first of these solutions has the serious inconvenience that Domitian's sixteenth year commenced 14th September, 96, four days before his death; the second that the genitive *ATTIDOS* would seem to be required, and this gives the number 885! The other reading, 666, is, we are told, an "isopsépie" of *OYAPIIOS*, a name of Trajan, and a "gématrie" of *Rhea Cybele la Grande*. Isopsephy means numerical equality; apparently the equality should be to *ΔOMITIANOΣ*, which is by no means the case. Since the writer occasionally uses Greek type, he must have some reason for giving a French translation in lieu of the Greek words whose letters are to be counted; possibly the name of the goddess looks less improbable in French than in the Greek *PEA KYBEΛH H MEΓAΛH*, which does, indeed, give 666, though it is far from clear why she should be in the nominative, when Attis was in the dative. Hence these solutions merely strengthen the

belief that the Number of the Beast (whether 616 or 666) can be found in the name of any person thought suitable, such as Nero, the Pope, Mr. Gladstone, etc., if a certain amount of good will be employed ; only the loading of the dice seems indispensable.

Some tribute should be paid to the writer's archæological researches, discussion of which belongs rather to the Hellenic Society's Journal than to ours.

A. 567.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

1. **CRONACA DELLA MISSIONE SCIENTIFICA TUCCI NEL TIBET OCCIDENTALE** (1933). By G. TUCCI and E. GHERSI. Reale Accademia d'Italia : Viaggi di Studio ed Esplorazioni, 2. 10 × 7, pp. 395, ill. 272, plans 2. Roma : Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1934. L. 50.
2. **INDO-TIBETICA. Vol. III : I Templi del Tibet Occidentale e il Loro Simbolismo Artistico. Parte I : Spiti e Kunavar.** By GIUSEPPE TUCCI. Reale Accademia d'Italia : Studi e Documenti, 1. 10 × 7, pp. 219, pls. 92 (3 in colour), plans 2. Roma : Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1935. L. 150.

These two volumes deal with Professor Tucci's travels in the valleys of the Chandra, Spiti, and Sutilej in the year 1933. The first is a very interesting and admirably illustrated account of this expedition into an area that is still very little known ; an English translation of it might prove a profitable speculation to an enterprising publisher, but in that case a proper map should be provided. The second, on whose prompt production the author is to be heartily congratulated, is of greater importance to Sanskrit scholars, for it describes in detail the Buddhist temples of part of the area covered, and it would seem that the excellent plates in this volume may soon be the only record of these neglected and ruinous buildings. But the volume contains more than this, Professor Tucci taking the opportunity to explain the symbolism of the frescoes and statuary and thereby throwing

much new light on the doctrines of the Tantric schools of Tibet, which appear to have been devoid of the unpleasant features sometimes associated with them elsewhere. As space is not available for a critical consideration of these points, I must content myself with strongly recommending careful study of this book to all who are concerned with the later developments of Buddhist doctrines, as well as to students of Buddhist art and iconography.

A. 311, 412.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

TUḤFAT AL-AḤBĀB. Glossaire de la Matière Médicale Marocaine. By H. P. J. RENAUD. Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines, tome xxiv. 10½ × 6½. pp. xxxiv + 218 + 75. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 30.

It has been said that it is useless to attempt to identify Arabic botanical names. Yet, considering the number of countries within which Arab science was predominant and the many centuries during which that science continued to flourish, it is astonishing to what a large extent the same terms are employed with almost identical meanings. In A.D. 869 Sābūr bin Sahīl promulgated from Jundī Shāpūr a pharmacopœia for the use of the whole Eastern Caliphate. It is now clear that this pharmacopœia was largely adopted by the Western Caliphate also.

The latest addition to the small library of works dealing with Arabian medicine is the text and translation with commentary of a late work entitled *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*. The manuscript is of the seventeenth or eighteenth century and the translators suggest that it is an appendix to a larger work on Medicine, which has now disappeared. The author is unknown, though he was clearly an inhabitant of southern Morocco. In spite of the fact that nearly 1,000 years had passed since Jundī Shāpūr had lost its supremacy in the world of Medicine, this work shows that Persia never lost its influence. Of the

462 drugs here named and discussed, no less than ninety-nine are noted by the commentators as being directly derived from Persia.

It only remains to say that the printing is excellent, both the Arabic and the French, and that the notes are clear. It is, in short, a technical vocabulary which will be found essential to anyone who is working on Arab Medicine.

A. 283.

C. ELGOOD.

LES TULUNIDES. By ZAKI MOHAMED HASSAN. 10½ × 8. pp. 339, pls. 16. Paris: Établissements Busson, 1933.

This history of the Tulunids, who ruled over Egypt and Syria towards the end of the ninth century, is of well known importance as regards not only Egypt, but also some of the wider developments of Islam. The present book is a fuller and more comprehensive study of the subject than has been produced before. It may be described as a detailed survey of all that is to be made out about the dynasty from the original sources and from the researches of modern writers. The author has exercised much diligence and discrimination in carrying out the task, and the merits of his work will be recognized by those who concern themselves with the questions with which he deals.

Though the historical narrative has been improved, it still remains not entirely free from difficulty. A table of dates would have been useful for following it. It may be pointed out that Ṭabarî gives precise dates for the death of Yârijûkh and for the appointment of El Mufauwad and El Muwaffaq as heirs to the throne and overseers of the realm, and as a matter of fact does not say that El Muwaffaq in 258 (872) received the government of Egypt from his brother. The extraordinary discrepancy between the dates given by Ṭabarî and Kindî for the battle of Ṭawâhîn seems to have deserved discussion. It is to be feared that as a result a whole series of dates given by Kindî

would have had to be thrown overboard. The mutiny of blacks at Fustât in 273 (887) when Khumârawaih rode out with his sword drawn to the house of the *ṣāhib esh shurṭa* which they had besieged, killing every one of them that came in his way (Ibn el Athîr), and thus quelled the tumult is not mentioned. Another incident having an important bearing on the character of Khumârawaih is not referred to—his threat to Ṭughj for failure to obey his order to arrest Râghib, related, as it purports to be, in the words of Ṭughj himself in Mughrib. Ibn el 'Asâkir mentions, by the by, that Ṭughj was superseded by Badr as governor of Damascus, i.e. after his failure against the Qarmathians. The question whether Aḥmad ibn Ṭulûn held his appointment in the first place direct, or not, is of little importance. Kindî may be wrong in saying that he did so, but he is confirmed by Zâfir el Ḥalabî, who gives what seems likely to be an exact account of the situation.

In some direction of the inquiry it is not possible to do more than make a beginning. Of the administration it might be said that there is no sign of any changes of any consequence. According to Mughrib, the father of Muḥammad ibn 'Alî el Madarâ'î did act as vizier for Khumârawaih. Among the minor Tulunid officials who might have been noticed are the *mukhtâr* and the *'âmil ma'ûnat en nâhiya*, both mentioned in Ibn Sa'id. It is to be observed that according to the *original* authority Ibn Ṭulûn began to form his army by raising levies (*faraḍ furûḍan*) as well as by buying slaves. It looks as if these levies and the "*ḥurr murtaziq*" element mentioned in Maqrîzî were identical and were the same, too, as the element described elsewhere as *maulas*. The *maula* relationship, of course, might have been established otherwise than by slavery. The levies then would probably not have been Arabs but Copts who had been converted to Islam. Attention may be drawn to the statement by Ṭabarî as to the constitution of the army of Lu'lu when he was about to join El Muwaffaq. It consisted of men of Farghâna, Greeks (Rûm), Berbers,

blacks, and others, some of the flower of the army of (nukhbat aṣḥâb) Ibn Ṭulûn. That there was a considerable Moorish contingent in the army, at any rate later, appears from Ṭabarî, where the revolt against Jaish is described as a rising of the Berbers and Maghariba. Yâqût's account of the rebuilding of the harbour of 'Akka by Ibn Ṭulûn does not seem to justify the statement that he created a naval base there.

Very few details bearing on the condition of Egypt under the Tulunids are forthcoming. One might add that of Eutychius that in the year 273 (886) wheat went up to a dînar the mudd, which, with the obvious correction to *mudy*, would mean eight dînars to the ardabb. The author seems to suggest that during the reign of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulûn the price was ten ardabbs a dînar, but all that the authority he cites says is that under the Tulunids the price "often", or more likely "sometimes", (rubbamâ) was so low. To be added to the works done by Ibn Ṭulûn is the repair of the canal of Alexandria, notable because it seems to be the only particular instance recorded of the improvements he is said to have made for agriculture. Besides the ones mentioned in the book, those of Khumârawaih included the restoration of the light tower of Alexandria and, according to Eutychius, the building of a palace for himself near Dair Murrân.

Among the well chosen plates, those representing the Tulunid house recently discovered near Cairo are likely to be of particular interest to some readers.

A. 274.

R. GUEST.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. Vol. I: The Ādiparvan. Critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR. 11 × 8½. pp. cxix + 996, pls. col. 16, facsimiles 2. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1933.

With the appearance of the eighth fascicule this great undertaking has completed the first stage of its long journey, and, as Dr. Sukthankar has now explained and defended his

methoda at length in the Prolegomena, it is possible to attempt with a reasonable prospect of justice some estimate of his achievement. The learned world in Europe, as well as in India, has greeted this, the first critical edition of the great epic, with general applause, and to their verdict the present reviewer would heartily subscribe; for the work has been planned on sound lines, the standard of workmanship is high, and the rate of progress has been well maintained. A small, but significant, fact may be adduced to show the care that has been taken, namely the very modest list of errata which is appended to the final fascicule; this list is in reality much smaller than it appears, since most of the amendments relate to questions of orthography, which are irrelevant to the form of the text. That so high a level of correctness should have been reached in a point which the reader can judge for himself justifies him in presuming the same accuracy to prevail in those details for which he has to trust the editor, in particular the apparatus criticus; and this last is a matter of the highest importance for future students of the epic, whose labours will depend to a large degree on study of the variants.

Assuming that the excellence and trustworthiness of the editing do not require further proof, we have to consider what the final product amounts to. Dr. Sukthankar himself says (p. ciii) "It is but a modest attempt to present a *version of the epic as old as the extant material will permit us to reach* with some semblance of confidence. . . . It only claims to be *the most ancient one according to the direct line of transmission*, purer than the others insofar as it is free from the obvious errors of copying and spurious additions. It may be regarded . . . [as] the ancestor of all extant manuscripts." This statement has to be examined in the light of the threefold object to which textual criticism of the *Mahābhārata* should be directed, viz. firstly the constitution of the original epic, which was inflated in the course of time to our present versions, secondly the determination of the antiquity, authenticity,

and exact contents of each episode as a whole, and thirdly the text and exact degree of genuineness of each individual verse. For the last of these the editor's statement is, I would suggest, accurate. After all every verse must have had an original form, and subject to the impossibility of deciding between the claims of alternative equivalent phrases, mainly of the nature of tags which are to be found in the epic poetry of all nations, it is reasonable to hold that Dr. Sukthankar has achieved remarkable success in rejecting spurious verses and in restoring the text to its original state (of course, terms such as "spurious" or "genuine" have only a relative application to works of this class); this is all the more remarkable in that he has been able to keep conjectural emendations down to a very low figure, some 35 in nearly 8,000 verses. Other scholars have shown by detailed comparison of this edition with its predecessors that, wherever it differs, the result is to give us a sharper, more vivid reading; we should note specially the more archaic character of the critical text, the toleration of hiatus, particularly between *pādas*, hypermetry, and the use of unusual forms and constructions. Some of these cases will no doubt require further consideration; thus he discusses on p. xcii his emendation at i, 41, 5, *gate "rtāms trāṇam icchataḥ*, which assumes the elision of *ā*; but the form *arti* for *ārti* is well established (*PW.* s.v., *Saundarananda*, x, 32, and *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, iii, 220) and I would suggest that we have here the parallel adjective *arta*. In the same passage he refers to *nagrha* of i, 86, 5; having had occasion to collect instances of compounds with *na*, I came to the conclusion that their use, though very infrequent, is commoner than Indian and European grammarians allow. I mention these details because the editor has very properly relied only on his MSS. to obtain his readings, and it might easily be overlooked that there is a small residuum of verses whose text can only be settled after confrontation with parallel passages elsewhere. Personally, I have studied four such cases in connection with my own work, but, however little I like the text adopted in them,

I find it hard to put forward really convincing alternatives; and in any case it was most certainly not the editor's duty to delay publication in order to carry out lengthy, and possibly fruitless, searches for parallels.

With regard to the constitution of the individual episodes, the statement I have quoted from the Prolegomena might easily be misunderstood; for this version of the *Ādiparvan* admittedly has a certain amount of matter in it that could have been safely excluded as later interpolation.¹ The principle followed here, so far as I can see, has been to admit into the text all verses for whose inclusion there is a general consensus of MS. authority, such consensus being held to outweigh other considerations. Though the inevitable outcome is a text which we may well believe not to be as ancient as that which higher criticism, building on the foundations here laid, will be able to arrive at with a high degree of probability, the procedure adopted is in my view the only proper one; for what we want first is the text to which an examination of all the MS. material leads us, and, when that is available, it is then the business of individual students to consider each episode separately and try to work out its original form. For the editor to have attempted this would have resulted in the constitution of a text too subjective for use as the basis of further exploration.

What prospect then is there of going behind the present form of the epic and arriving at a sensibly older version? Though elsewhere (p. lxxix) Dr. Sukthankar states that "even in its early phases the Mahabharata textual tradition must have been not uniform and simple, but multiple and polygenous", yet in the extract given above he suggests, somewhat hesitatingly it is true, that the *Ādiparvan* in the

¹ See, for instance, *Addenda et Corrigenda*, p. 992, on *adhyāya* 87. Note also that for the genuineness of the Śakuntalā episode, *ib.*, p. 990, on *adhyāya* 62, Dr. Sukthankar has perhaps underestimated the value of the evidence of the version in the Bengali recension of the *Padmapurāṇa Svargakhaṇḍa*, edited in H. Sarma, *Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa*, Calcutta, 1925.

many versions we now possess proceeds from a single ancestor of the same general shape. This somewhat unexpected conclusion seems justified by the evidence provided by the degree of agreement between the two versions, whose importance he stresses, and which he is the first properly to exploit, namely those of Kashmir and Malabar. It appears, therefore, that the divergence between the northern and southern recensions, and *a fortiori* between the various versions subordinate to those recensions, began first to be appreciable at a later date than one might have supposed, as if in fact the earlier textual tradition had not been so multiple and polygenous as suggested. Yet the book is clearly a mass of heterogeneous material by different authors and of different dates, so that, if a like result is reached in the remaining *parvans*, any hopes still entertained of arriving at an "Ur-Mahābhārata" must be abandoned and critical efforts be limited to determining how much of each episode is the work of the author who first composed it, and possibly to forming some idea of the relative dates of the different episodes. For this purpose the present edition forms an admirable starting point, in that it sweeps away a mass of later accretion which has hitherto inevitably claimed disproportionate attention from inquirers, and that, by its close approach to the primitive wording, it makes it possible to observe distinctions of style, whose outlines have been blurred by the levelling action of generations of *diakruasts* and copyists. But it is just possible that this is too pessimistic a view of the case. After all the *Ādiparvan* contains very little really old material, and it is an undoubted fact that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* the greatest measure of agreement between the different recensions is to be found in the relatively modern parts. We shall know better where we stand, when the *Sabhāparvan* is published; for it unites in a strange mixture some of the oldest matter in the epic with some of the most modern, and, if we cannot gain from a critical edition of it an approximate idea of its original contents, then, but not till then, need we despair of the possibility of sub-

stantial progress in the reconstitution of an older form of the epic.

Finally the hope may be expressed that Dr. Sukthankar will be able to maintain the same orderly rate of progress and ultimately to complete a work which will be an enduring monument to the learning and perseverance of him and his colleagues.

A. 134.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

A CHRONICLE OF THE EARLY SAFAWIS, BEING THE AHSANU'T-TAWĀRIKH OF ḤASAN-I RŪMLŪ. Edited by C. H. SEDDON. Vol. II (English translation), 301 pp. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 44, 9½ × 6, pp. xv + 301. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1934, Rs. 8.8.

It is curious that the comparatively late epoch of the Safawids (A.D. 1502-1722) is still less known to us than the times of the Saljuqs (better : *Saljūks*) and especially the Mongols. Until Mr. Seddon's present edition of the chief chronicle of Shāh Tahmāsp's times this long reign (A.D. 1527-76) remained a rather obscure period. The text now published covers the years 900-85 H. (A.D. 1494-1577) and is the vital part of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū's work. Of its earlier portion, only the volume on the times of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty is known to exist in Leningrad and Dr. Hinz (Berlin) proposes to describe its contents. One must agree with Mr. Seddon that Ḥasan-i Rūmlū is a dull historian and his chronicle compares unfavourably with Iskandar Munshī's history of Shah 'Abbās (*Ālamārā*). However, Ḥasan-i Rūmlū records numerous facts which enrich our knowledge of the epoch. Mr. Seddon's abridged translation is a convenient guide through Ḥasan's redundant original, and many useful explanations will also be found in the notes to both volumes. Mr. Seddon will put his readers under a still greater obligation by publishing a detailed index of

personal, tribal, and geographical names into which the necessary corrections of spellings (more particularly in Turkish names) will be easily introduced (see my suggestions in the *Bulletin S.O.S.*, vol. vii, 2, pp. 449–55, and vol. vii, 4, pp. 990–3).

Speaking on an international scale we find that the chief attention of the Iranian scholars is still turned towards philology, religions, and art. Persian history needs a drastic overhaul, but before we can conveniently utilize the main original sources all more ambitious schemes will run the risk of remaining in the air. Therefore the publication of the *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh* is a very welcome event in the domain of Persian (Iranian) historical studies.

A. 390.

V. MINORSKY.

(A review of vol. i was published in *JRAS.*, October, 1934, p. 809.)

SANSKRIT TEXTS FROM BĀLI. Critically edited with an introduction by SYLVAIN LÉVI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, lxvii. 9½ × 6, pp. xxxv + 112. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1933. Rs. 3 as. 8.

If the beautiful island of Bāli has been unfortunate enough of late to attract the attention of “cruising” tourists, its inhabitants have had the consolation of receiving at least one visitor who united full sympathy with their civilization to a learning capable of penetrating its secrets and grasping its great historical interest. The present volume, the fruit of that visit, contains a collection of the Sanskrit texts found in current use there by Professor Lévi, which, if they do not add much to our knowledge of Sanskrit literature, are most valuable to us as illuminating the spread of Hindu influence and ideas among the islands further east. The editor has succeeded in a way that hardly any other scholar could have done in restoring and identifying these corrupt fragments, which for the most part come from Tantric works, both

Hindu and Buddhist. One small addition may, however, be made here, namely that the two Sragdharā verses in praise of the Buddha on p. 49 are to be found in *Gaṇḍistotra*, verses 1 and 11, though the version here printed does not, so far as I can see, enable any improvement to be made in their reconstruction.

A. 388.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

DIWAN-I-ZU 'L-FAQĀR. The Collected Poems of *Zu 'l-Faqār Shirwānī*. Edited by EDWARD EDWARDS, British Museum Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$, pp. vi + 466. London: Trustees, 1934.

This is a facsimile reproduction of a new manuscript acquired by the British Museum a few years ago. *Zu 'l-Faqār Shirwānī* was a thirteenth century Persian poet with some repute as a writer of highly artificial ornate verse, whose works were supposed to have been lost except for parts of a few *qaṣīdas* quoted by various *taṣkhira* writers. By editing this excellent reproduction, and writing a scholarly and valuable introduction to it, Mr. Edwards has rendered a notable service to all Persian students. The manuscript was purchased from Messrs. Luzac, but I have not been able to ascertain from what place in the East it was originally unearthed. It is dated A.H. 745 (A.D. 1344), only forty or fifty years after the author's death—and Mr. Edwards (probably correctly) considers that it was written in Isfahān. The writing is "good, clear, Persian *naskh*". At the same time it is not always easy to read. Diacritical points are constantly omitted or misplaced; sometimes words—even several successive words—have no dots, and this defect enhances the difficulty of compositions, which are in any case extraordinarily hard to understand. Moreover, there are many mistakes; the only line quoted in Mr. Edwards's introduction requires two emendations to make it scan and yield a meaning. The *qaṣīdas* follow one another without any

discernible order; they are not arranged in the usual alphabetical way, nor according to the date of their composition. I do not find among them the *qaṣīda* attributed to Zu 'l-Faqār by Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Ḥāshimī in his *Makhzanu 'l-gharāib*, and commented on by Ethé in his Bodleian catalogue, beginning: چمن شد از گل صد برگ تازه دلبروار.

This is quite in Zu 'l-Faqār's style, but so little trust is to be put in these biographers that its omission from this *Dīwān* throws serious doubts upon its authorship. In a good many cases this manuscript has a blank where the name of the patron (*mamdūh*) should come. Sometimes the whole half line (*miṣrā'*) is a blank; sometimes just the title (*laqab*); and once or twice we have — 'd-Dīn. This cannot be because the copyist could not read the name; any educated Muslim can at once read common forms such as these. The name must have been cut out on purpose, probably for some political reason. I interpret this to mean that our manuscript is a copy of an earlier contemporary copy made by someone other than Zu 'l-Faqār himself.

Very little is known of the poet's life, and Mr. Edwards has gathered from the poems themselves about all we know. He clearly points out the glaring inaccuracies of Dawlatshāh, and his later imitators. A consideration of the facts now elucidated is enough to destroy all confidence in any historical statement made by these writers. Zu 'l-Faqār's poetic career lasted for at least sixty years, for his *qaṣīda* in honour of Kamālu 'd-Dīn Isma'il must have been written before A.D. 1237—perhaps several years before—and those to Sultān Muẓaffar and his Minister, Khālid Abharī, not earlier than A.D. 1295. He was writing freely in the days of Yūsuf Shāh of Luristān (A.D. 1274–1285) and Jalālu 'd-Dīn of Kirmān (A.D. 1281–1291). It is natural to suppose that the various patrons panegyricized by him—of whom next to Ruknu 'd-Dīn Mas'ūd of Iṣfahān the most frequently mentioned is a certain Qiwāmu 'l-Mulk (probably of Kirmān)—

were notabilities who flourished in the intervening period, but the historical sources known to me do not enable me to identify most of them. One fragment gives the date, A.H. 675 (A.D. 1276) and the place where a certain Sayfu 'd-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh died (p. 424), and the *qaṣīda* on pp. 288, 289 is dated A.H. 683 (A.D. 1283). This *qaṣīda* is in honour of Jalālu 'd-Dīn Suyurghatmish of Kirmān, and it thus appears that the poet was a panegyrist of the Kirmān ruler some years before Yūsuf Shāh of Luristān died, so that Mr. Edwards' suggestion that he transferred his allegiance from Luristān to Kirmān when Yūsuf Shāh died and his son Afrāsiyāb persecuted his father's protégées seems of doubtful validity. Probably he wrote in honour of anybody likely to reward him, at any time likely to be propitious. To the list of Zu'l-Faqār's well known patrons given by Mr. Edwards, we may add the Ilkhān Aḥmad (p. 327) and, probably, Shamsu'd-Dīn Juwaynī the Ṣāhib Dīwān.

Zu 'l-Faqār is not one of the great writers of Persian literature—he is not even mentioned by Browne—but he had, as I have said, a considerable reputation in the eyes of the *tazkhirā* writers, and the manuscript now reproduced enables us to judge of his worth as a poet. He is a most ingenious and skilful writer of highly artificial compositions of the kind analysed by Browne in his *Literary History*, vol. 2, ch. 1. It is a matter of taste, of course, but I cannot myself understand why anyone should have admired these strange figures of rhetorical exaggeration. They did; and cleverness of this kind was greatly liked by all who could understand it. Yet a man cannot claim a place among the greater poets of the world by reason of such merits alone. In order to justify my giving an opinion of Zu'l-Faqār I have carefully read the whole of this Dīwān—a labour which I cannot honestly advise anyone else to undertake. I find a few pretty and touching laments (*marsiyyas*) and one or two short pieces that show real poetic feeling. Of the laments, that on pp. 374–7 on the death of a certain Sulaymān

Shāh, beginning :

چنان جان جهان بی جان دریغست
چنان خورشید رخ پنهان دریغست

is perhaps the best. But the mass of the Dīwān is, in my opinion, unattractive. It is true that it often reminds one of Qā'ānī, but it lacks Qā'ānī's wonderful command of language and melody, whilst in a few instances rivalling Qā'ānī in ribald coarseness.

Zu 'l-Faqār's poetry is hard to understand. Thus, the author of the Makhzanu'l-gharāib writes of him : قصاید پرمصنوع دارد که فهمیدنش دشوار است, i.e. he writes very artificial *qaṣīdas* which it is difficult to understand. He says of himself :

چنان طرازد طرز سخن که از نکتش
یک دقیقه بماند بیست دانشمند

i.e. twenty wise men fail to solve even one fine point in his conceits. If this be the case I am not ashamed to confess that I have found in nearly every *qaṣīda* a line or more which I cannot understand. The verses are full of strange words, obscure allusions, rhetorical tricks, puns, and double meanings. The manuscript does not make things easier by omitting diacritical points and making occasional mistakes. Moreover, the proper understanding of Persian odes, even when written by authors not generally considered difficult, is often now impossible. No one, for example, considers Ḥāfiẓ specially hard, but I am persuaded that the full meaning of many of his odes is now for ever lost. One must picture to oneself the nature of these little poems. Something has happened, and on this the poet composes an ode and recites it in a *darbār* or *majlis* held by his patron. Ideas and words are chosen to suit the particular circumstances. The assembled listeners very well know these circumstances, and are tickled by the skilful use of words and metre selected to suit the case. From us all these beauties are more or less hidden, and phrases and ideas which delighted all hearers and gave genuine pleasure

to the subject of the panegyric are beyond our appreciation. Even where the main fact can be gathered subsidiary facts are unknown. In one *qaṣīda* Zu'l-Faqār refers to his having been given a sorry nag to ride. To grasp the full meaning of all he says we should have to know the character of the donor, the occasion of the giving, and all the various circumstances which give point to the words he uses.

The metres used by Zu 'l-Faqār in this *Dīwān* call for no special remarks. He is particularly fond of *mujtaṣṣ-i-makhbūn*.
A. 195. C. N. SEDDON.

THE MEGIDDO WATER SYSTEM. By ROBERT S. LAMON. (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, vol. xxxii.) Chicago, 1935. (Cambridge University Press.) 4to, pp. xxii + 38, pls. i-viii, and text-illustrations. Price 13s. 6d. net.

Megiddo, like other ancient fortresses, depended on a secure water supply, but its only well lay outside the wall, and the rock of the citadel is too porous for cisterns. A surface spring, however, on the western slope was traced back to its source, and progressively exploited by tunnelling, when the "water table" in the rock sank, as it has sunk generally in Palestine. Originally the entrance to this cave-well was exposed, and had to be guarded—indeed, the remains of a sentry were found at his post—but later it was concealed, and the water was made accessible only from within the city, by a vertical shaft and horizontal tunnel, which offered difficult problems to the ancient surveyors, whose corrections of geometrical errors can still be seen, as in the Siloam tunnel. As at Siloam, work went on from both ends. From objects included in a blocking wall, the date of this great work is in the twelfth century B.C., but it had to be repaired (after a period of neglect) in the tenth and again in the seventh.

The excavators are to be congratulated on a difficult feat of exploration and interpretation, and not least on their ingenious photography.

A. 513.

J. L. MYRES.

DAS HEBRÄISCHE EPOS. By D. ARVID BRUNO. Eine Rhythmische und Textkritische Untersuchung der Bücher Samuelis und Könige. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6$. pp. 257 + 164, plan 1. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell's Boktryckeri, 1935.

An attempt to show that the prose of Samuel and Kings follows a definite rhythmic scheme, capable of scansion. The rhythm is determined by accentual ictus, the metres varying between $4 + 4 + 4$, $5 + 5 + 5$, and $6 + 6 + 6$. Each of these is susceptible of variation, e.g. $5 + 5 + 5$, may appear as $4 + 6 + 5$, $5 + 6 + 4$, $4 + 5 + 6$, etc., so long as the total number of beats is preserved in a phrasing.

In order to substantiate his thesis the author is obliged to assume extensive textual corruptions. These proceed both from scribal error and from editorial "correction". To the latter belong the many amplifications (e.g. "the King Solomon" for an original "Solomon") which have upset the rhythmic balance of sentences.

The Massoretic text is printed, with rhythmic markings, the emendations being confined to the Commentary.

A priori, the author's thesis is plausible enough. Books which embody so much popular material may well have incorporated the metric structure of original epic poems and ballads. Moreover, the Oriental practice of *chanting* rather than *reading* may well have influenced the style of authors.

On the other hand, there is much to be said against Dr. Bruno's particular reconstruction. Firstly, it presumes a pronunciation of Hebrew which, though current to-day, was not necessarily that of the ancient writers. Secondly, whilst it makes considerable allowance for constant editorial revisions it does not sufficiently appreciate the fact that the books of the Bible have gone through a process of grammatical levelling and that many archaic forms have been ironed out. We, therefore, have no guarantee that forms exhibited by our present text really represent what the authors wrote. Hence, to construct metrical theories on the basis of the present recension is necessarily precarious. Thirdly, in his attempts

to reconstruct the original text, Dr. Bruno seems to rely too much on dictionary and concordance and too little on syntax and idiom. Thus, his emendation of 1 Samuel i, 6, **בְּעֵבֹר** **הָרְעִימָהּ** into **בְּעֵבְרָה עֲרִמָהּ** "because she went about childless" is simply not Hebrew. The substituted phrase could only mean "because she passed by naked"! Similarly, to emend **עַד תִּדְלוּ עֶד** in Hannah's song (1 Samuel ii, 5) to **תִּדְלוּ לְעַד** "ever make a fair show" involves the creation of a new verb and ignores the simpler **עֲבֹד תִּדְלוּ** "cease from toiling in servitude". Again, in 1 Samuel ii, 25: "if a man sin against another **וַיִּפְּלֵהוּ אֱלֹהִים**", Dr. Bruno's emendation **וַיִּפְּלֵהוּ גֵּאֵל הָדָם** is particularly infelicitous, because it ignores the fact that the allusion is to trial before the tribal gods; cf. Exodus xxii, 8: **עַד** **וַיִּשְׁלַק לְשׁוֹנוֹ** in 1 Samuel xiii, 21, to **וַיִּשְׁלַק לְשׁוֹנוֹ** "and his tongue burned (for axes)", as a supposed parallel to **וַיִּהְיֶה הַפְּצִירָה פִּים לַמַּחֲרֵשׁוֹת**. The objections to this are that (a) it misunderstands the first phrase completely; (b) it makes **לְשׁוֹן** masculine, which is a late and often doubtful use (Ps. xxii, 16; Job xxvii, 4; Zeph. iii, 3); (c) **שֶׁלֶק** "burn" does not exist, the forms **יִשְׁקַח** and **נִשְׁקָה** (Isa. xlv, 15; Ps. lxxviii, 21) being derived rather from **rt.** **שֶׁלַק** as is clear from **תִּרְגֵּשֶׁק** in APO 56, 9; (d) **שֶׁלַק** as a parallel to **מַחֲרֵשֶׁת** may well mean "trident", such instruments having been found in Palestine, e.g. at Tell Duweir; (e) even if **שֶׁלַק** could be postulated for the forms cited, it would mean "ignite" not "burn", which in this sense is **בָּעַר**.

These examples will suffice to show that Dr. Bruno's

reconstructed text is open to serious question. Since his theory depends so much upon it, it is clear that it cannot be viewed but with misgivings. This, however, does not detract from the merits of an investigation no less distinguished for its patience and honesty because its conclusions cannot be endorsed.

A. 406.

THEODOR HERZL GASTER.

THE SCRIPT OF HARAPPA AND MOHENJODARO AND ITS CONNECTION WITH OTHER SCRIPTS. By G. R. HUNTER. With an introduction by Professor S. LANGDON (Studies in the History of Culture, No. 1). 10 × 6½: pp. xii + 210: pls. 37. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1934. 21s.

This was a thesis submitted to the University of Oxford in 1929. It is thus two years older than the chapters on the Indus script by Messrs. Smith and Gadd and by Professor Langdon in *Mohenjo-daro*, 1931. To readers of this *Journal* much of Dr. Hunter's theory is already known from his critical review of *Mohenjo-daro*, ch. xxi-xxiii, in 1932, pp. 466-503. Dr. Hunter's contribution to the debate are important, for he paid three long visits to Mohenjodaro and Harappa (1927, 1929, 1931) and copied there every inscription excavated up to April, 1932.

The author has followed the good method of tabulating every occurrence of each sign. From the regularity of their occurrence in particular positions and contexts he obtains an interpretation of certain signs: in particular the numeral signs, the ordinal suffix, the word for *servant* and its determinative, *slave*, and its determinative, *son*, the ablative and dative suffixes (p. 3: but as regards determinatives cf. *Journal*, loc. cit., 489). At the time of writing, and perhaps at the time of publication, this was the most thorough attempt at interpretation yet made. Now, however, it will

also be necessary to reckon with the system of P. Meriggi in *ZDMG.*, 1934, pp. 198-241.

In the script Dr. Hunter finds a close resemblance with the Elamite and a less close resemblance with early Sumerian. He finds Brāhmī (with Professor Langdon) and also a large part of Sabæan and even Phœnician to be derivative from the Indus writing. These last connections seem to be erroneous: the derivation of the south-Semitic and the proto-Canaanite-Phœnician alphabets from that represented at Serabit el-Khādem is now practically certain, and one sees no convincing reason for abandoning the derivation of Brāhmī from a Semitic alphabet. On the other hand Dr. Hunter's table seems satisfactorily to establish the connection between the Indus and the old Elamite writing.

A. 215.

E. BURROWS.

A HISTORY OF PERAK. By R. O. WINSTEDT, R. J. WILKINSON.

9½ × 6½, pp. iv + 180, pls. xiv. [= *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xii, part i.] Singapore: Malayan Branch, R.A.S., 1934.

The history of the States of the Malay Peninsula can never be fully related because records older than the sixteenth century are scanty, so far as there are any at all. The bulk of this work deals, therefore, with the period beginning about 1500 and ending with 1883. It is mainly based on Dutch and British sources, the latter becoming increasingly important in the nineteenth century. The appendices, amounting to nearly a third of the whole volume, contain a variety of interesting material mainly concerning the origin and genealogies of the Perak ruling house and of the leading chiefs of the State. The names of the authors are a guarantee of the value and trustworthiness of the work and it makes interesting reading.

The history of the State is largely concerned with its relations to neighbouring powers, Portuguese, Achinese,

Dutch, Bugis, Siamese, and British, as well as the adjoining Malay States, from most of which Perak had a good deal to suffer. The events which led to the tragic death of the first British Resident are discreetly and fairly related. The ultimate responsibility for them must be laid on the Colonial Government of the Straits Settlement for its unfortunate choice both of the Resident and of the Sultan, neither of whom was suited to his post while each was antipathetic to the other.

I have noticed few points for criticism. The statement that "Sri Vijaya used Nagari or North Indian characters" (p. 4) must be qualified by the fact that its three earliest (late seventh century) records are in a southern form of the Indian alphabet. I must disclaim the discovery of the Society's manuscript mentioned on p. 7. It was catalogued by Van der Tuuk long before I saw it. On p. 117, l. 20, "dispose" is evidently a misprint for "dispense". On p. 129, l. 7 from the bottom, for "1926" read "1826".

A. 280.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

HAYAGRIVA, THE MANTRAVANIC ASPECT OF HORSE-CULT IN CHINA AND JAPAN. By Dr. R. H. VAN GULIK. Supplement to vol. xxxiii of *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*. 13¼ × 10¼, pp. 105, ill. 14. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935. Gld. 7.50.

This learned monograph, which runs to 105 large quarto pages with numerous illustrations and plates, after a brief introduction on the general subject of the Mahayanic gods, discusses Hayagriva first in India, then in China, and finally in Japan. The author, who makes abundant references to the original literary sources, describes the position of the cult in pre-Buddhistic and in its more developed form after the introduction of Buddhism. He also deals fully with the iconography and with the magical aspects of the cult. The study is a most important one not only to specialist students

but also to those who are interested in the general development of the higher religions in Asia and their relation to primitive animism. The whole monograph is a mine of information on matters concerned with the Horse-cult in the Far East and should prove of great value not only to those who are properly equipped linguistically but also to the others, like the present reviewer, who is woefully conscious—and was made more so by reading this volume—of his inadequate knowledge of the religious literature of China and Japan.

A. 467.

L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUMERIAN ART. By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY. 11 × 7½, pp. 140, pls. 72, in colour 1. London: Faber and Faber, 1935. 30s.

It is fitting that Sir Leonard Woolley, who has probably unearthed more Sumerian monuments than any other man living, should guide us through that great collection for which he is in large part responsible. In this beautifully printed book he has selected for us a number of illustrations of representative pieces of Sumerian Art, and he has set a measure of order in a collection which is by no means easy to catalogue. His method is to describe each piece in detail, paying special attention to technical considerations, thereby enabling us to understand the trend and development of that art—an art on which tradition and convention were rigidly imposed for a thousand years or more.

Sir Leonard can explain many technical considerations which might escape the notice of other critics who unlike him have not seen with their own eyes thousands of objects emerge from the ground, pass through their hands, and yield to that medical and surgical treatment which is so often required. As a consequence we are made to understand with singular clarity the nature of the raw materials which conditioned the development of Sumerian art—how, for

example, the art of incrustation developed from the primitive wall mosaics, how the column developed from the palm trunk, defensive walling from half timber work, vaults from reed huts—and a dozen other details of the greatest interest which the reader must examine if he wishes for a full perspective of the art.

In the matter of critical appreciation Sir Leonard has refrained from committing himself, but he often drops suggestive hints—"the conscious striving after beauty for its own sake. . . is characteristic of Greek rather than of Near Eastern art." In illustrating the general development he expounds with clearness the tendency of Sargonid art to free itself from cramping, and the tendency of art of the Third dynasty of Ur towards abstraction.

Often enough, however, when it comes to appraisement of individual pieces, I find myself in disagreement, and indeed that is to be expected, for happily no two persons unless perhaps they be Siamese twins can be relied on to go through the same gallery and invariably admire the same works of art.

The first two chapters in the book are concerned with the prehistoric and protohistoric periods of Sumer, and we have a most interesting discussion on the painted fabrics of Al 'Ubaid, Uruk, and Jamdat Nasr. It must be admitted, I think, that the various influences underlying these fabrics are not yet fully understood, but I cannot agree with Sir Leonard's verdict that "Elam lagged behind". It seems to me that the Al 'Ubaid ware of Sumer with its simple designs and generally indifferent potting is essentially a provincial art, and that the *fons et origo* was Iran. We have only to look at the collection of early sherds brought home by Sir Aurel Stein from S. Iran to realize that the pot fabrics of that country display a wealth of design, an intricate variety of motifs, and an eye for pattern that is absent from any prehistoric ware yet discovered in Sumer. The provincial ware of Al 'Ubaid never developed after the manner of the

Elamite pot fabrics, which reached their high water mark in the pottery of Susa I. Sir Leonard indeed points out that Susa I is an advanced development of the potter's art, and he does well to stress the point, for Susa I is certainly not, as some writers maintain, in an early stage of ceramic. It seems to me, however, that the fertility of designs which we find on the cylinder seals and impressions of the Uruk and Jamdat Nasr periods may easily be a logical development of Elamite or Iranian art, and that the same fertile invention which produced the infinitely varied pottery of S. Iran, as exemplified in the prehistoric pottery of Persepolis, may have been ultimately responsible for those seal impressions illustrated in the last chapter of the book.

It is as well to stress this point, because Sir Leonard along with other writers is at pains to emphasize the supposed influence of Anatolia, which is said to manifest itself in the grey ware that enters Sumer at the beginning of the Uruk period. Now I admit that there is no logical reason why we should not entertain the possibility that there was an Anatolian influence in the Uruk period, but I would at least observe that there is as yet no evidence amounting to proof that Anatolian pottery antedates Uruk. We have yet to be shown some fabric from Asia Minor which can definitely be said to be an ancestor of Uruk ware. This point of view has been clearly set forth by Mr. R. W. Hutchinson in a paper entitled "Uruk and Yortan", in *Iraq* of October, 1935.

Sir Leonard has, I think, produced stronger arguments for the influence of Syria in the early period. It seems to me, however, that he has rather neglected prehistoric Assyria, which must also have exercised some influence on early Sumer. It must be remembered that Nineveh was one of the largest, and probably one of the most important, prehistoric centres of Western Asia, and that on the enormous site of Kuyunjik, Uruk ware is to be found from one end of the city to another. It would be perfectly reasonable to make

out a case for Kuyunjik as one of the earliest centres of distribution of Uruk ware, and I would as soon believe that the red slip ware of Uruk was invented and exploited in Kuyunjik as anywhere else. Further, I think that the possibility that the polychrome ware of Tall Halaf had an influence on the trichrome ware of Jamdat Nasr should not be overlooked. The discovery in Uruk of a brecciated limestone vase of the Jamdat Nasr period made of a material almost certainly imported from the Mosul area, and the occurrence at Gawrah and Warka of the curious double looped idols seems to me significant evidence of a close contact between Assyria and Sumer at this period.

The author has many interesting remarks to make on the early sculpture. One hesitates to comment on matters which depend on individual taste, but I think personally that Sir Leonard has underestimated the achievement of the Tall Asmar statuary with its brilliantly executed genre treatment and obvious feeling for individual portraiture. Here also I must make my most serious criticism—the absence of any illustration or description of the bronze head of a king (?); some think that he may be Sargon of Akkad himself, found by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson at Kuyunjik in 1931. To my mind this head is outstanding even among the many treasures of the Iraq Museum, and comes near to achieving perfection in the blending of abstract art and portraiture. It is, of course, a descendant of an ancient tradition which produced the gold wig of Mes-Kalam-Dug, and we cannot be considered to have fully appraised the early art of Western Asia without having studied it.¹

The comments on the stone construction of the early Royal graves are very important. Even since the writing of this book earlier antecedents for domical construction have been found in Assyria, in the shape of the stone *tholoi* at Arpachiyah—with precisely those limestone rubble founda-

¹ The head is published in the *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. xix, Nos. 3–4, plate L.

tions which Sir Leonard acutely observes to have persisted in Sumer long after they had outlived their *raison d'être*. That tradition again may well go back to Assyria, where the method of building was in use long before the Uruk period. In this context it is interesting to remember the apsidal stone buildings at Tarxien in Neolithic Malta, still perhaps the earliest of their kind in Western Asia.

We are given ample measure of illustrations of masterpieces from the royal cemetery of Ur, and Sir Leonard draws timely attention to the "impromptu" sketch of the Scorpion man on one of the shell plaques fronting the sound box of a lyre with the apt comment that though in general "the Sumerian succeeds least in his representation of the human figure; it can hardly have been lack of observation or skill". We have always to remember that the art of this period was conditioned by a religious ritual which dominated with the real tyranny of a theocracy; but because the artisans of the time were artists and not mere craftsmen their art emerged all the more brilliant for its subordination to the canons imposed upon it.

In the estimate of sculpture of the dynastic period I am not convinced that "Lagash was probably always provincial and backward" nor do I think that there is sufficient evidence of statuary of the Ur Nina period to warrant the statement that there was a period of decadence during his reign. The limestone plaque from Lagash, on plate 49 (a) may be crude, but I see no lack of composition in it, and in my opinion it is a better piece of work than the corresponding plaque from Ur illustrated on plate 54 (a).

There is an admirable description of the artistic progress made in the Sargonid period when the artists had overcome their old "horror vacui", which perhaps had been due to the translation on to stone of subjects which had originally been engraved upon shell or incrustated. In the interesting account of the stela of Naram Sin due attention is drawn to the pyramidal composition. For me, the charm of that

monument lies in the graceful lines and proportions of the individuals, giving an impression of loose-limbed athletes on the move—a remarkable contrast to the heavy stocky figures of the older Sumerian art.

The consideration of Sumerian sculpture ends with a description of the famous Gudea statues of polished diorite. These monuments survive to take their rightful place among the masterpieces of the world's sculpture, and they have not been without their effect on the living sculptors of to-day. After reading Sir Leonard's stimulating comments and shrewd technical observations, I hope that students may be tempted to refer back to the original publication of the monuments in the magnificent folios by Léon Heuzey, published nearly a quarter of a century ago. It is fashionable to decry the work of early pioneers, but Heuzey's appreciation of the Gudea statuary in the Louvre, written in a beautiful French, still stands to-day as a masterpiece of æsthetic criticism, an art peculiar to the Latin genius. And in addition the statutes in Heuzey's folio are illustrated by a magnificent series of holographic plates, unfortunately a process prohibitive in cost, but one that seems to me to reproduce the texture of stone as no other process can.

There are a few minor slips in the references : on page 58 the vase referred to as third dynasty is rightly described as Sargonid on plate 52 (*a*) and in the text on page 96 ; on page 86, Kafaje should be written Khafaje ; and on page 98 plate 53 (*b*) should be plate 55 (*b*).

I have in this review deliberately taken controversial matters and expressed differing opinions on them ; but this is in no way intended to detract from Sir Leonard's authoritative judgment. This book stimulates us to think about many of the major problems of Sumerian art, and Sir Leonard has performed a very considerable service in setting these monuments in order. The book is full of original thinking and apt comment, and I trust that readers will be encouraged to consult it and will find profit and delight in pursuing the

study of that art for which Sir Leonard has done so much.

A. 501.

M. E. L. MALLOWAN.

ELEMENTS OF ASTROLOGY. By ABU'L-RAYHAN AL-BIRUNI
The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of
Astrology. Reproduced from Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 8349.
With a translation by R. RAMSAY WRIGHT. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6,
pp. xviii + 333. London : Luzac and Co., 1934. 42s. net.

This publication consists of two parts. On the one side of the page the author has reproduced in lithograph the Arabic MS. of the British Museum and on the opposite side he has reproduced by mechanical process the typed MS. of his English translation. Al-Biruni's work has come down in two versions, one Arabic and the other Persian, and the late Mr. Wright, who died before he completed the introduction, leaves it somewhat undecided whether Al-Biruni himself wrote it in both languages— a distinct possibility in view of the fact that the book was dedicated to Rayhanah, possibly a member of the royal house. Be this as it may, the translation has been made from the Persian version. Al-Biruni shows in this work his wide knowledge of mathematics, geography, and astronomy. The first chapter contains a commentary on Euclid, followed by another on Ptolemy.

Before entering more deeply into the principal subject, the author gives a chapter on chronology, the names of the months among various nations, and on the fasts and feasts observed by them. Then follow all the astronomical data concerning the seasons, the relation of stars to one another, their apposition in the celestial sphere, the Zodiac, together with remarks on the influence which the various constellations exercise upon human life as well as upon plants and animals. Minute tables are given illustrating the planets, their conjunctions and the influence which they exercise. A chapter is devoted to the Astrolabe and the calculation of nativities.

This is only a brief summary of a work which required special scholarship to render it adequately into English, since it bristles with a large number of technical terms and is of a very complicated nature. In those days astronomy flourished greatly, notably among the Arabs, and held sway for many centuries. And yet it is a curious fact that it was transmitted to the Christian world only through Mashallah (not Abu Mashar). His Arabic work was translated into Hebrew by Abn Ezra, and an early French translation at the end of the twelfth century became the basis of all the Latin translations which henceforth circulated in Europe. How far Al-Biruni may have been the source of Abu Mashar's compilation, or of his immediate predecessor's work, can now be determined in the light of this important though unfortunately posthumous publication. Only 100 copies of the book have been printed. The number of the copy sent to the R.A.S. is 58.

A.243.

M. GASTER.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By W. O. E. OESTERLEY and THEODORE H. ROBINSON.

9 × 5½ in., pp. xvi + 454. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: 1934. 10s. 6d.

The problems raised by the Old Testament are so many and the literature so vast that a single-handed work upon the subject becomes well nigh an impossible task. It was therefore a happy idea on the part of Professors Oesterley and Robinson to collaborate upon this book. The result of their collaboration is an unqualified success. The object which the authors set before them was to write an Introduction to the Old Testament which would steer midway between the elaborateness of Driver and the more concise manuals of Buchanan Gray and McFadyen. In this object they have admirably succeeded. They have accomplished the herculean task of reading through and assimilating the extensive literature upon the subject with conspicuous ability. Moreover,

the book reads so smoothly that it is difficult to detect anywhere signs of dual authorship. Every page bears witness to the authors' wide reading, as well as to their powers of criticism and analysis. The work is at once informing and stimulating, up-to-date in its scholarship, lucid in its exposition, concise without being skimpy (the chapter on the forms of Hebrew poetry is a particularly happy example of lucidity and compression), and may be unreservedly recommended to all students of the subject.

A.342.

J. LEVEEN.

THE FIRST CENTURY OF BRITISH JUSTICE IN INDIA. By
SIR CHARLES FAWCETT. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 6, pp. xx + 269, maps 2.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 15s.

During the early decades of the East India Company's connection with India judicial functions were vested in its senior local servants at the Company's settlements, and later, as its territorial responsibilities expanded, in the Governor and Council of the 'Presidencies'. The policy of keeping judicial appointments under its own control was deliberately pursued at first. It was not until 1726 that specific provision was made, in the charter of that year, for the establishment of civil and criminal courts deriving their authority from the king instead of from the Company. A very important change, however, was made after the fort and island of Bombay, which had been ceded by the King of Portugal to Charles II in 1661, was transferred to the Company in 1668. The royal charter granted in the latter year provided for the establishment of courts on English lines, and, what is of special interest, authorized the Company, under certain limitations, to frame their own laws. Sir C. Fawcett's researches have enabled him to trace a copy of the 'laws' promulgated under this sanction, which have now been reproduced for the first time. Under this charter, moreover, a special court of judicature, the first of its kind in India, was established at Bombay

by that able and broad-minded Governor, Gerald Aungier, to whom that city owes so much. The vicissitudes of this court under a succession of presiding judges has been given down to the year 1728, when the Mayor's Court was inaugurated in its place. The story throws much light also upon the executive administration of the times, and we find interesting character sketches of many men who played leading parts in the affairs of the Presidency. Of other courts of justice in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay shorter accounts have been added. As a result of exhaustive examination of the records still extant, Sir Charles has been able to decide some controversial points and correct some erroneous views that had gained currency in the past.

This is altogether a valuable, and it might be added authoritative, contribution to the history of the development of British justice in India during the period dealt with.

A.322.

O.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. No. 48.

Explorations in Sind. Being a report of the exploratory survey carried out during the years 1927-8, 1929-1930, and 1930-1. By N. C. MAJUMDAR. 13 × 10, pp. xii + 174, pls. 46, map 1. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1934. 27s. 6d.

The survey of Mr. Majumdar is a narration of his journeys and explorations in Sind at more than thirty sites besides Mohenjodaro. The plates chiefly represent remains of pottery and ornaments, which show the Indus civilization spread over a wide area. His general observations discuss some interesting points, the absence of any trace of reoccupation after chalcolithic times (ascribed to progressive desiccation) and the problem of contact with the West. The few animal and human remains have been cautiously discussed by Dr. B. Prasad and Dr. B. S. Guha.

A.351.

E. J. THOMAS.

THE BASIC CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM. By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA. Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures, 1932. 9 × 5½, pp. x + 103. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1934.

Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya here gives two lectures, which he describes as an attempt to show the solution that the Buddha found out of the problem that he had before him, this problem being "the cessation of sufferings, which follows the extinction of desire". This is no small task, but he attempts much more. He finds that there is a bewildering divergence among the schools, that the texts are conflicting in many respects and often in a number of points which are vital. As an example of contradictions in "the canonical and most authoritative works on Buddhism", he brings forward the *Mādhyamikas* and the *Yogāchāras*, and in the course of a single chapter he ranges from Nāgasena to Chandrakīrti and the Vajrayāna in his pursuit of the basic conception of Buddhism. Fifty pages are hardly enough for that.

A.229.

E. J. THOMAS.

DIE LEHRE DER JAINAS NACH DEN ALTEN QUELLEN DARGESTELLT. Von W. SCHUBRING. Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. Band iii, Heft 7. 10 × 7, pp. 252. Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1935.

The latest volume of the *Grundriss* will be sure of a warm welcome. Jainism or, as the author prefers to call it, Jinismus has not suffered like its great rival from the conflicts and disputes of its expounders, and the author carries on both his own work and that of scholars like Bühler, Jacobi, and Leumann. In his view Jainism is the achievement of a great systematizer. A calculated and comprehensive system from its very nature is incapable of development, and so the religion of Mahāvīra has remained the same to the present day. Hence the author, after giving the history of Jain

studies, with an historical account of Jainism and the Canon, proceeds to the metaphysical basis and cosmology, and then passes to the career of the monk and his victory over the world. The work does not claim to be final, but invites further collaboration. It is certainly a landmark.

A.358.

E. J. THOMAS.

BILDWERK UND VOLKSTUM VORDERASIENS ZUR HETHITERZEIT.

By A. MOORTGAT. Sendschrift der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 8. 9 × 6, pp. 42, pls. 37. Leipzig: J. C. Heinrichs, 1934.

This essay, adequately illustrated and admirably simple, offers to a public not restricted to specialists partly a résumé and partly an amplification of the author's theories concerning sources and currents of art in the ancient Near East as propounded recently in his "Bildende Kunst Vorderasiens und die Kunst der Bergvölker". He employs the title "mountain peoples" to designate under a single term the very diverse nationalities, Hittites, Hurrians and Mitannians, Elamites and Cassites, whose art sometimes reflects, at others significantly diverges from, that of Sumer and Babylon. Dr. Moortgat makes a creditable attempt to advance further the logical task of sorting out by ethnic elements the tangled phenomena of Near Eastern art. He achieves, too, some successes, for example, in identifying the fine bronze male head from Hamadan as an early Elamite work; to have drawn attention to it deserves thanks. Perhaps his flank most open to attack of criticism is his chief innovation (championed in his earlier work) by which he distinguishes beside the cultural spheres of Hittites, Elamites, and Cassites a new cultural area called "Mitannian" assigned to that elusive people the Hurrians extending "from the Taurus to the Zagros and from Armenia to Palestine".¹ This

¹ These people, it is now known from excavation, can have had no connection with the makers of the prehistoric Tell Halaf pottery, as he suggests.

hypothetical unit differs from the others he presents, which are more clearly defined by geographical or national elements; but this, extending over so complex an area, and knit together only by a few recurrent motifs, needs to have its real existence more convincingly proved. Can the Mitannian element in Dr. M.'s "Mitannian area" have been so prominent as to give its name to this whole? The actual Mitannian empire was probably little homogeneous in cultural matters and its influence on its neighbours in this respect was small. If we take the small group of the Hurrian seals from Nuzi to represent the most authentic Mitannian products its art appears to have been feeble, contrary to what we should expect if it was centre of artistic inspiration. Or if Dr. M.'s new unit is one of ideas alone, we have to do with one quite different from the others. It is again uncomfortably comprehensive, if it is to include at its periphery the centre of artistic diffusion with considerable individual character which must have lain in Syria in the second millenium B.C., as contemporary contacts with Crete, Greece, Cyprus, and Egypt, and the finds at Ras Shamra testify. We are, in fact, to a great extent still dealing with unknown quantities, and about Cassite and Mitannian art await further information from the excavators.

A.360.

R. D. BARNETT.

UN AMI DE STENDHAL, VICTOR JACQUEMONT. By PIERRE MAYS. 8 × 5, pp. xii + 642, ill. 8, map 1. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie.

The *Letters* and the *Journal* of Victor Jacquemont, the French botanist, who travelled in India between 1829 and 1832, are familiar to those who are interested in the history of Northern India and few can peruse these works without being fascinated by the bright, adventurous spirit in which they were written. M. Mays' book gives us a skilful abstract of Jacquemont's Indian experiences, and this is supplemented

by an account, new to most English readers, of Jacquemont's earlier life in the company of Stendhal, Gérard, Mérimée, and other intellectuals of the French Restoration period. At the recent celebration in Paris of the centenary of Jacquemont's death, the Royal Asiatic Society was represented by one of its most distinguished members and it is interesting to read in M. Mays' book of the cordial assistance given to Jacquemont by the Society during his visit to London in 1828 and of his attendance at the monthly dinner held by the Royal Asiatic Society at that period. This book under review has some interesting illustrations¹ with an excellent bibliography and index, and presents us with a valuable and comprehensive account of a brilliant personality.

A.368.

E. D. MACLAGAN

DARIUS THE MEDE AND THE FOUR WORLD EMPIRES IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL. By H. H. ROWLEY. A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6, pp. xxxiv + 195. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board, 1935. 12s. 6d.

Opinion probably will be always divided as to the date and interpretation of the Book of Daniel; and in this well-documented work, described by its author as "a historical study of contemporary theories", the reader may gather how divergent are the views of scholars on these points. Professor Rowley deals specifically with two questions under dispute and with a wealth of argument clearly and succinctly marshalled arrives at the conclusion that there is no reliable evidence for the existence of any such person as Darius the Mede but that he is a conflation of confused traditions, a fictitious creation which shatters the claim of the Book of Daniel as a historical work of a contemporary author but

¹ The reader should, however, be warned that the portraits of two of the most interesting subsidiary characters in the book, Jacquemont's father and Lord William Bentinck (pp. 12 and 386), have by some oversight been transposed.

in no way detracts from the value of the message that it is meant to teach, "that men ought always to pray, for the treasures of a deep religious experience are of more worth than the favour of princes, and the power of God is able to laugh at the might of monarchs and the raging of wild beasts."

The other point dealt with is the identification of the four world empires mentioned in the second and seventh chapters of Daniel. These are identified as the neo-Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Greek respectively; and the views opposing these identifications are cogently controverted to our author's satisfaction.

From the positions taken up and so vigorously defended the conclusions arrived at are that the Book of Daniel is not a work of the sixth century B.C. but of the second century B.C.; and that the erroneous identifications running throughout the book are a strong argument in favour of its unity, though not conclusive.

At the end of his thesis our author reasserts his conviction that the historical mistakes of the book "add to the fullness of its religious message to our hearts".

A.405.

A. W. GREENUP.

LIBYAN SANDS: TRAVEL IN A DEAD WORLD. By RALPH A. BAGNOLD. 9 x 6, pp. 351, maps 4, ills. 36. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935. 15s.

The most difficult and one of the most desirable qualities in a book of travel is the element of drama. The explorer and his company move against an immense background from one obscure point to another, usually equally obscure and to the lay mind very similar. Apart from the scientific interest of their doings, they are apt to become mere outlines, their living contour disappears; and one would think that the Libyan desert, an emptiness on the world's surface as large as India, would be particularly liable to such a danger.

But there is nothing that is not vivid and alive in Captain Bagnold's manner of writing. Dramatic interest is there,

and he has the gift of imagination to express it, not in terms of human beings, but in the struggle of the machine, the Ford car and lorry, against the desert sand dune.

Captain Bagnold and his colleagues are pioneers of the motor car in sand. No one should venture on a desert car trek without reading this book and making particular notes from the appendix and index, where the fundamental rules, and the most useful advice, the results of long and searching experience, are given for the benefit of later venturers.

The first journeys picked up the traditions of the 1916 Light Car Patrols in Egypt, almost forgotten since the war. They carried the writer and his companions in three cars to and fro about Sinai and Transjordan by ways which are now comparatively commonplace only because these expeditions first showed the possibility of using them.

But it is with the drive to Siwa and the first appearance of the sand dune that the real interest of the book begins.

An immense unexplored tract of dunes shuts off the Libyan desert on the west, north of the equally unexplored plateau of Gilf Kebir. Rohlfs in 1879 nearly lost his life in these dunes. In 1923 Hassanein Bey first crossed the Libyan desert from Kufra to El Fasher, and by the discovery of 'Uweinat made possible Prince Kemal ed-Din's expeditions to the south-west and the discovery of Merga. The era of the motor car in African exploration had begun, but the great blank of the sand dunes remained untouched because of a general conviction that no car could negotiate them. How Captain Bagnold and his party discovered, almost accidentally, that they were vulnerable after all, is best told in his own words ;

"Soon another bank of yellow loomed up ahead, continuous, smooth, and featureless. . . . Should we attempt to cross it? There was no alternative unless we gave up altogether, and we were already through the rampart which others had looked at and deemed uncrossable.

"I increased speed to 40 miles an hour, feeling like a small boy on a horse about to take his first big fence. . . .

Suddenly the light doubled in strength as if more suns had been switched on. A huge, glaring wall of yellow shot up high into the sky a yard in front of us. The lorry tipped violently backwards—and we rose as in a lift, smoothly without vibration. We floated up and up on a yellow cloud. All the accustomed car movements had ceased; only the speedometer told us we were still moving fast . . . we were now near the top, a 100 feet above the ground."

The dunes had not said their last word, for they very nearly trapped the party at "the farthest point from anything to drink anywhere in Africa, possibly anywhere on the mainland of the world".

The interest of the book is not confined to the duel of the cars and dunes. The ancient face of the desert which preserves, unchanging, flint instruments of palæolithic man and the skeletons that mark the great slave route, only recently abandoned, is described with an imagination that moves in time as well as space, and with the vividness that comes from the observation of small and unexpected things. Such, for instance, is the description of the tumble-weed, "rolling on and on with the wind, vainly shedding seeds that would never germinate" in the lifeless sand 500 miles from its nearest home: or the "solitary little birds that appeared from nowhere and would flit around silently, alighting for a while to watch, head on one side, craving as we did for something to look at, and perhaps hoping for food. And when we departed they would sit pathetically looking at any empty tin we had left behind before finally hopping into its shade to die".

There is an interesting and sad account of the last miserable wandering of the Arab refugees from Cirenaica where the fate of 'Omar Mukhtar has done much in recent years to make the idea of Italian expansion unpopular among Orientals.

Into these matters Captain Bagnold does not enter, but keeps to the clean desert air, the delight of the unknown, and the romance of his cars: and one cannot do better

to understand the spirit of the book and of the expeditions that inspired it, than quote what he has to say about breakdowns and the joy to be found in attending to them—a joy none the less real because it is possibly confined to the understanding few :—

“Everybody craves at heart, I believe, to cease at times from giving orders and to get down to do some detail personally, to exercise whatever manual skill they have, to feel a pride in contriving something with their hands. . . . Where there is no menial to do the dirty work, and no custom debarring one from doing work oneself, what a secret joy it is to do it, and what a satisfaction when it is complete, to feel that it has been done properly by oneself who understands.”

The only fault to be found with this exceptionally good book is the absence of a general index.

A. 408.

FREYA STARK.

BYZANTINE ART. By D. TALBOT RICE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$, pp. xiii + 255, pls. 48, maps 4. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1935. 12s. 6d.

This little volume forms an excellent introduction to Byzantine art and should fill a useful gap, as it should appeal both to casual or serious traveller and also to the student who is beginning any deeper study of the subject. It can further be confidently recommended to the library of any passenger ship whose lawful occasion may take her into the Eastern Mediterranean. The general point of view which the author has adopted is that of the art historian rather than the archæologist. Clearly within the space that he has allowed himself a complete study of the subject was not possible, and Mr. Talbot Rice has no doubt in places made statements which in a larger work he would have either qualified or supported by further evidence, but that

is the price that any author who attempts to write a short, popular book must necessarily pay. The general scheme adopted is as follows. The author has divided his book into three parts. In the first he discusses the geographical and historical background, illustrating his remarks with some extremely clear generalized maps of the Near East. In the second part after a short chapter on the architectural background he writes a series of chapters of the different media used by Byzantine artists. The author throws his net widely, as he includes not only mosaics, wall, and panel painting and sculpture, but also book illumination and metal work with its attendant subsidiary art of enamelling, textiles, ceramics, and glass. Finally, in a third part, he discusses briefly the relations between Byzantium and the East and the West. Then, lest we should be at fault, he gives us a table of important dates, including the regnal periods of the Emperors. It will be seen from this survey the general outlook of the author. He is concerned with history and geography, and in the latter case not only geographical influences as they affected the maker but also the present actual location of various outstanding examples of Byzantine art. Appreciation on the whole he has avoided, he talks of "superb examples", of "important paintings", and so on, but often leaves us somewhat at a loss to know exactly what their artistic merits may be. We are left to judge this from the illustrations which, excellent as they are, can really give us little idea of the strange beauty of some Byzantine work. It was clearly impossible within the narrow compass of a short work to cover every side, but it is to be hoped that at a later date Mr. Talbot Rice will see his way to writing a short appreciation of the works whose historical position he has explained in this volume.

A. 414.

L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

ERANOS JAHRBUCH, 1933-4. Herausgegeben von OLGA FRÖBE-KAPTEYN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$. Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1933, 1934.

These volumes, printed in clear roman letter, contain about fifteen lectures each delivered at the August "summer school", as we should say, meeting in pleasant friendly conference in the garden hall built by the Editor on the Swiss banks of Lake Maggiore. The chief lecturers for these years have been H. Zimmer (Heidelberg), E. Rousselle (Frankfurt-a.M.), F. Heiler (late of Marburg), J. W. Hauer (Tübingen), E. Buonaiuti (Rome) and M. Buber (Heppenheim) not to omit the distinguished Dr. C. G. Jung, of Zürich, and only omitting others for want of space. The general topic is more conveniently described in German as that of *Seelenführung*, but this is not to say that any "guidance" is *ex cathedra* prescribed. The range is entirely expository and analytic; it were well if it were also more historical. In '33 it turned mainly to Yoga and other meditative methods; in '34 it was largely confined to *Symbolik*. These conferences are this year amounting to their sixth occasion, and draw crowded audiences, *Oriental Forscher* also taking part. The volumes contain some curious illustrations.

A. 415.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

THE THIRD ENGLISH EMBASSY TO POONA, comprising *Mostyn's Diary* (September, 1772-February, 1774) and *Mostyn's Letters* (February-November, 1774). Edited by J. H. GENSE and D. R. BANAJI. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. xv + 424. Bombay: Taraporevala and Sons, 1934. Rs. 10.

The preface of this useful little work offers the opinion that Father Gense and Mr. Banaji have rendered a signal service by unearthing from the Secretariat Records the rare documents known as the Diary and Letters of Mostyn.

Students of Marāthā history will cordially agree with Mr. Sardesai's views. Mostyn's name is connected with three embassies to the Peshwa's Court at Poona. On 19th August, 1759, the first embassy was entrusted to W. A. Price, Mostyn being sent as his assistant. In 1767, Mostyn went as the Presidency's representative at the Court of Mādhavrao till 1768; and in 1772 he was sent to Poona for a third time. It is with this third period that the Letters deal. They describe the developments in the contest for supremacy between Raghoba and the ministers, and the various reactions of Raghoba's claims to the throne on the Bombay Government, the Nizam, and the other members of the Marāthā Confederacy.

The renewed interest in the history of the Marāthās caused by the publication of the valuable contents of the Peshwa's Daftar makes the issue of these notes of an eyewitness in Poona of very special value. Mostyn tells his story well, and little annotation is required. Many of the footnotes explaining vernacular terms could have been more suitably concentrated in the glossary, wherein note could have been taken of the original use of the word *pattimar* for a news-carrier, now a term for a native craft. In the list of authorities quoted on pp. xviii to xx, it is strange that no mention is made of Campbell as the author of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. The editors appear to have found Kincaid and Parasnis' work worthy of inclusion, while several more valuable works are overlooked. The edition of Grant Duff (1878) quoted is also obsolete. These are small defects. A map would have been a valuable addition to the work.

It will be found useful to all students of the last days of Marāthā rule in the Deccan.

A. 416.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM ALISHAR AND VICINITY. By IGNACE J. GELB. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, vol. xxvii. Researches in Anatolia, vol. vi. $12 \times 9\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xv + 84, pls. lxii, figs. 5. Chicago : University of Chicago Press. London : Cambridge University Press, 1935. £1 7s.

This is an extremely careful edition of sixty-four Cappadocian tablets and seals, chiefly from Alishar (identified with ancient *Amkuwa*) and of some other remains in Hittite hieroglyphic, Greek, and Arabic. In his introduction (pp. 1-18) the author gives a useful survey of the earliest history of Eastern Asia Minor, illustrated by a map (pl. lxiii) of Western Asia of 2600 to 1900 B.C. according to the old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian sources.

A. 425.

V. MINORSKY.

THE INFLUENCE OF ARABIC POETRY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN POETRY. By 'UMAR MUḤAMMAD DĀŪDPOTĀ. 10×7 , pp. xv + 202. Bombay : The Fort Printing Press, 1934. 9s.

This book, which was originally submitted as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Cambridge in 1927, is an exceptionally fine and intensely interesting piece of work. It has been dedicated to Professor Nicholson, and it is clear that the author owes a great deal to the constant help and guidance of that fine scholar. It consists of six chapters comprising 192 pages, of which the fifth, consisting of parallel Arabic and Persian passages with renderings into English, extends to eighty-eight pages, almost half of the book, and constitutes by far the most important and interesting portion of it. These passages are arranged under three heads, panegyric, didactic, and descriptive, and by their number and variety they show very clearly the extent to which the earlier Persian poets derived both their technique and their ideas from Arabic poets. The four earlier short chapters

discuss the nature of early Persian poetry, the evolution of Arabic poetry, the reasons for its dominance over Persian poetry, and lastly the extent to which the Persians deviated from the rules laid down by the Arabic prosodists. Of the thirty-five *ziḥāfāt* (alterations in the standard metrical feet) used by the Persians only twenty-two are originally Arabic. It is explained that the long and heavy metres (*Tawīl*, *Madīd*, *Basīṭ*, *Kāmil*, and *Wāfir*) used so much in Arabic poetry were found to be inconsonant with the genius of the Persian language and abandoned after a few unsuccessful experiments. The sixth and last chapter, though not strictly relevant to the main thesis, shows how at a later stage Arabic poetry was affected by contact with Persian life and still later by Persian poetry. A bibliography follows at the end and a short index. It is unfortunate that the greatest fields of Persian poetry, the epic and the romantic *magnavī* and the lyrical *ghazals*, lie outside the scope of this book, but even so those interested in Persian poetry will find much to enjoy. The author's English is excellent and his translations scholarly and accurate. Finally, as an instance of his methods, we may quote the Arabic line of Qābūs bin Washmgīr:—

ففي السماء نجوم ما لها عدد وليس يكسف إلا الشمس والقمر

"There are numberless stars in the sky, yet of them all the sun and moon alone suffer eclipse." The following line of Ibn-i-Yamīn in Persian reproduces exactly the same idea:—

برآسمان ستاره بود بیشمار لیک رنج کسوف بر دل شمس و قمر بود

A. 445.

† R. P. DEWHURST.

STATE LETTERS OF ASSYRIA. By ROBERT H. PFEIFFER. American Oriental Series, vol. vi. 10½ × 7, pp. xii + 265. New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society, 1935.

This volume contains translations of 355 of the letters from Harper's volumes of *Assyrian Letters*, with a brief introduction and three indexes, one containing a list of the

letter-writers classified under titles, the second a list of persons or bodies addressed, similarly classified, and the third a full bibliography. Professor Pfeiffer had undertaken his task before Professor Waterman brought out his comprehensive edition but has been able to use that work. Readers will naturally turn from the one to the other, and will find a very large measure of agreement. Where there is opposition the text is generally broken or the language extremely obscure. In many places Professor Pfeiffer has undoubtedly improved on his predecessor's rendering, but not perhaps in all; there are still many passages in this most difficult branch of cuneiform study which require revision. In places Professor Pfeiffer uses transliterations that are no longer accepted; to quote only two, *šeatu* does not exist, the reading is *uṭṭatū*, and *mutir puti* should be read *qurbuti*. But the many questions that might be raised on points of detail do not affect the value of this work. It provides an admirable selection from these letters, and the book will be of the greatest value to students. The printing and format are admirable.

A. 430.

SIDNEY SMITH.

LE MUSÉE DE SOUEÏDA : Inscriptions et monuments figurés. Mission archéologique au Djebel Druze. By MAURICE DUNAND. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique, tome xx. 11 × 9, pp. 117, pls. 36. Paris : P. Geuthner, 1934.

The Museum of which the present work treats owes its origin to the enlightened enthusiasm of Captain Carbillet, who, first as Intelligence Officer of the French Armée du Levant, and then as Governor of the Djebel Druze, sought to save from destruction or neglect as many as possible of the ancient monuments of that district by gathering them into a central Museum at Soueïda. At his request, M. Dunand was sent out by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres early in 1925 to study the antiquities so collected, to travel

in the Djebel Druze in search of inscriptions and other ancient monuments, and to conduct excavations on promising sites. His work was, however, interrupted in July by the outbreak of the desperate revolt of the Druzes and on his return, in October, 1927, he found the Museum had been pillaged and most of its contents scattered or destroyed, while of the two branch-establishments, formed as provisional depôts for antiquities pending their transport to Soueïda, that at Kafer had suffered little damage, but that at Salkhad had been entirely annihilated by the insurgents. A new museum was built and there a fresh collection has been formed comprising the sculptures and inscriptions which had survived the wreck, together with those which have subsequently been discovered. Unhappily, despite the exertions of M. Dunand and his collaborators, "numerous documents, sometimes of great scientific value, have been irretrievably lost."

Such in outline is the story vividly told in the Preface and Introduction of the present volume, the main body of which consists of a careful and detailed account of 224 antiquities which are, or were, in the collection at Soueïda and its two outlying depôts, accompanied by six photographs of the Museum before and after the revolt and 145 of the objects described. Those now in the Museum, numbering forty-four, are distinguished by an asterisk; the others are published mainly from records made before the disaster.

The sculptures, carved in the hard local basalt, are for the most part crude and lacking in artistic value, though sometimes they display considerable vigour and occasionally they rise—as in the relief (No. 1), now in the Louvre, depicting the judgment of Paris, and a remarkable head of a solar deity (No. 41)—to unexpected heights; but they are of interest as presenting a vivid picture of the religious and cultural influences operating in this remote portion of the Roman Empire. The inscriptions also, of which eighty-nine are

Greek, five Nabatean, and three Latin, though roughly engraved and teeming with orthographical and grammatical errors, preserve for us valuable data for the study of the intermingling strains—Greek, Roman, and Semitic—in the population, the speech, and the worships of this region. And so, though it would be easy to point to typographical and other lapses in the publication of some of the epigraphical texts, and though the absence of a sketch-map indicating the position of Soueïda and the other sites which have been archæologically productive is a serious drawback, our chief feeling as we lay down the work is one of sincere gratitude to its author for having preserved and rendered accessible so much evidence which might otherwise have perished.

A. 432.

MARCUS N. TOD.

A HISTORY OF THE LEVANT COMPANY. By ALFRED C. WOOD.

9 × 5½, pp. xviii + 263. London: Oxford University Press, 1935. 12s. 6d.

Mr. Wood has written a serious but withal readable account of the great commercial institution which for two centuries and a half controlled the trade between England and Turkey, coming into existence under Elizabeth, and expiring in 1825 when its work was done. The book is based on the original sources, and is fully referenced; I have detected no mistakes in the portion to which my own knowledge extends; and the treatment throughout inspires confidence in the accuracy of the work. There is a good bibliography; and the index is adequate for names, though incomplete in regard to such commodities as pepper or indigo.

A. 456.

W. H. MORELAND.

EXCAVATIONS AT NUZI: Conducted by the Semitic Museum and the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, with the co-operation of the American School of Oriental Research at Baghdad. Vol. iii: Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian texts from Nuzi. By THEOPHILE JAMES MEEK. Harvard Semitic Series, vol. x. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 8, pp. lix, pls. cxiv. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1935. \$6.0.

The tablets published in the third volume of the *Excavations at Nuzi* by Professor Meek were nearly all brought to light during the excavations of the Harvard-Baghdad School Expedition at Nuzi during the season 1930-1. The tablets, old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian, come from levels anterior to the Hurrian strata, from times when the city of Nuzi was not yet of Hurrian civilization. This is clear especially from the personal names in the tablets, quite different from names in later tablets belonging to levels of the Hurrian town of Nuzi. The name of the town in this older period was Gasur.

Professor Meek gives us in his careful edition of the 231 tablets also a transliteration of some of them, four indices of names, a summary of the contents of the tablets, and a register of them.

The autographed texts are very neat and clear, much clearer of course than is the cuneiform writing of the original tablets. Two plates contain photographs of six tablets.

A. 466.

GIUSEPPE FURLANI.

THE LABYRINTH. Further Studies in the relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World. Edited by S. H. HOOKE. 9 x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xiv + 288, ill. 44. London: S.P.C.K., 1935. 12s. 6d.

This book, edited by Professor S. H. Hooke, and containing eight essays by as many writers, continues the theme set forth in an earlier series of essays entitled *Myth and Ritual*, which

establishes the existence of a typical ritual found in varying forms in the early religions of Egypt, Babylon, and Canaan. The aim of this present volume is to follow the history of this typical ritual and to show its influence upon the development of civilization.

In the first essay, which gives its title to the book, Mr. Deedes shows how the Labyrinth form, associated with religious shrines, and often with a ritual dance, both in Mediterranean lands and in northern Europe, was the centre of activities concerned with life and death. It was a place of concealment for the dead king-god, so that his life in the after-world might be preserved, and also a place to which the living king-god resorted in order to renew his own vitality, while the Labyrinth, as tomb and temple, became a centre for the development of art and literature : for music and dancing, as well as sculpture and painting.

Father Burrows, in an interesting essay on the Babylonian cosmology, notes that the temple, regarded as a link between earth and heaven (cf. the legends of the Tower of Babel and Jacob's Ladder) became the centre of the life of the community, and this, in the Christian Apocalypse, gave rise to the idea of the holy city, itself a temple. In his study of the Jerusalem cultus, Mr. Johnson emphasizes the fact that the king played a vital part in that cultus, and claims that the Feast of Tabernacles really represented an annual revival of the social unit, a struggle between the nations of the earth, darkness and death, and the forces of light and life, represented by the anointed king, who at first undergoes humiliation as the Son, the Suffering Servant, but by the intervention of Jahweh is delivered, " reborn " and enabled to function throughout another year.

Both Dr. Oesterley and Dr. Rankin deal with examples of religious syncretism, the former writing on the cult of Sabazios, derived from the myth and ritual of Dionysos, while the latter writes on the Jewish festival of the Dedication (Hanukkah), showing it to be derived from the Kronos-

Helios festival, with a ritual interpreted to symbolize the rule of Jahweh.

The editor contributes an essay on the myth and ritual pattern in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic, pointing out how the dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of a god (represented by the king), a sacred combat in which the god was victorious, a triumphal procession and a holy marriage, are reproduced in the Christian apocalyptic by the death and resurrection of the Lamb, which assures the final victory of good over evil, and leads to the marriage of the Bride and the Lamb. Professor James also shows how the pattern is found again in the Christian Liturgy, in which the redemptive process is reiterated and Christ "reborn" gives everlasting life to those who partake in faith. In a final essay, Mr. Hocart makes it clear that the real aim of all myth is salvation from death and the attainment of fullness of life.

This scholarly and very readable book will be of great value and interest, not only to all students of the subject, but to many others also. It is well produced and well illustrated, but suffers considerably from the lack of a bibliography, and would have been the better for a fuller index.

A. 474.

MARGARET SMITH.

THE LITERARY INQUISITION OF CH' IEN LUNG. By L. C. GOODRICH. American Council of Learned Societies, Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations, No. 1. 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 275. Baltimore: Waverley Press, 1935. Price \$2.50.

It is a pleasure to have the reviewing of this book and so to be able to congratulate both Mr. Goodrich on an able and successful piece of research and the American Council of Learned Societies on the excellent start they have made on their proposed series of Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations. Yet the book is not very much more than a

beginning, leading one to hope for more, including an estimate of the extent to which the special Commissioners in Peking were able to save works which in their heart of hearts they prized. There are some curious stories current among the staff of the Palace Library. Also one could do with more of the *ipsissima verba* of the really authoritative sources.

Mr. Goodrich describes his main aim as follows :—

“ . . . for all its accuracy, Chinese historical literature, particularly the part of it which was written under the direction of the throne, has been greatly damaged by conscious ‘correction’ . . . To put this problem clearly before the public the author has undertaken this study of a censorship of recent times, the proportions and implications of which have only recently been guessed at.”

That being his aim, Mr. Goodrich had not a sole and undivided mind in presenting the results of his world-wide search for data. In his report he is anxious to show not merely that the Inquisition actually had more serious consequences on literature than had generally been supposed, but also that Ch'ien Lung was not the debonair monarch his admirers have made him out to be. This Emperor may have had, doubtless did have a genuine interest in literature, but it is now plain that in the plans for the Ssu Ku Chuan Shu he was enormously concerned to carry out a rigorous espionage over what his subjects read and wrote. He did everything he could to destroy seditious literature and perhaps to the same extent heretical books. Mr. Goodrich gives as an approximate estimate :—

“ Works listed for total suppression, 2,320 ; works listed for partial suppression, 342 ; works listed for the erasure of a few objectionable words only, 3.”

A grand total of 2,665 works ! That gives one some clear idea of the scope of injury done. No doubt a certain proportion of the works in question would not be of any but very small value to-day, but since so many of them were of a historical

nature and dealt with that turning point in the history of the Chinese *ethos*, the Ming Period, we cannot but deplore the loss sustained. Possibly even more serious is the harm we can only guess at, though with so great a measure of probability: first, the destruction by simple illiterate people of any and every kind of book and wood-block stored in their houses since the days of some illustrious ancestor, and second, the grave discouragement to those that Milton had so much in mind in his *Areopagitica*, "the free and ingenuous sort of such as were evidently born to study and love learning for itself, not for lucre or any other end but the service of God and Truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind." As Mr. Goodrich demonstrates, the Inquisition was no flash in the pan, but became worse and worse over a period of fifty years. The quenching of the flame may therefore be deduced on general grounds. Not only so: as we have recently come to know better, there was a new spirit in scholarship abroad, and a new and more intellectually sincere approach to the nation's traditions was struggling to propagate itself. When writings like those of Ku Zen-wu were proscribed there were but few with the courage and pertinacity of a Tsui Tung-pi, able to carry on with original work through a life time of non-recognition.

Mr. Goodrich adds to our debt by giving us two glimpses of another side to the picture. Chekiang and Kiangsu were the two provinces where private libraries and bookshops (i.e. publishing firms) most abounded. The Emperor knew this and put special pressure to bear on this part of his realm. For a long time he was bitterly disappointed with the results. Obviously many of the scholars there were not sycophants and were not prepared to give up books they valued. The outcome of this temper in these two provinces and elsewhere is to be seen in the impressive list which Mr. Goodrich gives at the end of his monograph,

the list of proscribed works which have survived to the present day. The total runs to nearly 500 works, and this, as Mr. Goodrich says, is not complete. For instance there is the discovery reported this year of a two volume MS. history of the Mings which looks to be by the pen of Lü Liu-liang. Unfortunately Mr. Goodrich has lumped the wholly proscribed and partially proscribed books all together in his list, so that we cannot tell which work comes in which of the two classes.

Mr. Goodrich sought high and low for versions of the Index and is to be congratulated on his final "bag" (see pp. 233-4). There is, however, one version which he failed to run to earth. In a collection of books bought by Bodley's Library from Wylie in 1872 there is a printed book, one volume, with no name of author, no date, and no preface or colophon. Eight sheets of it are devoted to partially proscribed works, forty in all being named with notes on the general tenor of each, the accomplishments of its author, and the nature and extent of the offending passages in it. Forty-seven sheets are devoted to wholly proscribed books.

The total here is 747, not an exact total as some of these titles listed are noted as alternatives to other titles already listed. There is very little annotation here, though for the most part the author's name is given. The order is muddled, e.g. twenty of Lü Liu-liang's books are given but not all together in one place. There is an outside-cover title-slip loose inside the book.

In conclusion, Mr. Goodrich has an admirable section on the various reasons which operated in the Emperor's mind. These are given as eight, the two most important being (1) seditious sentiments and disrespectful references to northern tribes with which the Manchu Imperial family had a historic connection, and (2) statements contradictory to the Cheng-Chu School of Confucianism. Since Mr. Goodrich promises us further work on his fascinating subject, may we suggest that lists showing the number of books

proscribed under each heading would add a useful item to the knowledge we need? Also, could he extend his researches further into previous attempts at proscription? What he gives in outline we should be grateful to have in detail, except in so far as De Groot has already covered the ground. I urge this because, in spite of De Groot's discoveries, I still hold, as I think many others do to-day, that in comparison with other civilizations the Chinese have shown much less of a persecuting temper. It is the measure of the general value of Mr. Goodrich's work that we have a better prospect of verifying the correctness or otherwise of this opinion.

A. 484.

E. R. HUGHES.

N.B.—There is one misprint to be noted: p. 52: p'ien-niu should be p'ien-miu.

FOLKLORE FROM ADAMS COUNTY, ILLINOIS. By HARRY MIDDLETON HYATT. (Memoirs of the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation.) 8vo. pp. xvi + 724. New York, 1935.

The "primary purpose of the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation is the publication of technical journals devoted to narrow aspects of scholarly research". But it also subsidizes such volumes as this, containing no less than 10,949 items of folklore from a district of 842 sq.m. on the east bank of the Mississippi, about a hundred miles north of Saint Louis. Of its 62,784 inhabitants 95 per cent live in and around the city of Quincy; German, Irish, and other British ancestries predominate, and Negroes are few, and undistinguished from their neighbours in speech or outlook. The folklore is classified under topics and there is an excellent index, but there is no attempt at commentary; "lore definitely Jewish has been excluded," but there are about 600 items under "Hoodoo and Witchcraft," which it has evidently been found difficult to distinguish.

A. 509.

J. L. MYRES.

ARABON KĪ JAHĀZ-RĀNĪ (Arab Navigation). By SYED SULAIMAN NADWI. Islamic Research Association, No. 5. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. ix + 199. Azamgarh : Mu'ārif Press. 1935. Rs. 1.

This little book, which forms volume five of the series under publication by the Islamic Research Association of Bombay, is written in Urdu, well lithographed on good paper and well bound and offers a pleasant contrast in appearance and price to many of the books produced in lead type by indigenous presses in India and Iran. The subject, which has been treated in all its aspects, is one of great interest, the navigation of the Arabs from the earliest times up to their eclipse by the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The author has consulted Arab writers very fully and quoted them freely, adding translations in Urdu and copious references. He strays, however, from the path of accuracy when in tracing European naval terms from Arabic originals he includes *corvette* as derived from *ghurāb*, adding, "One kind of vessel is named *ghurāb*, the literal meaning of which is crow. In French a crow is *corvett* and in Latin *corbus*. These two words have the one root but it is not known which is the original and which the copy." The author is happier when he sticks to his Arabic texts and avoids comparative philology.

A. 522.

M. L. FERRAR.

ANNUARIO DI STUDI EBRAICI DIRETTO DA UMBERTO CASSUTO.
VOLUME I : 1934, IN MEMORIA DI S. H. MARGULIES.
 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$. Roma : 1935, in vendita presso Felice Le Monnier Editore, Firenze.

With this volume, we are told in the Introduction, the publications of "our Institute", the chief centre (can there be more than one?) of *cultura ebraica italiana* of the Mediterranean, are resumed. Its contents are about equally divided between Biblical and Rabbinical literature. The

papers dealing with the former are mostly edifying rather than scientific: possibly the former is the more valuable quality of the two. One study is sober historical research, that of Elia S. Artom on the Origin, Date, and Purposes of the Epistle of Jeremiah, which endeavours to show that the Greek text is a translation from Hebrew, and that the Epistle was composed in the middle of the fourth century B.C., to warn the Israelites against the idolatry which was then contaminating the Zoroastrian monotheism of the Persian empire. It is indeed probable that the Greek is a translation, since it is frequently pointless and unintelligible; and to the evidence that the original was Hebrew perhaps we may add verse 7 (of the idols) *ψευδῇ δ' ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ δύναται λαλεῖν*, where *ψευδῇ* is inappropriate. The original may have been *עֲלִילִים* "graven images" misread *עֲלִילִים* as the same error clearly occurs in Wisdom xv, 9, *δόξαν ἡγεῖται ὅτι κίβδηλα πλάσσει*, where indeed *κίβδηλος* "spurious" is a more accurate rendering of a (late) Hebrew *עֲלִילִים*, but does not differ materially from *ψευδής* "false". Signor Artom's arguments for his location of the Epistle are weighty and perhaps convincing.

The portion of the volume which deals with medieval Jewish literature appeals to a smaller public, but furnishes valuable contributions to our knowledge. The great Steinschneider is convicted of several errors, more or less serious. One is mistaking Thomas Aquinas for Themistius! Another is his denial that the medieval Italian Jews possessed translations of the Old Testament in their vernacular; Signor Umberto Cassuto produces two translations of the book of Amos in Italian dialects from MSS. preserved in New York and Parma. Signor Alfredo Freimann contributes a biography and bibliography of a theologian and jurist Menachem b. Aharon ibn Zerach (1310-1385) whose career was passed in Spain. The volume closes with the reproduction of epitaphs from the old Hebrew cemetery in Venice.

LE CHOEI-KING TCHOU ET L'ANCIENNE GÉOGRAPHIE INDOCHINOISE. Par M. MÉDARD. 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xi + 67, pl. 1, maps 3. Pékin : Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1935.

This work, though now issued as a separate publication, was written by Mademoiselle Médard as an introduction to notes on the adventures of Fernão Mendes Pinto by the late M. Antoine Joseph Henri Charignon, a railway engineer who served for many years in China and took a great interest in the Chinese language, literature, geography, and history. These and other facts are recorded in the preface. M. Charignon had views of his own on the identification and localization of the place-names mentioned by the early travellers and geographers and in the old Chinese sources, especially so far as concerns South-eastern Asia. The first half of the present work deals from this point of view with some of these Chinese sources, and especially with the one mentioned in the title, of which the relevant portion is given in translation ; afterwards some of the Arabic and other sources are introduced, and throughout there is a good deal of discussion and suggestion regarding the place-names mentioned.

It happens to be the case that the identification of several of these place-names is at present subject to some degree of uncertainty, and one must welcome any well conceived attempt to clear up such doubt. But the nature of the subject and the number of names involved make it impossible to go fully into details here. This is the more unfortunate because, although in some cases the views of the author and the late M. Charignon may be correct, the work gives one the impression that he had far too much of a tendency to locate as many of the place-names as possible in Further India and particularly in French Indo-China. Often the identification of a name seems to be based mainly on a superficial resemblance of sounds, e.g. that of Kisseraing, off the coast of Tenasserim, with Ptolemy's remote Kattigara (p. 47). Incidentally, it seems to me impossible to maintain with Gosselin, whose *Géographie* was published nearly a century

and a half ago, that in Ptolemy's time navigators had not got farther eastward than the Bay of Bengal (p. 44). One has only to plot out Ptolemy's longitudes and latitudes to find an undeniable, though distorted, Malay Peninsula and Eastern Indo-China, though after that they go wrong in making the coast of China run to the south instead of towards the north-east (roughly). To mention another instance, Hiuen Tsang's Samatata is transferred to the lower Mekong, and the next place he mentions (generally identified with Prome and in our text spelt Cheli Tcha-tan-lo) is put in Southern Annam, near the river Donnai (p. 13).

The work should give rise to a good deal of discussion which, it is to be hoped, will clear up many matters that are still in doubt.

A. 545.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

LA QUESTIONE DELLA GENESI. By UMBERTO CASSUTO. Pubblicazioni delle R. Università degli Studi di Firenze. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. III Serie, Volume I. 10 × 6½, pp. xiv + 429. Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1934. Lire 60.

The author of this book has subjected the book of Genesis to minute investigation. He is fully acquainted with the works done by his predecessors and takes up the problems independently. In the first chapter he discusses the divine names, *Ihwh* and *Elohim*, in the second the contrast in language and style between various portions of Genesis, in the third the internal differences in the stories found in Genesis, in the fourth the parallel texts in which the same story seems to be told a second time and in the fifth the texts which appear to be of a composite character.

Although concentrating his attention on the book of Genesis he also brings occasionally within the circle of investigation the other books of the Hexateuch, i.e. Pentateuch with the addition of the book of Joshua. In the

last chapter he sums up the result of his investigations to the effect that old traditions, some handed down through the ages by word of mouth and some already written down, had been skilfully welded together into one harmonious whole in the time of David. The differences are due to some diversity in the traditions used by the author. The various divine names do not denote, as hitherto assumed, differences of origin, but mark a deliberate intention on the part of the author to accentuate the character of the story in which these names are found. The time of David, so the author of the present work tells us, was the most propitious period in which to bring home to the people, as it were, the importance of the unity of the nation and the realization of the blessings which God had vouchsafed to their ancestors whose history is here told in a manner which appealed to them, since much of it was still a very living and glorious tradition. But the chronological difficulties presented by the book of Genesis the author is at a loss to solve.

It is a very learned and ingenious book, yet, in view of the progressive studies of the Bible which tend to carry back the origin of the Pentateuch to a far greater antiquity and even to assign it a Mosaic origin, it is doubtful whether the results arrived at by the author will meet with general acceptance.

A. 330.

M. GASTER.

MEMAR MARQA. By DAVID RETTIG. Ein Samaritanischer Midrasch zum Pentateuch untersucht. Bonner Orientalische Studien, Heft 8. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 74. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. Mks. 6.

With the exception of the Targum the *Memar of Marqa* is the most important monument of the ancient Samaritan literature. The author, who lived in the third or fourth century C.E., writes his hymn on Exodus, still in the old Aramaic of the Samaritans. It is a mistake to call it a

commentary. Dr. Rettig gives us a brief summary of the contents of the Memar, then a slight comparison with the Targum showing that the quotations in Marqa do not agree with the wording now found in the Targum. After a brief description of the three MSS. used by him, the oldest of which belongs to the end of the fifteenth century, he points out some discrepancies and publishes at the end a short specimen of a critical edition. He adds also the Arabic translation, which he should have printed also in the same Hebrew type as used for the Samaritan, it would have made the literalness of the Arabic translation more evident. It is a good beginning and one may hope that Dr. Rettig will continue his studies of the Memar. It must be mentioned that among the public and private libraries in England there are a good many more MSS. of Marqa's Memar which will have to be used of necessity for any future critical edition.

A. 349.

M. GASTER.

ALTHEBRÄISCHE LITERATUR UND IHR HELLENISTISCH-JÜDISCHES NACHLEBEN. Von D. Dr. JOHANNES HEMPEL. (Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft.) 12 x 9½, pp. 201, ill. 71. Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion m.b.H. 1934.

This is an important work, likely to prove indispensable to students of its subject, and deserving translation into English, though the execution of such a task would prove difficult, partly owing to the intricacy of the author's style, partly to the want of correspondence between the vocabularies of the two languages. It is an endeavour to trace the various forms of composition of which specimens survive in the Old Testament and Jewish monuments of the Hellenistic period to their sources, and to isolate the forces which contributed to their development, and for these purposes copious use has been made both of archæological discoveries in Syria

and Palestine, and of the literatures which Egyptology, Assyriology, and kindred disciplines have rendered accessible. Acknowledgment is sometimes made that the task is not a feasible one : so we read (p. 37) :—

The tradition, which assigns the greater number of the Psalms to David or persons supposed to have been his contemporaries, and the most recent trend of psalteriology, which squeezes all the odes into a few years of the Maccabean period, display this in common : the denial of the possibility to make out any history of Israelitish lyric.

Even literary artifices are no sure sign of very late composition (p. 38).

Although literary history is in this case a network of hypotheses, which it would be unwise to confuse with ascertained facts, Herr Hempel's work is everywhere instructive, and abounds in acute observations. As an example attention may be called to the differences noticed between the Deuteronomic legislation and other Oriental systems (Hammurapi, Sumerian, Hittite) both in detail and in idea. As another we may cite the analysis of the characteristics which distinguish Israelitish historiography from Assyrian, Egyptian, and Hittite : the first exhibits *bürgerlich-privaten*, the others *königlich- oder priesterlich-offiziellen Charakter*. As a third we may notice the demonstration that the Israelitish priest was not primarily a sacrificer, but (like the Arabic *Kāhin*) an oracle-monger. The explanation of "Urim and Thummim" as "Accursed and Innocent", i.e. oracular replies to a question concerning a criminal charge, is of great interest, but it would be hazardous to pronounce it correct.

A. 363.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

INDIAN INFLUENCES ON THE LITERATURE OF JAVA AND BALI.

By HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR. Greater India Studies, No. 1. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xvii + 415. Calcutta : Greater India Society, 1934.

The Greater India Society is doing a good work in bringing to the notice of Indian and other readers the important cultural influence which India has exercised in the past on the neighbouring countries. Apart from its very creditable Journal, the Society has issued a number of separate publications, of which the book under review is one, and a particularly important one because its main sources, being in Dutch, are not readily intelligible to Indian (and English) readers. The survival of most of the existing old Javanese literature is mainly due to the historical accident that the island of Bali remained Hindu, whereas Java was converted to Islam ; and it is only a little more than a century since this literature attracted the serious attention of European scholars, while its systematic study is even more recent.

In the present work we have a comprehensive review of it, under various heads, religious, legal, linguistic (including grammar, etc.), medical, astronomical, epic, legendary and romantic, historical, etc. By far the greater part of this Javanese literature is based on Sanskrit works, and Mr. H. B. Sarkar, besides giving summaries of most of it, has critically studied its relation with its Indian sources, with which he is familiar, and has produced a very readable and useful work. It is to be regretted that in some cases he has placed undue reliance on the statements of older authors, such as Leyden, who have in the main been superseded by more recent research. Leyden's statement (quoted on p. 15) is quite incorrect : the Malay *batara* (or *bĕlara*) not " Vitara " is not derived from the Sanskrit " Avatara ", nor the Malay *bulan* from the Javanese " rambulan ". The author's technical terms are also occasionally unusual, e.g. " Malayese " (p. 12) for Malays and " Mal-Polynesian " (p. 11 and elsewhere) for Malayo-Polynesian. The fact that the Javanese

alphabet, though of Indian origin, is nowadays recited in an un-Indian order does not seem to me, as apparently it does to some scholars (p. 16), to justify the hypothesis that it was introduced into Java before its order was fixed in India. The Javanese order is purely mnemonic, making good sense in Javanese. "The little island of Sumatra" (p. 59) is about twice the size of Great Britain.

The list of errata and corrigenda is fairly long, but could easily be extended by a careful reader. On p. 77 there are ten misprints (not counting the wrong use of capitals) in as many lines of a brief Malay charm. Such errors must, I think, in fairness be attributed to local circumstances rather than to the author, and they do not seriously detract from the value of his work.

A. 396.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A GRAMMAR OF THE BRAJ BHAKHA. By MIRZA KHAN (A.D. 1676). The Persian text with Introduction, Translation, and Notes by M. ZIAUDDIN, Lecturer in Persian, Santiniketan. With a Foreword by SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.Litt. (Lond.). Visva-Bharati Series, No. 3. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 91, pls. iv. Calcutta : Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 1935. Rs. 4.

This little book contains the Persian text of nineteen leaves of a Persian manuscript, which has not been printed anywhere before, and a translation of this portion of the manuscript. The book from which this excerpt has been made was written in the reign of Aurangzib in the year 1676. At least four copies of the manuscript are in existence. The India Office has a copy which was used by Sir William Jones and contains many notes made by him in 1784. The editor has used this as the basis of his text, but he has also consulted the copies in the Patna Library and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. A fourth copy is included in the Elliot collection in the Bodleian Library, and I have profited by the opportunity of examining this.

The portion of the *Tuhfatu-l-Hind* which has been selected for publication in this volume gives a short summary of the Braj Bhakha language, and it is interesting in itself, though very sketchy and incomplete, and as being the earliest attempt to place on record any of the facts with regard to any modern vernacular language. There does not appear to be anything earlier than the grammar of Hindustani, which was written by a Dutch scholar named Ketelaer about 1715 but not printed until 1743 at Leyden. Besides the translation and text described, this volume gives a synopsis of the other contents of the *Tuhfatu-l-Hind*, which extends over nearly eight hundred pages and deals with a variety of subjects, including chapters on prosody, rhyme, poetics and rhetoric, music, the *ars amatoria*, and the science of character reading. There is also a supplement containing a dictionary of over three thousand words which are explained in Persian, together with elaborate directions for their correct spelling and pronunciation. The present editor contemplates publishing this dictionary and it seems probable that it will be even more useful and interesting to students of linguistics and phonetics than the present publication. Four facsimiles are given of pages of the India Office manuscript and these enable an opinion to be formed of the care and accuracy with which the transcription and translation have been done.

A. 502.

† R. P. DEWHURST.

HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS. By IGNACE J. GELB. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 14. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 7, pp. xx + 36. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; London: Cambridge University Press, 1935. 5s. 6d.

A glance at the articles and monographs about the Hittite Hieroglyphs, which have been published in the last five or six years, makes it clear that genuine progress has been achieved in the decipherment of the signs as well as in the interpretation of the words, thanks to the newly discovered inscriptions and

no less to the assiduous labours of several scholars. But unfortunately, as is not uncommon when new paths of research are opened up, not only differences of opinion but serious dispute have arisen on the subject. Thus this second volume of Gelb's work is chiefly intended as a reply to a severe review of Meriggi (*OLZ.*, 1932, col. 562 sqq.; *RHA*, ii, 5, cf. p. 1) whose duty it will therefore be to go thoroughly into the subject.

Gelb's booklet is devoted in the main to the reading of the phonetic signs, while ideograms are for the most part left on one side. It contains a complete bibliography in continuation of that given in Part I and "General Observations" as to the character of the writing on pp. 1-12, while a short explanation of the values which are attributed to the fifty-seven signs tabulated in the frontispiece is given on pp. 12-36.

The annoyance which some remarks of Meriggi's have aroused in the author is obvious on reading the first few pages, but one is inclined to think that he and other critics have been very useful in inducing Gelb to adopt more "orthodox" methods of expression at any rate. (But I must point out that Meriggi in *ZANF.*, v, pp. 174 sqq., has already adopted the same method of separating phonetic signs from ideograms, of which G. claims to be the author.)

The conclusion which he draws from the small number of the phonetic signs, that the Hittite syllabary only contains "open syllables", seems inevitable and convincing as long as we do not assume, as appears more probable to me, the reading "r" for the "tang" and "s" for the sign which he denotes with "sa". His explanations about the absence of double consonants in the script and the interchange of voiced and voiceless stops are good and clear. But he gets himself into difficulties by denying at the same time the existence of two signs for one value¹; thus he is compelled to attribute to interchangeable signs like ḫa and ḫe, la and

¹ With the exception of *nu* and *nú*; he traces them back to the same sign, but that seems most unlikely to me.

le (in his transliteration) different vowels which is just another way of saying that we cannot yet distinguish between them. His theory on pp. 9-12, where he explains that the two oblique strokes found below a and i do not denote the length of these vowels but their nasalization depends mostly on his interpretation of a sign to which he gives the value e, but which is read ra by both Meriggi and Bossert, and, as I think, with better reason. "Lack of economy" (cf. p. 9) in writing is no sufficient reason against explaining these signs in the ordinary way,¹ while of the two forms cited on p. 11 as a proof at least one is an Acc. Plur.

It is remarkable though quite comprehensible that in the readings of the single signs G. has changed his mind a good deal: of fifty-seven readings only ten have remained the same. On the other hand his new readings are identical with those of Meriggi's last sign-list in twenty instances and in sixteen others there is only little difference, so that, especially if we remember the animosity of these two scholars, these readings seem certain and a good and sound basis for providing further research work.

A. 511.

LEONIE ZUNTZ.

DICTIONNAIRE SANSKRIT-FRANÇAIS. Par N. STOCHOUK, L. NITTI et L. RENOU. Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne. 11 × 9, pp. iv + 897. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1931-32.

No Sanskrit-French dictionary has been published since that of Burnouf and Leupol (1866), and that has so little value that French students of Sanskrit have been obliged to use Sanskrit-German and Sanskrit-English dictionaries. The present publication therefore needs no apology. It is avowedly elementary, and covers a strictly defined range which excludes Buddhist works and literature properly Vedic (but the major Upaniṣads are included). It is of course based primarily on

¹ Cf. e.g. some "plain" writings in Hittite cuneiform.

the Petersburg dictionary, but has made use of those of Monier-Williams and of Apte, of R. Schmidt's *Nachträge*, Jacob's *Concordance*, and Sörensen's *Index to proper names in the Mahābhārata*. A complete lexicon to Bhavabhūti on which Mme Stchoupak herself has long been at work has also been used. Forms and meanings have been verified wherever it seemed necessary in the texts themselves and particular attention has been given to the revision of geographical information and technical terms.

The plan thus outlined in the preface seems to be well adapted to the purposes of the publication, and the names of the collaborators are a guarantee of its adequate execution. The Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres has given its support to the undertaking, and, it may fairly be hoped, has thereby taken a practical step which will promote the study of Sanskrit by young European students—an end which assuredly is of an importance which cannot be exaggerated. The collaborators in this work have therefore done good service to Sanskrit studies.

537.

H. N. RANDLE.

STUDIES IN AURANGZĪB'S REIGN. By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR. Studies in Mughal India: First Series. 7 × 5, pp. 302. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar, 1933. R. 2.8.

This is the first part of a third edition of the author's "Historical Essays" first published in 1912, and contains thirteen essays of which six are new, while the others have been revised. Three articles deal with Mu'azzam, A'zam, and Kām Bakhsh and thus supplement the earlier accounts of Aurangzīb's other two sons. Another describes, with copious extracts from her correspondence, Aurangzīb's sister Jahānārā. An article on the industries and foreign commerce of the period and a most valuable bibliographical account of Aurangzīb's letters complete the tale.

The whole work is attractive both for its scholarship and for the skill with which the author has used material for the drawing of character in the case of biographies, and for giving connected accounts in other cases. New material brought to notice by Sir Jadunath Sarkar's own researches has been used.

A small slip at p. 155 may be noted where Shāhjahānpur and Kānt-golā are described as in Bihār, instead of in what is now called Rohilkhand.

A. 171.

R. BURN.

كتاب السلوك لمعرفة دول الملوك لتي الدين احمد بن علي المقرئ

CHRONICLE OF AHMAD IBN ALI AL-MAKRIZI. Edited by M. MUSTAFA ZIADA. 11½ × 8½, pp. 261. Egyptian Library Press, 1934.

The Egyptian History of Maqrizi has long been known in Europe through the translations of Quatremère and Blochet; the former of these is, as might be expected, a vast monument of learning. Probably the great bulk of the chronicle has stood in the way of the printing of the Arabic original. This has now been started by the Egyptian "Committee for Authorship, Translation, and Publication", and extremely well started; for the typography is admirable, and the edition is based on the author's autograph preserved in Istambul, with occasional help from the excellent Paris copy. The editor has done his work with great care, and while not over-loading the pages with commentary has gone to the best sources for elucidation of his text. One who compares this work with the 1854 edition of the *Khīṭaṭ* will recognize that Egyptian scholarship has made enormous strides during the eighty years.

A. 350.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CATALOGUE OF COINS IN THE PANJAB MUSEUM, LAHORE.

Vol. III. Coins of Nādir Shāh and the Durrānī Dynasty.

By R. B. WHITEHEAD. 10 × 7, pp. lxx + 195, pls. xiv (1 coloured), map 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934. 32s.

This is the most important work on Indian numismatics which has appeared in recent years. In it Mr. Whitehead has not only catalogued the coins of the series described which are at Lahore, but has also incorporated, in their place in the various series, all specimens illustrating types, mint, or dates not found at Lahore, which he has been able to trace in public and private collections. The result is that he has compiled a corpus which may require supplementing in details, but is never likely to be superseded.

A minority in the Bahāwalpur State in the Punjab gave Mr. Whitehead the opportunity of inspecting the reserve treasury of the State in 1908, where he found nearly half a million gold and silver coins of this series, besides many specimens of Mughul coins. The Lahore cabinet was able to acquire numerous rare specimens and others were made available for purchase by private collectors. Previous publications included fewer than 500 coins of which many were duplicates, while this book describes more than 1,300, of which Lahore contains 673. Mr. Whitehead has practically doubled our knowledge of the number of mints and couplets on the coins.

As in other volumes from his pen he begins with a historical introduction, followed by an account of each mint, showing the names of each ruler who used it, and giving valuable notes on the more striking historical and numismatic information to be gained from the coins. These introductory remarks have involved great research apart from the labour of examining the vast number of coins. And the labour has produced results of great historical value for, as the author says: "The money in mint and date faithfully reflects the vicissitudes of empire." This volume is in fact indispensable as a guide

to the tangled history of the Durrānīs when their power was dissipated among contending factions and was at last usurped by the Bārakzāis. The coins sometimes confirm history, as, for example, the foundation by Nādir of a new town called Nādirābād near Qandahār, or the fear of Nādir which led a deputy governor of Bengal to strike a coin in Nādir's name at a place so far from Delhi as Murshidābād. At other times they correct statements. A coin here shows that Ahmad Shāh had founded his new town Ahmad Shāhī three years earlier than the histories place the date. Miskīn (quoted by Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, i, p. 434) says that when Ahmad Shāh took Lahore in 1752 he refrained from striking coin there, at the request of the brave governor who had opposed him, Mu'in-ul-Mulk (Mīr Mannū). But this Catalogue shows that Ahmad Shāh struck a coin in that year, though the issue was not repeated till five years later.

The completeness¹ and accuracy of Mr. Whitehead's work leave but small occasion for comment. It may, however, be suggested that mintage at Anwala (Aonla), Bareli, and Murādābād was ordered by Hāfiz Raḥmat Khān, and not by Najīb-ud-daula, whose authority covered the northern parts of Rohilkhand and Sahāranpur, but not the southern districts where these towns lie. Najibābād was, of course, under his authority.

The printing of the book, the reproduction of a portrait of Nādir Shāh, and the plates, are excellent.

R. BURN.

¹ Coin No. 1220 for example shows that to complete the reading of the couplet Mr. Whitehead had to refer to specimens in the cabinets of the British, the Fitzwilliam, and the Lahore Museums, and one in a private collection.

BIEN AVANT LES PHÉNICIENS. By A. BERGY. La Revue de l'Université St. Joseph. Beyrouth, Lebanon.

This pamphlet describes the finding of implements of early middle and late palæolithic, as well as neolithic dates, under the sand dunes at Beyrouth.

A. 617.

ED.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

THE CONTENDING OF THE APOSTLES. By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London : Oxford University Press, 1935.

THE BOOK OF THE MYSTERIES OF THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH AND OTHER WORKS OF BAKHAYLA MÎKÂ'ÊL (ZÔSÎMÂS). By Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London : Oxford University Press, 1935.

A SANSKRIT READER. Containing seventeen Epic and Puranic Texts, with a Glossary. By J. GONDA. Utrecht : N.V.A. Oosthoek's Uitg. Mij., 1935.

THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

The number for 28th December, 1935, contains a further account of the archæological finds by Professor Janse, leader of the Expedition from the École Française d'Extrême Orient at Dong-son in the province of Thanh-hoa in Northern Annam. The site of the Indonesian Settlement lies in some cultivated fields at the foot of a steep slope, and abutting on the River Song-ma. The finds consist of neolithic pottery and stone weapons, terra-cotta bowls, bronze vases, arms, drums, and ornaments, besides funerary furniture, coins, jade rings, beads, and a few gold objects. They are to be studied closely and described in the near future by Professor Goloubew, who has already lectured before the Society on archæology in those regions. The article is well illustrated with photos of the site, systematic excavations during discovery as well as of the several objects in detail. The designs on the bronze

objects especially show the affinity with Chinese craftsmanship and that of several people of the Dutch East Indies. They show points of contact also with the work of present-day Muongs of Upper Annam and Tonkin, as well as with the Laos and tribes still further west. Articles have been identified with the Han, T'ang and Sung period.

No. 5046, vol. 188, 1936, 4th January. An interesting article by Miss E. J. Lindgren, a member of the R.A.S., on "Divination by 'Magic' Drum", which describes one of the last traces of the old religion of the Lapps (a form of Shamanism). The drums were anathema to the Christian missionaries and were destroyed whenever possible, so that only a few remain. They are profusely decorated with runes and Shamanistic symbols, and it was the movement, while drumming, of an indicator amongst these signs which governed the interpretations of future events.

There is also an illustrated explanation of the peculiar forms adopted by Chinese painters to express their landscapes. This characteristic must have struck most visitors to the Exhibition of Chinese art. But a double page of photographs of Chinese scenery supplies the clue, which is most striking.

No. 5047, 1936, 11th January, gives an account of the recent excavations at Tepe Gawra, near Mosul, in North Mesopotamia, as explained by Professor Speiser. It is of special interest, for it carries evidence of life in the Near East back from the second millennium B.C. into the Neolithic stage of pre-history. This "evidence is enhanced by the clear sequence of its completely excavated levels". Thirteen distinct strata have been identified, and reveal a civilization of far higher refinement than had been suspected.

Egyptian funerary texts from the Old Kingdom to the late Dynastic Period have also been investigated, and have yielded some new light upon that romantic Queen, Hatshepsut, who refused to give up her queenly title upon the death of her husbands. The Rt. Rev. William C. White, sometime Bishop of Ho-nan, a member of the Society, describes the old legend of

the Chinese bronze lamps fashioned in the form of a tree. The story is connected with the Emperor Yao, who reigned about 2357 B.C.

No. 5048 of 18th January illustrates some of the paintings discovered by Professor Tucci, a member of the Society, during his last expedition to Western Tibet. He found them in some of the old monasteries.

Some of the frescoes remind one of those in the Ajanta caves of Hyderabad, though the Tibetan pictures were probably designed by Indian painters of the twelfth century. Professor Tucci brought back to Italy a large collection of works of art, old MSS. and prehistoric objects in addition to a couple of thousand photographs and some film.

In the same number is a description by L. P. Kirwan, Field Director of the Oxford University Excavation in Nubia, of his finds in some Nubian tombs, from Firka, near Wadi Halfa. They include several cases of the sacrifice of slaves and animals to attend their lords in the other world, together with bronze and pottery receptacles and beads. Some of the objects have been provisionally assigned to a period between the fourth and sixth century A.D.

To the south of the main group of tombs were found more tombs, of sixth to seventh century A.D., some of which contained burials of a purely Christian type.

These finds seem to shed a new light upon the Nobatae, or Noba, mentioned in the triumphant stela of 'Ezana, the first Christian King of Aksum, from further up the Nile (c. A.D. 350).

It is recorded that the excavations have to a great extent been made possible through the generosity of the late Mr. F. Ll. Griffiths, a member of the Society.

No. 5053, vol. 188, 1936, 22nd February, includes a well-illustrated article by Professor Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archæological Expedition to Ras Shamra, the old capital of Ugarit, in North Syria, and about 155 miles north of Beirut. The finds included necropolis furniture, figurines, pottery, etc., and a library of cuneiform

tablets, which have an important bearing upon Old Testament history. The levels uncovered include the Mycenaean period of the thirteenth century B.C. and the Phœnician of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. The culture evidenced by the discoveries indicate a wonderfully high plane both in art and construction.

In the same number is a short illustrated account of the inscribed tablets of gold and silver, found by Professor Herzfeld, an hon. member of the Society, while excavating the corner of the magnificent palace at Persepolis. "These were laid down, probably in the presence of Darius, in 515-510 B.C." Also seven stone tablets, found in a room of the barracks of the military garrison of Persepolis in the time of Xerxes. The inscriptions refer to the crushing of a rebellion caused by the dispossessed priests of the old gods, the Daivas, after the worship of Ahuramazda and Artā had been instituted as the state religion. The excavation was carried out by permission of H.M. the Shah of Iran, for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago under the late Professor Breasted, who was also an hon. member of the Society.

Professor Schaeffer continues his description in No. 5054 of 29th February, 1936. He explains the cultural connection between Ugarit and Mycenaean Cyprus, Crete, and also the Middle Kingdom of Egypt.

During 1800-1500 B.C. Ugarit was fortified. From the beginning of the fourteenth century B.C. the enclosure no longer existed. This fact was thought to conflict with one of the Tell Amarna letters, till Mr. Gadd, a member of the Society, confirmed a revised reading which reconciles contemporary fact with literature.

The excavations were taken down in places to virgin soil, immediately above which was found unpainted pottery of "fairly rough dark grey or blackish earthen-ware, sometimes slightly glossy". It was accompanied by rough flint tools, which "prove the level to precede the Copper age".

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

University of Madras

A COMPLETE UP-TO-DATE CATALOGUS CATALOGORUM OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS TO BE PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

All Orientalists and Indologists are familiar with Dr. Aufrecht's monumental work — *The Catalogus Catalogorum*—as an indispensable piece of apparatus for Oriental research. Since 1903, thirty-two years ago, when Dr. Aufrecht completed his *Catalogus Catalogorum*, many important collections of Sanskrit manuscripts within and outside India have come to the notice of scholars and several volumes of catalogues, giving reliable information regarding some thousands of Sanskrit manuscripts, have become available in Madras, Bengal, Lahore, Bombay, Baroda, Dacca, Benares, Travancore, Central Provinces, and Berar, Mysore, and other centres. Highly valuable as are the materials contained in Dr. Aufrecht's great work, it is now found to be defective and incomplete, chiefly in view of the vast accession to the stock of knowledge about the literary treasures in Sanskrit, that has been made available within the last thirty-two years subsequent to the completion of Dr. Aufrecht's work. The need for supplementing Dr. Aufrecht's work was recently brought to the notice of the Madras University, which, in view of the large number of Sanskrit manuscripts in South India, has decided to undertake the preparation and publication of a complete up-to-date *Catalogus-Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, utilizing the invaluable work already done by Dr. Aufrecht as the basis, and containing references to all known Sanskrit manuscripts. The main lines on which this work is proposed to be carried on are indicated below :—

1. Checking and verification of the entries in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Dr. Aufrecht.

2. Introduction of fresh entries in the case of important manuscripts.

3. Dealing with the additional manuscripts collected within and outside India within the last thirty-two years.

4. Entering the dates of works and authors, as far as possible.

5. Incorporation of works known through citations alone, with appropriate references as far as possible.

The University has entrusted the work to an Editorial Committee constituted as follows :—

1. Mahamahopadhyaya Professor S. Kuppaswami Sastri, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras (on leave), and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras—(Editor-in-Chief).

2. Professor P. P. S. Sastri, M.A. (Oxon), Officiating Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras.

3. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, B.A. (Hons.), D.Phil. (Oxon), Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

Since the success of the undertaking is largely dependent upon the co-operation and help of scholars interested in Sanskrit, the Madras University would earnestly request scholars and Heads of Institutions interested in Sanskrit and Indology to assist it by furnishing information on any or all of the following points :—

1. Places where manuscripts are available, with particulars regarding owners and authors.

2. Lists of manuscripts.

3. Other suggestions for the preparation of the proposed new *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

It is requested that all communications regarding this matter may be addressed to "The Editor-in-Chief, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Museum Buildings, Pantheon Road, Egmore, Madras".

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI,
Editor-in-Chief.

Notices

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

6th–11th July, 1936. — At the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, the Fourth Anglo-American Conference of Historians.

27th August–1st September.—At the University of Copenhagen, Le Quatrième Congrès Internationale de Linguistes.

Attention is drawn to Rule 97, concerning the borrowing of books from the Library for purposes other than review : “ In no case shall a book be retained for a longer period than six months.” Members desiring the use of books for a longer term must return them to the Librarian for examination at the end of six months with a suitable request. Should the book not be required it will then be returned to the borrowing member.

The annual List of Members will be published in the *Journal* for July. Members who wish to make any alterations in name, style, or address, must send the fully corrected entry so as to reach the Secretary by 1st June.

The quarterly numbers of the *Journal* are forwarded to subscribers about 11th of January, April, July, and October respectively. Should a volume not be received within a reasonable time after the prescribed date, notification should be sent to the Secretary as early as possible, but at any rate before the end of the quarter concerned. Should such notice not be received by the Secretary within six months of the first day of the quarter for which the volume has been issued, the onus cannot be admitted and the number cannot be replaced free of charge.

Authors of articles in the *Journal* who desire more than the twenty off-prints, which are supplied *gratis*, are requested to apply to the Secretary. The cost of extra copies varies in accordance with the length of the article and the number of plates.

In accordance with Rule 93, the Library will be closed for cleaning and repair throughout the month of August.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Vol xiii, Part ii, October, 1935.

Wilkinson, R. J. Early Indian Influence in Malaysia.

—— Old Singapore.

—— The Malacca Sultanate.

—— The Fall of Malacca.

Braddell, R. An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca.

—— The Perak "Pallava Seal".

Hughes, T. D. A Portuguese Account of Johore.

The Geographical Journal. Vol. lxxxvii, No. 3, March, 1936.

Kennedy Shaw, W. B. An Expedition in the Southern Libyan Desert.

Vol. lxxxvi, No. 6, December, 1935.

Stein, Sir A. An Archæological Tour in the Ancient Persis.

Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Vol. xxii, Nos. 3-4, December, 1935.

Garstang, J. Jericho : City and Necropolis (Fifth Report).

VII. General Report for 1935 : The Early Bronze Age.

Droop, J. P. Jericho : City and Necropolis (Fifth Report).

VIII. Pottery of the Chalcolithic and Neolithic Levels, 1935.

Bengal Past and Present. Vol. I, Part ii, Serial No. 100, October-December, 1935.

Oldham, C. E. A. W. A unique plan of the Battle of Buxar found in a copy of Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*.

Sarkar, Sir J. A Prisoner of Tipu Sultan.

Foster, Sir W. Sir Thomas Ivie.

Bullock, H. Monumental Inscriptions, Third Series.

—— Some Soldiers of Fortune.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Vol. xxi, Part iii, September, 1935.

de Hevesy, W. F. Munda Tongues : Finno-Ugrian.

Prasad, G. Astronomical Evidence on the Age of the Vedas.

Levi, S. Location of Dantapura.

Jayaswal, K. P. Early Signed Coins of India.

Epigraphia Indica. Vol. xxii, Part i, January, 1933.

- Jayaaswal, K. P. The Text of the Sohgauna Plate.
 ——— Shell Character Rock Inscription at Ci-Aruton (Java).
 Konow, S. Kharoshthi Inscription on a Begram Bas-relief.
 ——— A Note on the Mamane Dheri Inscription.
 Bhandarkar, D. R. Silahara Cave Inscriptions.

Bulletin de l'École Française. Tome xxxiv, Fasc. i, 1934.

- Gascardone, E. Bibliographie annamite.
 Mus, P. Barabudur. Les origines du stūpa et la transmigration.
 Essai d'archéologie religieuse comparée.

Journal Asiatique. Tome ccxxvi, No. 2, Avril-Juin, 1935.

- Jean, Ch.-F. Simples notes sur le Pays de la Mer et l'Arabie.
 Hackin, M. J. Répartition des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan.
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PART III.—JULY

On Certain Alternations between Dental Finals in Tibetan and Chinese

By STUART N. WOLFENDEN

COMPARISON of the vocabularies of Tibetan and Chinese,

past,¹ cannot be said as yet
ines likely to produce out-
tly single words have been
single member of a known
e one language and placed
related, likewise torn loose
Or, again, an entire series
on identity of meanings no
words which carry them may
angers of such methods are
probably selecting the wrong
but are detaching the words
atic backgrounds.

Until we have lacked the material on the
Chinese side with which to compare with any certainty, but now,

¹ We need only mention here the one serious attempt of recent years :
W. Simon, "Tibetisch-Chinesische Wortgleichungen," *Mit. d. Seminars f.
Orient. Spr.*, Berlin, Bd. xxxii (1929), Abt. 1, pp. 157-228. Though I do
not believe that more than a fraction of the equations there set up will
prove to be true, yet this is a work which has already called forth elsewhere
an extremely valuable discussion of the problems involved : v. Karlgren,
"Tibetan and Chinese," *Young Pao*, vol. xxviii (1931), pp. 25-70.

due to the labours of Karlgren,¹ we have a collection of families tentatively set up in a selected number of cases as they existed approximately 2,500 years ago, which can be used with a considerable degree of safety in instituting comparisons with Tibetan.

Much that we shall have to say here will not be new, but in view of the fact that Sino-Tibetan philological studies have with but few notable exceptions been so badly neglected, it may be well to make a preliminary attempt to draw together into some kind of framework as many of the known facts as possible.

As our first move we will consider a point involving certain well-known interchanges of dental finals in Tibetan, with the corresponding phenomena in Chinese.

By a brilliant process of reasoning Karlgren² has arrived at the conclusion that a large class of words in archaic Chinese ended in *-r*, and that this archaic *-r* may be descended from earlier *-r*, *-l*, or *-s*.

Now this archaic *-r* is of particular interest viewed in the light of Tibetan behaviour, for just as archaic *-r* alternates with *-n*, so in Tibetan does *-s* with *-n*, and just as in archaic Chinese there are alternations *-r* ~ *-t* and *-r* ~ *-d*, so in Tibetan there occur alternations *-s* ~ *-d*. This strongly fortifies the contention that *-r* in archaic Chinese is in an undetermined number of cases descended from an earlier *-s*.

Examining for a moment the type of Tibetan material bearing upon the matter, the following are representative of the alternations involved :—

Alt. *-s* ~ *-n* :—

zas food

adus-pa assembly

adres-ma mixture

zan food

adun-ma council, meeting

adren-ma mixture

¹ "Word Families in Chinese," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 5, pp. 9-120, Stockholm, 1934. This will be abbreviated in the following pages as K. WF.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 18-37.

rgas-ka old age
dros-pa heated
tsos paint
mŋos high
gsos cured, mended
rdzus-ma counterfeit

rgan-pa old, aged
dron-mo warm
tsen paint
mŋon-po high
gson-po alive, well
rdzun lie, falsehood

Alt. -s ~ -d :—

blus-ma ransom
ltas miraculous manifestation
dros-pa heated
rgas-ka old age
agros walking

blud-pa ransom
ltad-mo sight, scene
drod warmth, heat
rgad-pa old
grod a march

It is known, of course, that here we are dealing in the case of -s and -d with suffixes, and that beside the forms in -s, -d, and -n, as above, there are others devoid of final consonant, e.g. *za-ba* to eat, *adu-ba* to assemble, *adre-ba* to be mixed, and so on throughout the list, upon which the -s and -d forms are built.

Now this brings us to the only alternation of true “ finals ” in such words, i.e. -n ~ -0,¹ and this -n ~ -0 alternation in its turn leads us to the whole problem of Tibetan word pairs, one member of which is provided with a final consonant, the other member of which is not, of the type *grag-pa* = *sgra* noise (alt. -g ~ -0), *agrod-pa*² = *agro-ba* to go (alt. -d ~ -0), and so on, which are frequent throughout the language.

Tibetan alone would often lead us to think that such pairs are merely variants, with no deeper significance than appears on the surface. And yet, the matter is not necessarily by any means so simple as this, as a consideration of the related

¹ The zero sign here indicates lack of final consonant.

² That -d here is of a different nature from -d in the cases above there can be no doubt. It is, to begin with, the final of an active verb as against the “ perfect ” (adjectival and substantival) forms derived from verbs above. That -d in *agrod-pa* may have been a suffix of active (or transitive) force is, of course, a possibility, but this sets it apart from the suffixes which we have just been considering. We shall return again to this below.

Chinese groups in the case of *agug(s)-pa* = *dgu-ba* to bend (vb. tr.) will show.

Viewed from the Tibetan side only one would be inclined to assemble this seeming family as follows:—

- (a) *agug(s)-pa*, P. *bgug*, F. *dgug*, Imp. *kug* to bend, to make crooked.

kug, *kug-kug* crooked; a hook.

kug, *kugs* corner, concave, angle, nook; creek, bay, gulf, cove.

kug-ma pouch, small bag.

- (b) Without final consonant:—

dgu-ba to bend, to make crooked; bowing, inflection; bent, stooping.

Whence: *dgu-r*, *rgu-r*, *sgu-r* crooked.

ngur (< *mgu-r*) throat, neck.

A glance, however, at Karlgren's Chinese assemblies, A. 266–275 and E. 153–162, shows us that the Tibetan members without final consonant and with *-r* are probably descended from an original *-n* ~ *-l* root system. If this is the case we must set beside the Tibetan *-g* forms under (a) the Chinese family K. WF.: A. 266–275:—

𠂔 <i>kjwak</i> hook	𠂔 <i>gjuan</i> to bend, crooked
曲 <i>kjuk</i> to bend; crooked	𠂔 <i>kwæn</i> (bending part:) elbow
𠂔 <i>gjuk</i> crooked, cramped	弓 <i>kjün</i> a bow
𠂔 <i>kjög</i> hook	𠂔 <i>wæn</i> crooked leg, lame
𠂔 <i>ög</i> angle, corner of the house	
𠂔 <i>jök</i> ("hook") the concave side of a bend in a meandering river.	

And beside the Tibetan forms without final consonant or with *-r*, as under (b), Karlgren's group E. 153–162:—

𠂔 <i>jän</i> bend, bend down
𠂔 <i>wæn</i> the wrist
𠂔 <i>wan</i> to bend, curve
灣 <i>wan</i> a bend, a bay

宛, 婉 *·iwǎn* (bending :) soft, yielding, docile

冤 *·iwǎn* crooked, a wrong

委 *·iwar* to bend down, crooked

隈 *·war* a bay

Now this would keep apart Tibetan *dgu-ba*, *dgur*, *rgur*, *sgur*, and *mgur* not only from any *-g* system, but also from any possible affiliation with a known *-m* system (*kum-pa*, *kum-kum*, *kum-po* crooked, *skum-pa* to bend, *kums-pa* crooked, *akum-pa* to shrink), and the facts point, indeed, as already said, to the former existence of an *-n* ~ *-0* family here in Tibetan, quite distinct from the members in *-g* under (a).

A case of a definitely known *-n* ~ *-0* system with Chinese relatives is furnished by *gon-pa* = *bgo-pa* to put on (clothes), of which the Tibetan assembly is as follows:—

skon-pa, P. and F. *bskon* to dress, to clothe (another person).

gon-pa, also *gyon-pa*, to put on clothes (oneself); coat, clothing.

bgo-ba, P. and Imp. *bgos*, to put on clothes (oneself).

gos garment, dress.

Here *-s* is the only suffix, so far as we know, and this family, unlike the one just discussed, does not seem to be divisible into two. The Chinese cognates in agreement with this are all in one family (K. WF. : E. 218–223), and clearly correspond with archaic *-n* to Tibetan *-n*, archaic *-r* to Tibetan *-s*, as follows:—

隱 *·iæn* to conceal, hide, cover, screen

衣 *·iær* (covering :) clothes

展 *·iær* a screen

醫 *·iær* a screen

瞖 *·iær* cataract over the eye

諱 *xiwar* to conceal, hide, taboo.

It is thus far evident that the alternations *-n* ~ *-s*, *-n* ~ *-d*, *-s* ~ *-d* are apt to spring up in these Tibetan *-n* ~ *-0* families, and now we have to add a fourth one: *-n* ~ *-r*, of more rare occurrence, where groups definitely belonging to the *-n* ~ *-0* system contain members in *-r*. The group first

considered above is not known to contain any *-n* members, unless *skun-bu* small cup, bowl (= *kon-bu*) should be an old survival. The word, however, is very little known.

A striking instance for our present purpose of the occurrence of *-r* members in an *-n* ~ *-o* family is the following:—

sñen-pa, *bsñen-pa* to come or go near, to approach.

ñen (= *ñe*) relative, kinsman.

gñen relative, kinsman.

sñe-ba, P. *bsñes*, F. *bsñe*, Imp. *sñe* to lean against, to rest on, to lie down on.

ñe-ba to be near, to approach; near.

rñed-pa, P. *brñed*, *brñes*, F. *brñed* to get, to obtain; to meet with.

ñe-r (= *ñe-bar*) near.

gñer-ba (to apply oneself closely to :) to take pains with, to take care of; to procure, to acquire.

And in this case again we have the very evident Chinese cognates K. WF.: G. 40-45:—

鄰 *lǐěn* near, neighbour

相 *xièl* clothes nearest the body

呢, 暖 *niəl* near

尼 *niər* near

邇 *niar* near¹

It is, of course, known that *-r* in Tibetan *ñe-r* is the so-called terminative suffix functioning in a locative sense, and the same is almost certainly the case with *rgu-r*, *sgu-r*, *dgu-r*, and *mgu-r* on a previous page, the first three of which would really mean "in a bent state", and *mgu-r* "the bending one", i.e. neck. Here, as elsewhere throughout the language, except in comparatively rare cases like *mgur*, *-r* remains sufficiently free and distinct from the root to have prevented any creation of permanent forms in *-r* from bases lacking final consonants. And this is, indeed, certainly the reason why *-n* ~ *-r* alternations of this origin are so comparatively rare in Tibetan.

¹ Cf. Simon, op. cit., p. 19, No. 197.

In the case of *gñer-ba*, however, the matter is somewhat different, and we must revert to a previous observation.¹

It will have been noticed already that two distinct types of word with final *-d* and *-r*² occur in Tibetan, viz. that in which the word is other than a verb, i.e. a substantive, an adjective, an adverb, or a preposition, and that in which the sense is that of a verb. Only the first of these two have we considered thus far. We now, in *gñer-ba*, come to the second. Here there is small chance that the final *-r* could be of the same "static" nature as the suffixes of the first type, where we are quite evidently dealing with elements indicating either a past (i.e. stationary) act, or the locative case, and we find ourselves in this regard with the exact duplicate in Tibetan of the Chinese system in which *-d*, *-t*, and *-r* occur with both non-verb and verb forms. Have we to suspect then in Chinese also two distinct but homophonous sets of finals, originally suffixes, the one "static" the other active? We may at this point be thought to have embarked upon the merest of speculations, but Tibetan behaviour in this regard certainly gives one some ground for the idea. It is quite certain, for instance, that *-r* in *ñe-r*, near, is a locative element, but that in *gñer-ba*, to take pains with, it cannot possibly be so.

We are thus able to state the following alternations among Tibetan final consonants: *-n* ~ *-s*, *-n* ~ *-d*, *-s* ~ *-d*, *-n* ~ *-r*.

There is another set postulated for Tibetan by Karlgren³ seeming to involve a fifth final, i.e. *-l*, but I leave this on one side here, as I do not feel that any satisfactory evidence is yet to hand proving alternation between *-l* and any other final consonant in Tibetan. I have myself long felt puzzled by synonyms of the type *rtsol-ba*, *brtson-pa* to endeavour, with a seeming alternation *-l* ~ *-n*, and *sgor-ba*, *skol-ba* to boil,

¹ Footnote 2 on p. 403.

² The same observation is also true of Tibetan final *-s*, to which these remarks apply with equal force. As, however, *-s* does not occur in the preceding material in any but its "static" function, I do not mention it specifically here.

³ Op. cit., p. 36.

with what appears to be an $-r \sim -l$ alternation, but I believe that the words or word-groups involved in such cases are really independent of each other.

I may illustrate by taking two of the groups assembled by Karlgren¹ as possibly involving the $-r \sim -l$ alternation : (1) *akyer-ba* to carry away, *akur-ba* to carry, *skyel-ba* to carry away, *akylol-ba* to be carried, and (2) *akor-ba*, *akyr-ba* to turn round, *akal-ba*, *akel-ba* to twist, to spin, *akyl-ba* to twist.

These, I believe, must be split up under sub-heads as follows :—

- (1) (a) *akyer-ba*, P. and F. *akyer* to carry away, to take away.
- (b) *akur-ba*, P. and F. *kur* to carry, to convey.
 skur-ba, P. F. and Imp. *bskur* to send, to transmit.
 kur burden, load.
- (c) *skyel-ba*, P. and F. *bskyel*, Imp. *skyol* to conduct, to lead away, to carry off.
 akylol-ba, P. *akylol* to be carried, to be brought.
- (d) *skya-ba* to carry, to convey.
- (2) (a) *akor-ba* to turn around, to revolve, to go in a circle.
 akor circle, circumference.
 skor-ba, P. and F. *bskor* to surround, to encircle.
 skor a circle.
 kor round, circular (WT. *kor-kor*).
 gor-mo round, circular.
 sgor-ba (WT.) to turn on a lathe.
 akyor-ba to reel, to stagger ; to warp, to become bent.
 skyor-ba enclosure, fence.
- (b) *akyr-ba* to revolve, to turn in a circle.
 kyir-kyir (WT.) round, circular.
- (c) *akal-ba*, *akel-ba* to spin.
- (d) *akyl-ba* to wind, to twist.
 skyil-ba, P. and F. *bskyil* to bend.

It now appears that each sub-head really contains a distinct root, and with each such root it is evident that prefixes are

¹ Loc. cit.

playing their usual part in modifying the various members in sense.

With other aspects of the question of final *-l* in Tibetan in so far as it may sometimes indicate final *-l* as the forerunner of archaic Chinese *-r* there does not appear to be sufficient material to deal satisfactorily at the present time, and the above is merely a note on the Tibetan side. At a future time I hope to revert to this question at greater length, closing now these brief remarks with the following assemblies¹ which will give an idea of how word families of Tibetan and Chinese having dental finals stand to each other.²

- (1)³ T. *bka* word, speech ; *skad-pa* to say, to tell, to relate, to name, to call ; *skad* voice, sound, speech, words, talk, language.

Ch. (K. WF. : E. 138–144) 云 *giwən* to say, to have said ; 言 *niän* to talk ; 諺 *niän* a saying, proverb ; 話 *ǵwad* talk, speech, words ; 謂 *giwəd* to say ; 曰 *giwät* to say ; 謁 *ĩät* to tell, report.

- (2) T. *bkan-pa* to put, press, or apply (hand or foot to), to push, to place (hand or foot) upon.

Ch. (K. WF. : E. 252–258) 按 *án* to press down, lay hand on ; 印 *ĩěn* (to press down :) to seal, a seal ; 尉 *ĩwəd* to press down, subdue, pacify ; 慰 *ĩwəd* to pacify, soothe, comfort ; 𡗗 *at* to press down under the wheels, to crush ; 抑 *ĩět* to press down, repress ; 𡗗 *ĩwət* (to press :) to iron linen.

- (3)⁴ T. *rko-ba*, *rkod-pa*, P. (*b*)*rkos*, F. *brko*, Imp. *rkos* to dig, to excavate, to hoe, to engrave.

¹ The following additional abbreviations will be used here : S = Simon, "Tib.-Chin. Wortgleichungen," as already quoted in full ; L = Laufer, in the *T'oung Pao*, vol. xvii (1916), pp. 116–121, an appendix to his article "The Si-Hia Language". Both these sources are quoted by equation number, not by page.

² The assemblies should not be regarded as necessarily correct in all particulars. Various problems present themselves which will undoubtedly call for a revision of some cases only tentatively advanced here. The entries are arranged according to their finals in the order *-n*, *-o*, *-s*, *-d*, *-t*, *-r*.

³ Cf. S., No. 177.

⁴ Cf. S., No. 164 ; L., No. 61.

Ch. (K. WF.: E. 114-123) 窟 *kuén* a hole; 坑 *kinan* a dug ditch, canal; 剗 *wañ* to scoop out, dig; 闕 *fiwät* a hole in a wall, opening, gate; 掘 *giwät* to make a hole; *giwät* to dig, excavate; 穴 *giwet* hole, pit, cave; 窟 *fiwät* hole, pit, cave; 掘 *kwat* to dig, make a pit; 挖 *wañ* to dig, excavate; 抉 *iwat* to dig out (e.g. a person's eyes).

- (4)¹ T. *gcod-pa*, P. *bçad*, F. *gçad*, Imp. *çod* to cut (off, down, out, etc.), to rend asunder, to break, to sever; *çod* the cutting off, deciding; *çod-pa* to be cut off, to be decided, to be settled; *açad-pa*, P. *çad* to be cut (off, down, out, etc.), to be severed, to be ended.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 15-37) 斷 *tuán* to cut to pieces; 短 *tuán* (cut short:) short; 斷 *tuán*, *d'wán* to cut off; 段 *d'wán* (a cut-off piece:) section, piece, slice; 割 *d'wán*, *t'wán* to cut to pieces; 膊 *d'wán* to mince meat; 割 *tsán* to cut, cut off; 剪, 翦 *tsian* to cut, clip; 刈 *tsuán* to cut to pieces; 割 *san* to cut; 制 *t'iad* to cut, trim, restrain, regulate; 製 *t'iad* to cut; 鉞 *tiět* sickle, to cut grain; 截 *d'ziat* to cut off; 絕 *d'ziwat* to cut off; 節 *tsiet* section; 切 *tsiet* to cut; 剃 *tsiər* to cut hair; 薙 *tsiər* to cut grass; 齋 *tsiər* to mince; 割 *d'ziər* to cut, to trim; 穡 *d'ziər* to cut grain.

- (5)² T. *açad-pa*, P. and F. *bçad*, Imp. *çod* to explain, to tell, to relate; *bçad-pa* id.; *rjod-pa*, P. and F. *brjod* to say, to utter, to pronounce, to propound; *brjod* sound, talking, speech; *çod-pa*, P. *bçad* to say, to declare, to state; *gçad-pa* to explain, to relate, to tell.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 339-341) 誓 *d'jad* a speech, pronouncement, declaration; 說 *šiwad* to speak to, *šiwat* to speak, explain; 舌 *d'iat* tongue.

¹ Cf. S., No. 168; L., No. 71.

² Cf. S., No. 175.

- (6) ¹ T. *ču* water, river; *aču-ba*, P. *bčus*, F. *bču*, Imp. *čus* to water, to irrigate, to ladle or scoop up water; *bčud* moisture, juice, sap.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 290-1) 準 *t'iwən* a water level; 水 *šiwər* water.

- (7) ² T. *če-ba* great, greatness; *če-ba*, P. *čes* to be great; *čen-po* (Balti and Cent. T.) great; — *mčed-pa* to spread or become extended, to gain ground (as a fire), to become great.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 292-4) 大 *d'ād* great; 大, 泰 *tād* great; — (K. WF.: F. 185-198) 攤 *tān* to extend, spread; 誕 *d'ān* to extend, enlarge, large, exaggerate; 闡 *t'ian* to enlarge, open out; 挺 *tian* drawn out, long; 延 *dian* to extend, spread out, prolong, etc.; 筵 *dian* (what is spread out:) mat; 演 *dian* to expand, extend; 陳 *d'ien* to spread out in a row, arrange; 陣 *d'ien* a troupe spread out in a row, array; 引 *dien* to draw out, stretch, lead, etc.; 申 *šien* to extend, expand, make known, repeat, etc.; 伸 *šien* to extend, stretch out; 示 *d'iar* (to spread out:) make known, exhibit, proclaim, announcement, presage; 長 *šiar* to extend, spread out, display, etc.

- (8) ³ T. *mčsan* grandchild, nephew; *tsa-bo* grandson; *tsa-mo* granddaughter, niece; *btsa-ba*, P. *btsas* to bear, to bring forth, to give birth to; *btsas-ma*, *rtas-ma* harvest, wages, pay.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 46-7) 娠 *t'ian*, *šian* pregnant; 產 *san* to bear.

- (9) T. *žen-pa* to desire, to long for, to be attached to; *že* inclination, affection, heart, volition, desire; *gče-ba* to love, to hold dear, to cherish; *brtse-ba*

¹ Cf. S., No. 271.

² The two Chinese groups in this case, although kept apart by Karlgren, appear possibly to be related. I have indicated the same apparent division in Tibetan, where, however, only one group is probably in question.

³ Cf. S., No. 214.

to love, love, affection; *gčes-pa* dear, beloved, precious, valuable; *bžed-pa* to wish, to desire.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 60-2) 親 *tsjēn* close, intimate, love, etc.; 襯 *tsjēn* inner coffin (closest to the body); 襯 *tsjēn* inner garments.

(10)¹ T. *rtse(-mo)* point, peak, summit; *mčē-ba* canine tooth, eye tooth, fang, tusk; *mje* penis; *tsar-ma* thorn, prick, brier; *mdzer-pa*, *adzer-pa* knot, excrescence, wart, pimple; *gzer*, *zer* nail, tack; *gzer-ba* to bore into, to pierce.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 38-45) 端 *tsuān* point, tip, end; 箭 *tsjan* arrow; 鋤 *tsjan* hoe; 鑿 *tsjuan* to pierce, engrave, incise; 筍 *sjwən* (points:) bamboo shoots; 銳 *djwad* pointed, sharp; 鋒 *tjwer* pointed, sharp, awl, tip; 矢 *sjer* arrow.

(11) T. *tsan* hot, warm; *gžen-pa* to light, to kindle; *tsa-ba* to be hot, heat, hot, warm; *tsə* (Balti) hot; *alsod-pa*, *alsed-pa*, P. *bitsos*, F. *btso*, Imp. *tsos*, *tsod* to cook; *tsad-pa* heat; *młsed* cremation, burning (*dur-młsed* cremation ground).

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 207-215) 燂 *tjan* to burn, to cook; 燂 *tsuən* colour of fire; 燂 *tjan* torch for burning divination shell; 煎 *tsjan* to roast, fry; 爇 *tsuān* to make fire, burn, cook; 饌, 羹 *dzwan* cooked food; 饌 *tsjuən* fire-prepared, cooked food; 燒 *tsuən*, *tsiwen*, *tswat* to make fire, burn; 燧 *dziwad* to ignite, draw fire.

(12)² T. *gzan-pa* to eat, to devour, to gnaw; *aʃan-ba* to swallow, to devour; *bzan* food of animals, pasture, pasturage; *zan* pap, porridge, fodder, an eater; *za-ba*, *bza-ba*, P. *zos*, *bzas*, F. *bza*, Imp. *zo*, *zos* to eat, food, victuals, meat; *zas* food, nourishment.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 100-102) 吞 *tsuən* to swallow, gulp down, devour; 餐 *tsān* to swallow, gulp down,

¹ Cf. L., Nos. 7, 56, 77.

² Cf. S., No. 228; L., No. 11.

devour; 囓 *tswad* to devour (swallow a whole slice of meat in one mouthful).

- (13) ¹ T. *zin-pa* to draw near an end, to be at an end, to be exhausted, finished, or consumed.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 352) 盡 *tsiën* to exhaust, *d'ziën* exhausted, empty.

- (14) ² T. *gšad-pa*, *gšod-pa*, *šad-pa* to comb, to brush, to stroke.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 156-9) 帚 *dziwad* broom; 帨 *siwad*, *siwat* towel, kerchief; 帥 *siwat* towel, kerchief; 刷 *siwat* to brush, to scrape clean.

- (15) ³ T. *mñen-pa* flexible, pliant, supple, soft.

Ch. (K. WF.: G. 46-7) 軟 *njwan* weak, soft; 軟 *nwan* weak, soft.

- (16) ⁴ T. *rtēn-pa*, P. and F. *brten*, Imp. *rtēn* to keep, to hold, to adhere to, to depend on, to rely on, to lean on; *rtēn* a hold, a support, a receptacle, a seat, an abode; *sten-pa*, P. and F. *bsten*, Imp. *sten* to keep, to hold, to adhere to, to depend on, to rely on; *rtēn-pa*, *brten-pa*, *brtan-pa* to place confidence in, to rely upon; *brtan-po* firm, steadfast, safe, firmness; *aṭan-pa* firmness, constancy; *bstan* (the established thing :) doctrine; *gtan-pa* order, system, duration, always, continually, entirely completely; *bden-pa* (reliable :) to be true, true, truth; *aṭad-pa* firmness, constancy; *gtad-pa* hold, steadiness, firmness; *dad-pa* (feel dependence in :) to believe.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 54-7) 實 *tān* true, sincere; 真 *t'ien* true, sincere; 信 *siën* true, believe, faith; 恂 *siwēn* true, sincere.

- (17) ⁵ T. *dron-mo* warm, *dro-ba* to be warm, warm, warmth; *dro* the hot part of the day; *dros-pa* heated, grown warm; *dros* the hot part of the day; *drod* warmth, heat.

Ch. (K. WF.: G. 1-14) 爛 *glān* heated through, well

¹ Cf. S., No. 229; L., No. 16.

² Cf. S., No. 174; L., No. 8.

³ Cf. S., No. 222.

⁴ Cf. S., No. 223.

⁵ Cf. L., No. 96.

cooked, etc.; 鍊, 煉 *glian* to smelt, to refine; 烈 *liat* burning, flaming, bright; (靛 *nan* (hot in the face:) to blush, ashamed; 然, 燃 *njan* to burn, roast; 煖, 煖 *nuon* hot, warm; 燙 *nuon* hot water; 熱 *njal* hot, heat; 蒸 *njwal* to burn, to heat; 日 *njet*¹ sun, sun heat; 怩 *njar* (hot in the face) to blush ashamed).

- (18) T. *mfun-pa*, *afun-pa* to agree, to be in harmony, agreement, harmony; *stun-pa*, P. and F. *batun* to agree, to be in harmony, to harmonize, to make agree.

Ch. (K. WF.: F. 118-128) 順 *d'jwən* to follow, obey, accord with; 殉 *dziwən* to follow in death; 遵 *tsiwən* to follow, obey, accord with; 循 *dziwən* to follow, accord with; 馴 *dziwən* (obeying:) docile, tamed (horse); 孫 *swən*² (follower:) grandson; 遂 *dziwəd* to follow; 帥, 率 *siwəd* leader; 述 *d'jwət* to follow; 帥, 率 *siwət* to follow, (cause to follow:) to lead; 追 *tiwar* to follow after.

- (19)³ T. *mdun* (meeting part:) fore-part, front side; *mdun-ma* (united:) wife; *adun-ma* council, association, meeting, society, (united:) bride; *adu-ba*, P. *adus* to assemble, to come together, to meet, to unite or be joined with one another (as husband and wife), to get married, to be pressed or crowded together; *adus-pa*, *adu-ba* assembly, gathering, meeting; *bsdus-pa*, *adus-pa* (put together:) to consist of, to be made up of; *sdud-pa*, P. *bsdus*, F. *bsdu*, Imp. *sdud*, *bsdu* to put together, to join, to unite (others, as e.g. husband and wife), to marry, to condense, to

¹ Cf. S., No. 206. A problem presents itself here. T. *si-ma* "sun", *sin(-mo)* "day", though evidently belonging with 日 *njet* and its relatives, cannot possibly belong to the same group as *dron-mo*, *dro-ba*, etc., as there is no evidence in Tibetan that families in -r- subscript ever have relatives in n- or si-. The Chinese assembly should probably be divided as Karlgren has indicated by punctuation, and I here emphasize by parentheses.

² There is a curious resemblance here to T. *mfean* "grandchild" under (8) above.

³ Cf. S., Nos. 170, 224; L., Nos. 7, 20.

compress; *sdud* (pressing together :) folds of a garment; *dud-pa* to tie, to knot; *mdud-pa* knot, bow.

Ch. (K. WF. : F. 150-3) 屯 *d'wən* to collect, to mass, a group of soldiers, a camp, to camp; 隊 *d'wad* a group of soldiers, a regiment; 最 *d'zwād* to collect, to assemble, accumulate; 萃 *d'ziwəd* to collect, numerous, dense, thicket.

(20) T. *spun-pa*, *sbun-pa* chaff, husks; *pu-tse* husks of barley, bran; *p'u* a puff of breath; *abud-pa*, P. *bus*, *p'u(s)*, F. *dbu*, Imp. *p'u(s)* to blow (intr. and tr.), to blow away (as chaff); *bud* a cloud of dust; *sbud-pa* bellows (*sbud abud-pa* to blow bellows).

Ch. (K. WF. : H. 54-7) 扮 *b'iwən* dust; 粉 *piwən* (powdered :) flour; 奎 *piwən* to dust; 拂 *piwət* to dust.

(21) T. *ap'ur-ba*, P. *p'ur* to fly (Tsang *ap'ir-ba*); *spur-ba* to make fly, to scare up; *abur-ba* to rise, to be prominent, to spring up, to come forth; *ap'iyur-ba* to mount, to rise up; *byur-po*, *byur-bu* heaped up, made into a mound (as corn).

Ch. (K. WF. : H. 1-5) 翻 *piwǎn* to fly; 翻 *pien* to fly; 奮, 拏 *piwən* to fly; 飛 *piwər* to fly.

(22) T. *dbyen-pa* difference, dissension, discord, schism; *dbye-ba* parting, partition, division, distinction, section, part, class, species, kind; *abye-ba*, P. and Imp. *bye* to open (vb. intr.), to divide, to separate; *abyed-pa*, P. and Imp. *p'ye*, *p'yed*, *p'yes*, F. *dbye* to open (vb. tr.), to separate, to keep apart, to divide, to distinguish, to classify, to pick out, to choose, to select; *p'yed* half; *dpyad* an instrument to open the mouth by force; *dbye-r* (= *dbye-ru* in *dbyer-med* lit. devoid of difference) difference, distinction; *abyer-ba*, P. and Imp. *byer* to disperse (as in flight), to scatter (vb. intr.), to flee in different directions.

Ch. (K. WF. : H. 26-44) 采 *b'ǎn* to separate, distinguish,

discriminate; 辨 *ŭăn*, *ŭjan* to divide, distinguish, discriminate; 辯 *ŭjan* to distinguish, discriminate, argue; 片 *pian* cleft wood, splint, slice, slip, board, tablet; 簾 *pjan* (cleft wood :) writing tablet; 半 *puân* divide in half, half; 判 *puân* to cleave, divide, discriminate; 胖 *puân* one-half of a victim divided in two parts; 班 *puan* to distribute; 板, 版, *puan* board; 扁 *pian* board, tablet, flat; 分 *pjwən* to divide, *ŭjwən* a part; 割 *mjwən* to cut, cut the throat; 剔 *pjat*, *ŭjat* to cleave, separate, divide; 伐 *ŭjwăt* to cut, attack; 剗 *ŭjwət* to cut, attack; 仳 *pjər* to separate, part; 剗 *ŭjwər* to cut off the feet, amputate.

- (23) T. *mun-pa* obscurity, darkness, obscure, dark; *dmun-pa* darkened, obscured (as the mind); *rmun-po* dull, heavy, stupid; *rmu-ba* dullness, heaviness, fog; *rmus-pa* dull, heavy, peevish, listless, foggy, gloomy, dark.

Ch. (K. WF.: H. 94–110) 瞞 *muân* closed eyes, darkened sight; 瞢, 瞢 *mjěn* darkened intelligence, stupid; 民 *mjěn* the common people (the “darkened, stupid ones”); 眠 *mien* closed eyes, to sleep; 昏 *χmwən* darkness, darkened, darkened intelligence, stupid; 瞢, 瞢, 瞢, 殯 *χmwən* dim sight, darkened intelligence; 昧 *muăt* troubled sight; 昧 *muăt* darkness before dawn; 寐 *mied* to sleep; 昧 *muăt* troubled sight; 忽 *χmwət* not discerning, stupid, careless; 昧 *mjər* something in the eye, troubled sight; 迷 *mjər* (to blind :) to confuse, lead astray.

On the Age of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra

By GORAKH PRASAD, D.Sc.

BAUDHĀYANA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA states ¹: *tad* (= *tatra*, sc. *devayajane*) *etām prācīnavaiṣāṁ śālām māpayati; kṛttikāḥ khalv imāḥ prācīm diśam na parijahati: tāsāṁ saṁdarśanena māpayed ity etad ekam; śroṇāsaṁdarśanena māpayed ity etad ekam; citrāsvātyor antareṇety etad aparam.*

Barth ² interprets east in the above passage to mean due east, and therefore holds the first alternative to be derived from old tradition, as it gives a date somewhere about 3000 B.C. The second alternative presents the difficulty that Śroṇa (α Aquilæ) never rose in the east. It rose nearest the east in the first or second century A.D.,³ but conditions were not much different half a millennium before or after this date. A difficulty occurs also in the case of the third alternative, because Citrā was only 3 degrees south of the equator in the sixth century A.D., and at all dates earlier than that it was still nearer the equator; hence a point between Citrā and Svātī would not have been mentioned instead of Citrā itself, unless the latter was very much to the south of the equator. Considering all this, Barth came to the conclusion that the rule of the Sūtra must be very modern, perhaps later than the sixth century A.D.

It must be noted, however, that the sixth century A.D. is evidently a compromise, and an unsatisfactory one. On

¹ xxvii, 5. It is translated by Caland as follows: "Hier lasse er die Śālā (d.h. die Stelle, wo die Śālā erbaut werden soll) abmessen. Die Kṛttikās verlassen ja die östliche Himmelsgegend nicht: nach (d.h.: d'après) deren Erscheinung soll er sie abmessen lassen, so ist die eine Möglichkeit. Nach der Erscheinung von Śravaṇa, so ist eine andere Möglichkeit; zwischen Citrā und Svātī, so ist noch eine andere Möglichkeit."

² See Caland, *Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p. 37.

³ This is not mentioned by Barth, but is easy to prove. At that time it rose about 6 degrees to the north of east in a place of latitude 25 degrees.

the hypothesis of Barth the seventh or the eighth century A.D. would suit the arguments better, and the Sūtra in question cannot by any means be so late as even the sixth century A.D.

Another explanation is given by Winternitz,¹ in which east is not supposed to be due east. The interpretation held to be correct is that "they [the Kṛttikās] remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time—during several hours—every night, which was the case about 1100 B.C."

The last remark of Winternitz—"which was the case about 1100 B.C."—is positively misleading. Granted that his explanation is the correct one, any date between 2000 B.C. and A.D. 11000 would suit it very well. And then, any star north of the equator would do. Why, then, did the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa² say *anyāni nakṣatrāṇi prācyai diśaścyavante*? And why does our Sūtra mention "a point intermediate between Citrā and Svātī"?

The correct explanation is perhaps as follows :—The notice in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa must really refer to the period when the Kṛttikās rose almost exactly in the east, as believed by Barth, Dikshit,³ Jacobi,⁴ and others. Force of tradition must have made people still orient their Śālās by the Kṛttikās, even when they rose somewhat north of the true east. At a later time observation must have shown that the Kṛttikās and Śroṇa rose at the same point of the horizon, Citrā rose somewhat south of that point, and Svātī to the north. Hence our Sūtra gives three alternatives.

It is easy to calculate when this happened. I find that Alcyone (the brightest of the stars in the Kṛttikās) and α Aquilæ (Śroṇa) rose at the same point of the horizon about 1330 B.C. At that time, in a place of latitude 25 degrees, these stars rose about 10 degrees to the north of east; Citrā rose 2½ degrees to the south of the point where the Kṛttikās rose,

¹ *A History of Indian Literature*, translated by Mrs. Ketkar, vol. i, p. 298.

² ii, 1, 2, 3.

³ *IA.*, 24, p. 245.

⁴ *JRAS.*, 1910, p. 463.

and Svātī rose 35 degrees to the north of the same point.¹ Hence the point where the Kṛttikās rose was then really intermediate between the points where Citrā and Svātī rose. The distance of this point from the rising point of Citrā was equal to one-sixteenth of that between the rising points of Citrā and Svātī.

The reason why a point intermediate between Citrā and Svātī was preferred to some star rising approximately at the same point of the horizon as the Kṛttikās appears to be the absence of a bright star in a suitable position. The rising of the Kṛttikās could be observed only when they rose in the night, after evening twilight was over and before the morning one had commenced. This would give a period of not more than five months in which the risings of the Kṛttikās could be seen. Three points in the heavens, nearly equidistant from each other, would therefore be required if the process of orientation was to be possible by means of the *nakṣatras* throughout the year. Starting from the Kṛttikās, the *nakṣatra* which should have been chosen on this principle would be Phalgunī or Hasta. But these asterisms did not contain any star of the first magnitude and hence could not be clearly seen at the moment of rising. The next *nakṣatra* Citrā, was bright enough (magnitude = 1·21), but did not rise at the correct point of the horizon. The next after that, Svātī, was also bright (magnitude = 0·24), but also did not rise at the correct point. Hence the Sūtra mentioned a point intermediate between Citrā and Svātī.

It must be remarked that Śroṇa is a first magnitude star (magnitude = 0·89) and is in the most suitable position for being observed when the risings of the Kṛttikās or of Citrā and Svātī are not visible. (The distance of Śroṇa from the Kṛttikās is about 120 degrees.)

It has been argued that the ancient Hindu astronomers

¹ The date 1330 B.C. is not affected by the assumed latitude. The direction of the point where the stars rose would be slightly altered if we assume a different latitude.

could not observe the equinoctial point with any accuracy, and therefore all observations involving this point should be looked upon with caution. It must be remembered that the observations which we are discussing here need not be connected with the equinoctial point at all. If a person always observes from a fixed point ¹ (as probably the ancients did to conform with the rituals) and the horizon is at a distance of more than a mile, as it generally is in India, the direction of the sun or a bright star at the moment of rising can be noted to at least within half a degree without any instruments.² Hence we need not be surprised that Citrā by itself was not mentioned in the rule for orientation, as it rose $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees away from the required point. We may conclude from this that the date obtained above, viz. 1330 B.C., is correct to within a hundred years one way or the other.³

Those who, with Jacobi and Tilak, take the date of the Brāhmaṇas to be about 2500 B.C., would not perhaps find 1330 B.C. too early for the Sūtras. But those who take the Brāhmaṇas to be of more recent origin might take this to be the date of some old tradition of the times when the Kṛttikās and Śroṇa rose at the same point of the horizon.

The weak points in the above interpretation appear to me to be two :—

(1) Instead of mentioning a point intermediate between Citrā and Svātī, a more definite indication should have been given.⁴ But there might have been some such tradition, which

¹ A change of 30 feet would not matter. It would produce a difference of less than one-third of a degree, if the horizon is at a distance of 1 mile, and correspondingly less if the horizon is more distant.

² The diameter of the moon is about half a degree.

³ In 100 years the distance between the points of the horizon at which the Kṛttikās and Śroṇa rose would become about 1 degree.

⁴ Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya, Lecturer in Sanskrit, Allahabad University, to whom I am indebted for a critical reading of this paper, points out that though *citrāsvātīyor antareṣa* literally means "between Citrā and Svātī", it can mean "midway between Citrā and Svātī", and here most probably it means this and nothing else, for otherwise the rule would not give a precise datum. But if this meaning be taken as correct, it cannot be reconciled either with my theory or with that of Barth.

is now lost ; or the observer might have been expected to find it out for himself by observing the rising points of Śroṇa, Citrā, and Svātī, at the time of the year when the risings of all these could be observed.

(2) In 1330 B.C. the Kṛttikās rose about 10 degrees to the north of east, and still they were supposed in the Sūtra under discussion to rise in the east. This must be ascribed to the ignorance of precession and the reverence in which the Brāhmaṇas were held in the time of the Sūtras.

In spite of these weak points, the writer considers the interpretation here given to be far more probable than that of Barth or Winternitz.

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The Ratnavali of Nagarjuna

By GIUSEPPE TUCCI

(Concluded from p. 252.)

1. Even if a king follows a path contrary to religion and to reason he is nevertheless praised by his subjects (on account of fear); he, therefore, hardly knows what is appropriate or not.

2. It would be very difficult to say to anybody else what is appropriate, when it is unpleasant; how much more will that be to an emperor as you are, since I am speaking, a simple monk as I am?

3. But on account of your love and because I feel compassion for the living beings, I alone will say to you what befits you, though it will be extremely unpleasant.

4. (The master), out of his compassion, must say at the proper moment to his disciple what benefits him, is true, mild, and full of significance.

So said the Blessed one. You are now instructed according to this principle.

5. If a man persists in being mild and truthful when he is praised, he will always accept that which is worth hearing; even so those who want to wash themselves choose water possessing good properties.

6. When I say these words to you knowing that they are profitable in this life and in other existences, put them into practice; they will prove useful to yourself and to the world.

7. You have got your wealth since you were liberal in former existences; but if, being ungrateful and greedy, you are not now also liberal towards those who beg some help from you, you will never get this wealth any more.

8. A servant, if he is not paid, does not carry in this world any provision on the way, but a poor beggar without being paid carries for the other life baggage a hundred times heavier.

9. Be always noble-minded and delighting in noble deeds, because from a noble deed every kind of noble fruits are derived.

10. Make your temple¹ the prosperous and renowned abode of the Three Jewels, unhurt even in thought by mean kings.

11. It is better not to build that temple which does not cause horripilation to neighbouring kings, since it is not a glory even when one is dead.

12. With the example of your extreme generosity let the admiration and the endeavours of the generous ones grow and kill the endeavours of the dull-witted ones, even at the cost of all your possessions.

13. Even against your will you must give up everything and pass into another existence. But whatever has been employed for the law will go ahead.

14. The property of a previous king has fallen into the hands of the king (his successor); of what use can it then be to the religion, happiness and glory of his predecessor?

15. From the enjoyment of your wealth you get only happiness in this life, but from the gift of that wealth you will get happiness in a future existence. Since whatever has not been either given or enjoyed is lost,² sorrow only is derived from that wealth; how can that produce happiness?

16. When you are on the very point of death you are unable to give away; you are, in fact, then no longer master of your will on account of your ministers becoming disaffected towards the king whose departure is impending and eager to do what pleases the new prince.

17. While, therefore, you enjoy good health, even at the cost of all your wealth, quickly build a temple. You are in fact amidst the very conditions from which death comes, like a lamp put where a strong wind blows.

18. Let all other religious duties, such as processions, etc., established by former kings, continue as they are.

¹ Tib. *gtug lag k'an*.

² Hence it is subject to destruction by fire, etc.

19. Let them be attended by those who harm nobody, whose conduct is pure, who keep their vows, please their guests, are patient towards everybody, lovers of peace, and always energetic.

20. Let blind, sick, crippled, afflicted, helpless, beggars equally get food and drink without offence.

21. Bestow the same favours upon the followers of the law even if they are in no need and if they reside in other kingdoms.

22. Appoint as officers entrusted with the supervision of spiritual affairs those who are diligent in spiritual affairs, not greedy, wise, acting according to the law, never acting against their (duty).¹

23. Appoint as your ministers those who know the right politics, who are observant of the law, affectionate, pure, faithful, brave, of good family, rich in moral virtues, grateful.

24. Appoint as ministers of war just those who are noble-minded, liberal, brave, affectionate, wealthy, steady, always attentive, observant of law.

25. Appoint as ministers of finance those whose habits are in agreement with the law, who are pure, clever, able in business, expert in learning, of perfect conduct, impartial, kind, advanced in age.

26. Every month hear from them the report of the expenditure and of the income; and, after having heard it, you must say yourself whatever must be done as regards the various offices, viz. that of the supervision of spiritual affairs and the others.

27. If your kingdom is ruled by you not on account of worldly renown nor of worldly pleasures but with the purpose of protecting the law, then it will be extremely fruitful; otherwise it will be conducive to misfortune.

28. Generally, O king, in this world one is the prey of the

¹ There are four kinds of officers: (a) those entrusted with spiritual affairs (*c'os dpon*); (b) ministers (*bka'la glog pa*); (c) generals (*dmag dpon*); (d) ministers of finance (*nor gyi gñer*).

others; still listen to the method by which you may have two things (apparently irreconcilable), viz. kingdom and law.

29. You must always collect many ministers inspecting various businesses, possessing the experience of old men, born in high families, who know the rules of government and are afraid of committing sin.

30. Even if they order according to justice, punishment, imprisonment, and beating (of culprits), be yourself always moved to compassion and disposed to kindness.

31. With your compassion, O king, you must always bend to righteousness the mind of all living beings, even of those who have committed terrible sins.¹

32. Special compassion indeed one must feel for those cruel persons who have committed terrible sins; in fact these miserable men are the proper object for the compassion of noble-minded men.

33. Every day or every five days set free prisoners who are becoming weak [by the imprisonment]; set free all the others also according to the proper course; let nobody remain in prison.

34. If the thought does not come to your mind to set somebody free, this means that you have not yet a perfect control of your feelings as regards that man. But from this lack of control perpetual accumulation of sin is derived.

35. Up to the time of their discharge let them enjoy a pleasant imprisonment and the comfort of barbers, baths, drinks, food, medicines, and garments.

36. You must punish them from compassion and from a desire to turn them into worthy persons, as you do as regards unworthy sons; but you must not be moved by hatred or by desire of material welfare.²

37. After having pondered (the proper means) and having

¹ That is those for which there is no other expiation but hell.

² Tib. Snod med pa yi bu dag la | snod du run bar gyi 'dod ltar || sñin rje yis ni te'ar bead pa yi | edaṅ bas ma yin nor p'yr min ||

well known the case, you must expel from the country bad people and murderers, without killing or injuring them.

38. Uninfluenced [by others] you must explore your state with the eyes of the spies ; always attentive and thoughtful you must do whatever business is in accordance with the law.

39. Always honour with generous gifts, respect and homage those who take their resort to virtue, and as is proper, others also, but according to their merits.

40. The king may be compared to a tree whose abundant flowers are the respect bestowed upon the worthy, whose great fruits are his liberality, whose shadow is his forbearance ; the subjects will take shelter in his kingdom like birds in such a tree.

41. If a king possessing the virtues of liberality and morality is also full of majesty, he pleases his subjects like a sweet-meat of sugar, hardened by cardamon and pepper.

42. Following this policy, you will get a kingdom not ruled by the " policy of the fish " ; acting in this way there will be neither unrule nor injustice, but law only.¹

43. You did not carry with you this kingdom from the other world, nor will you carry it thither (after death). It has been obtained through law, and therefore, if you want to get it (in another life), you must not do anything against law.

44. You must endeavour, O king, with all your energy not to gain at the price of that capital which is the kingdom those goods of sorrow which are wont to come one after the other.

45. But rather with all your energy you must endeavour, O king, so that at the price of that capital which is your kingdom you may enjoy a long series of royal goods.²

46. Even if one obtains as universal emperor supremacy

¹ " Policy of the fish ", viz. the pre-eminence of mere strength.

² Viz. getting even in a future life a royal status instead of rebirth in one of the bad conditions of existence.

over the world with its four continents, one can only experience two kinds of joy, one physical and the other mental.¹

47. Bodily pleasure is a pleasant sensation which merely consists in the removal of pain; the mental one consists in mere ideas, and is produced only by imagination.

48. In this world any kind of pleasure is either a mere removal of pain or a mere imagination; it is therefore in fact unreal.

49. The four continents (as in the case of the universal emperor), the territory, the town, the habitation, the place of residence, site, cloths, beds, food, drinking, elephants, horses, women are enjoyed severally.

50. Whenever and wherever our mind is fixed [upon something], from that and then only pleasure is derived. But all other things have in fact no scope in so far as at that moment we do not pay attention to them.

51. When one, perceiving the five objects of sense-perception with the five senses, such as the eye, etc., does not work with the imagination, then, for this reason, one does not feel any pleasure in them.

52. When we know a certain object with a certain sense, then, we do not know other objects with the other senses, since at that time the other [objects] are no object [of perception, not being in relation with the senses].

53. The mind perceiving the form of an object which has already been perceived by the senses and (is therefore) past, working with the imagination, thinks it to be a pleasure.

54. If, in this world, one sense knows only one object, then, without its object of perception, that sense would have no scope and the object also will have no scope without the sense which perceives it [in so far as both are reciprocally conditioned].

¹ A long discussion here begins meant to show that no pleasure (and therefore, for necessary implication, no pain) is *per se* existent or possessed of characteristics *per se* existent. This leads Nāgārjuna to discuss also perception in its various aspects and to conclude that no such fact as perception can be said to be existent.

55. The birth of a son is conditioned by the mother and the father¹; even so it is stated that the production of consciousness is conditioned by a sense, e.g. the eye and its object, viz. the object visible.

56. Objects along with their (correspondent) sensory moments, either past or future, are of no purpose [as regards the production of consciousness]; even so the present ones because they cannot be dissociated from the two aforesaid moments.

57. The eye wrongly perceives as a wheel a turning firebrand: even so all senses [wrongly] perceive the various objects as being present.²

58. The organs of senses as well as the objects of senses are said to be composed of the five material elements; but since each element is *in se* unreal, even those senses and those objects are in fact unreal.³

59. If we conceive the material elements as being separate, the consequence would be that fire can burn without any fuel: if, on the other hand, they are combined together, it is impossible to speak of their characteristics: the same decision must also be applied to the other elements.

60. In this way, since the material elements are in either case (viz. either separately taken or combined) unreal, their combination is (also) unreal; since their combination is unreal, material forms are therefore unreal.

61. [In the same way the other] constituents like

¹ This to meet the objection that there must be objects and their perception through the senses, since consciousness (*viññāna*) exists.

² In these two stanzas Nāgārjuna meets the objection that *viññāna* exists since its objects exist; but while the contents of consciousness are distinct in accordance with their temporal succession, the *Mādhyamika* does not admit any time to be *per se* existent; present is only existent in relation to a past or a future. The perception of something as present is due to mental bewilderment, as when we wrongly take a turning firebrand to be a wheel.

³ This stanza replies to the objection that senses and objects of senses exist since their cause, viz. material elements, exist; but since no material element can be demonstrated to be *in se* existent, their effect must necessarily be unreal.

consciousness, sensation, ideas, and forces separately taken are *in se* completely unreal: therefore from the standpoint of the absolute truth there is only unreality.

62. Just as there is an assumption of pleasure, when in fact there is removal of pain, even so the assumption of pain is derived from obstruction of pleasure.

63. By [meditation on the principle that] everything is devoid of any essence one puts an end to the thirst after association with pleasure and the thirst after dissociation from pain: for those who see (such a truth) there is liberation thence.

64. If you ask who can see that, we reply that from the standpoint of conventional truth it is the mind which sees that (but not from the absolute standpoint); in fact (the function of) mind is not possible without mental contents nor along with these, since it will serve no purpose.¹

65. When one, perceiving that there is nothing which one can depend upon, considers this world according to its real nature, viz. as unreal, then, having extinguished the sources of attachment, one enters into Nirvāṇa, just as fire which is extinguished when the combustible matter comes to an end.

66. The Bodhisattva also has this vision and therefore he is certain to attain to the perfect illumination; but it is only out of compassion that he passes from one existence to another, before entering the gate of the supreme illumination.²

67. The Tathāgatas have expounded in the Great Vehicle, the accumulation (of merit and knowledge) of the Bodhisattvas: only those who are bewildered by foolishness or hatred can find fault with it.

68. A man abusing the Great Vehicle is one who does not distinguish between merits and sins, or one who takes merits to be defects or one who hates merits.

¹ Its contents being in this case already given in it.

² They renounce to disappear into nirvāṇa in order to benefit creatures.

69. An abuser of Mahāyāna is said to be one who knows that sins are of harm to others and merits benefit others and still abuses Mahāyāna.

70. He who hates the Great Vehicle, which is a mine of merits, in so far as it rejoices in benefiting others without any consideration for personal interest, is thereby burnt (by the fire of hell).

71. Even a man possessing faith (in the law) may hate the merits (of the Great Vehicle) on account of some principle badly understood¹; even so somebody else being addicted to anger. But (the scripture) says: "Even a man possessing faith may be burnt (by the fire of hell)" ; How much greater will the danger be for a man inclined to hatred?

72. The doctors say that a poison can be the antidote of another poison; even so there is no contradiction when we state that man must dispel what is harmful to him even at the cost of his own pain.²

73. Tradition says that mind goes in front of the elements of existence³ and mind is the best among them. If one, being only interested in what is salutary, does what is salutary, even at the cost of personal pain, how can that prove unprofitable to him?

74. One must do that which will, in the future, be salutary to oneself and to others even if it is (at present) painful; how much more, then, must he do that which is pleasant and equally salutary to the doer and to others? This is the eternal law.

75. If by giving up a bit of pleasure one may get afterwards a large joy, a brave man should give up that bit of pleasure, having in his mind the large joy to be gained in the future.

76. If one is unable to stand even that, then doctors, etc.,

¹ The wrong interpretation of the unsubstantiality (*sūnya*) of things.

² This refers to the *duṣkara-caryā* implicit in the practice of Mahāyāna.

³ " *Mano-purvaṅgamā dhammā, manoseṭṭhā maṇomayā,*" Dhamma pada, 1, 2.

prescribing bitter medicaments would be ruined. But this principle cannot be applied.¹

77. What seems unsalutary is considered sometimes by the experts to be salutary ; a general rule and the exception are praised in all philosophical systems.

78. How could a man in full possession of his mental faculties abuse the Great Vehicle where it is stated that all results are preceded by compassion and purified by wisdom ?

79. Ignorant men, enemies of themselves as well as of others, on account of their bewilderment abuse to-day this Great Vehicle, being troubled by its extreme excellence and its extreme depth.

80. This Great Vehicle is composed of many virtues such as those of liberality, morality, patience, energy, meditation, wisdom, compassion ; how is it therefore possible that there is in it any wrong utterance ?

81. By liberality and morality one realizes the profit of others ; by patience and energy one's own profit ; meditation and wisdom are conducive to liberation. This is the summary of the contents of the Great Vehicle.

82. The teaching of Buddha is condensed in precepts which are salutary to others as well as to oneself and are conducive to liberation. They are included in the six perfections ; therefore this (Great Vehicle) is indeed the utterance of Buddha.

83. That Great Vehicle, in which the Buddhas have shown the great path leading to illumination and consisting in acquisition of moral merits and wisdom, is not seen (by common people) only on account of their ignorance.

84. In so far as he is possessed of inconceivable attributes, the Victorious One is said, in the Great Vehicle, to be endowed with inconceivable attributes like the ether (whose attributes

¹ On account of attachment to small pleasures one cannot miss greater pleasures. The objection here refuted is that sorrow is always sorrow and should therefore be given up.

transcend mind) ; therefore you must allow this majesty of the Buddha.¹

85. Even as regards moral rules only, he remained a field inaccessible to the noble Śāradvatīputra ; how can you not allow that the majesty of Buddha is inconceivable.²

86. According to the Great Vehicle unsubstantiality is considered as absence of birth, but for the other systems void is the destruction of things ; destruction as well as non-birth can in fact be considered identical.³

87. How could, then, the other teachings of Mahāyāna be not acceptable to the wise, since they have realized according to reason the principle of unsubstantiality and the majesty of the Buddhas ?

88. It is very difficult to know what the Buddhas have said in their metaphorical utterances, and therefore having recourse to impartiality you must protect yourself (against the different and contradictory wordings of the law as expounded) in the one Vehicle or in the three Vehicles.⁴

89. Impartiality is not cause of demerit ; but (if you are partial as regards some principle and therefore) you hate (another), this is a cause of sin ; how can that be propitious ? Therefore those who seek their own welfare must not feel any hatred against the Great Vehicle.

90. In the Vehicle of the Auditors there is no mention of the vow of the Bodhisattva nor of his virtue of devolving upon others the fruits of his career. How is it, then, possible

¹ So, according to Tib. : *yon tan mk'a' ltar beam yas pas* ; but MS. : *punyatvāid*.

² This greatness of the Buddha implies also that his revelation, viz. Mahāyāna, must be accepted.

³ This means that unsubstantiality of things is not a novelty preached by Mahāyāna ; it is also asserted by other schools (Hīnayāna). The only difference is that while for Hīnayāna it is *kṛtaka*, viz. the result of a destruction of something existent, for Mahāyāna this unsubstantiality is in fact non-production.

⁴ The teaching of the Buddha being manifold, one must avoid dogmatism ; there are, in fact, various degrees of revelation according to the different mental and moral fitness of individuals.

that one could become a Bodhisattva by following the precepts of that school ?

91. The Buddhas did not state in that Vehicle the blessings necessary in order to obtain the illumination of the Bodhisattva. Who else superior to the Victorious Ones can be an authority on this matter ?

92. From a path which is similar to that of the Auditors and implies in addition the blessings, the sense of the noble truths and the coefficients of illumination, how can a superior fruit of Buddhahood be derived ? ¹

93. In the *sūtras* there is no word designed to enjoin the career towards illumination, but this is said in the Great Vehicle, and therefore it should be accepted by the wise.

94. Just as a master of grammar teaches even the alphabet to disciples, even so the Buddha teaches the law as it may be accessible to those to be converted.²

95. The Buddha in fact preached to some the law so that they could be freed from sin, to others so that they could accomplish meritorious deeds, to others the law based on a duality.³

96. To some others he preached the law beyond duality, deep, terrifying those who are afraid (of such principles) ⁴; to others again the law consisting in the two tenets of compassion and unsubstantiality, viz. the two means leading to illumination.

97. Therefore the good ones must destroy any feeling of opposition against the Great Vehicle and find their supreme spiritual peace in it if they want to attain to perfect illumination.

98. By having faith in the Great Vehicle and by following

¹ This criticism is directed against the Arhats as a stage superior to that of the Auditors.

² Viz. the teaching must be gradual according to the fitness of those to be converted. VV. 94-6 are quoted by Candrakīrti P.P., p. 359, ll. 11 sqq.

³ One is freed from sin after he abstains from *akusala*; the result of meritorious deeds is rebirth among gods, etc.

⁴ Viz. the theory of unsubstantiality of things.

the precepts enjoined in it one attains to the supreme illumination and midway to all happiness.

99. Liberality, morality, patience, truthfulness, are said to be the religion chiefly for the householder ; the essence of this (religion) is compassion ; it must be taken hold of with great energy.

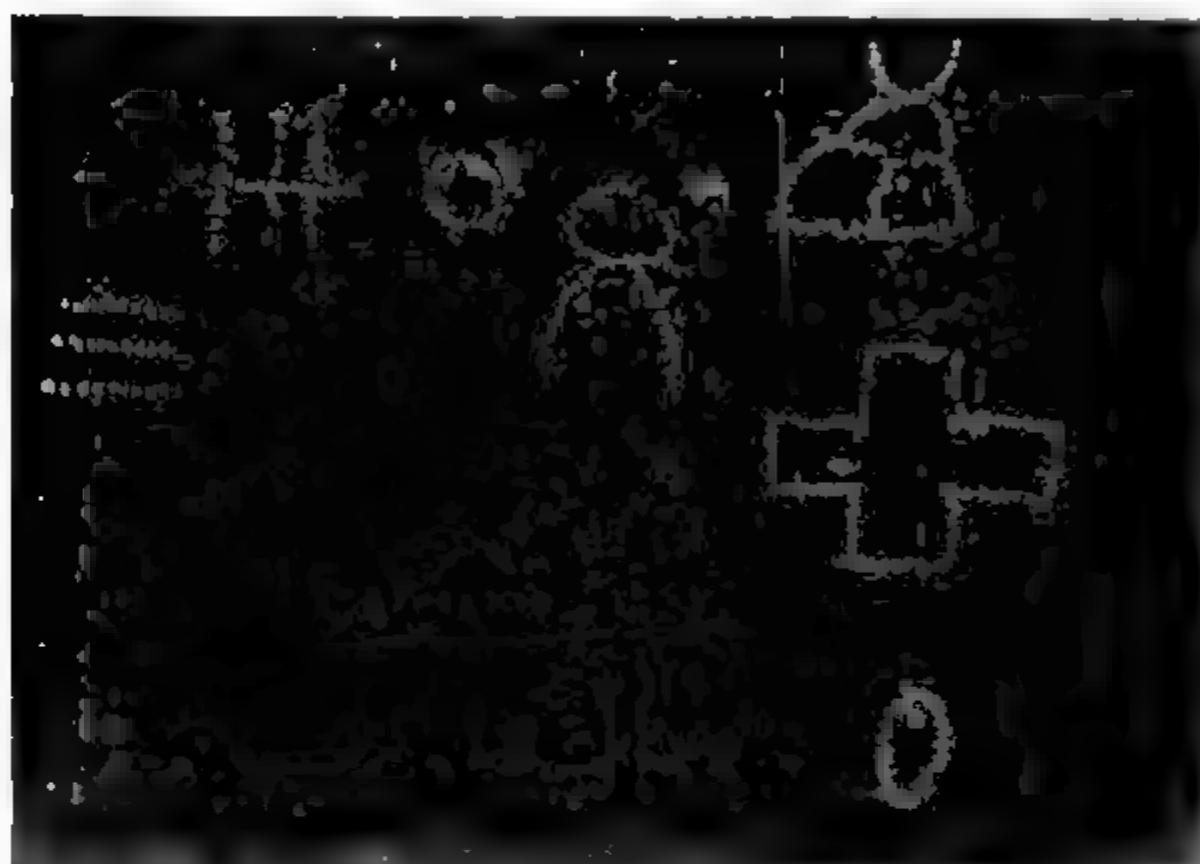
100. If you think that to rule a kingdom according to religion is difficult since world (and religion) are opposite, then, if you strive after glory in religion success will be easy.

268.

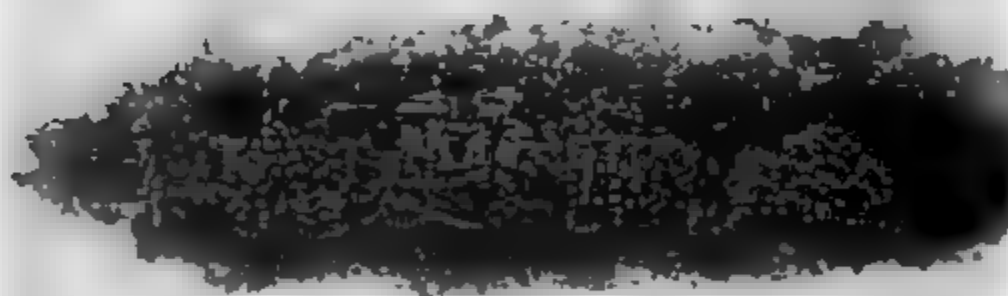


JRAS. 1936.

PLATE II.



(a)



(b)

SYMBOLS ON THE RAMPURWA COPPER BOLT

(a) Group of main symbols. (b) Group of minor symbols.

Maurya Symbols

By K. P. JAYASWAL

(PLATES II-IV)

IN the course of my lecture on “Some Coins of the Mauryas and Śuṅgas”, delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society in June, 1935, I emphasized two symbols found on the signed coins as being essentially Mauryan, namely, the “moon-on-hill”¹ and the hollow cross. What seems a clinching piece of evidence on the question has since become available to me from the **Rāmpurwā copper bolt of Aśoka**, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, through the kindness of my friend, Mr. Durga Prasad, who examined the bolt and found the marks. A rubbing of these on tissue paper given to him by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent in charge of the Archæological Section of the Museum, is reproduced on Plate II. The symbols (written from right to left) are arranged in columns as below (Pl. II (a)) :—

1st col. (in perpendicular order)	(1) “moon-on-hill” (the first dynastic symbol) (2) hollow cross (implying probably the <i>cāturanta</i> empire) ² (3) an eye
2nd col.	(4) the Brāhmī letter <i>m</i> , or “taurine symbol”
3rd col.	(5) a circle (denoting pillar)

¹ I may mention here that I have previously suggested that the three arches of the “hill” may be a combination of the Brāhmī letters *g* and *tt* (*gutta*, to be read with the sign of *candra* above). The arches may or may not represent a monogram; but the theory that *Candra* is meant seems at all events to be sound and beyond controversy, as we have the same crescent (without the arches) on the gold coins of Candragupta I, the Gupta, denoting the same name (Allan, *G.C.*, p. 9, pl. iii). I am making use of a non-controversial, neutral description: “moon (*candra*) [placed] on [a] hill.”

² Cf. the Pāli *cāturanta-vijitāvī*, an emperor (*cakravartin*) having empire (country) up to the four ends (i.e. the whole of India). The inscription of Khāravela contains the term in line 1.

4th col. (6) sketch of a capital, marking the position of the bolt

5th col. (7) the Brāhmī numeral 3

Marks (5), (6), and (7) are erection marks in the masonic language of Aśoka's artisans and engineers (*śilpa-lipi*).¹ This becomes evident from a comparison of these marks with those inscribed on the bottom of the Mauryan pillar at Kumhrār (see Plate III (a)),² where the eight circles furnish a partial plan indicating the situation of the pillar as the eighth in the third row (denoted by the Brāhmī numeral 3), which accords exactly with its position on Dr. Spooner's plan (*ASR.* 1912-13, p. 69, pl. xli). This opinion is based on that of a technical man, an engineer, to whom the explanation spontaneously suggested itself at first sight (*E.I.*, xxii, 3, n.).

Mark (6) indicates the position of the bolt between the capital and the shaft. Mark (7), i.e. the numeral 3, is difficult to explain; possibly this was the third pillar of a group intended for the locality: we have at Rāmpurwā two pillars still standing, and there might have been a third one. These pillars must have been made in the district of Mīrzāpur, where alone the stone of which they are fashioned is found, and thence transported to Champāran. In the circumstances such numbering would be necessary on the pillars and accessories.

On another side of the bolt there are much smaller figures, which are not very clear (see Plate II (b)). This group appears to show (reading from the left) a *svastika* and a pair of trees flanking a square object (indistinct); the group ends with a "hill". These occupy a very secondary position.

¹ Dr. Hirananda Sastri, P.T., 6th All-India Oriental Conference, p. 11.

² Cf. D. B. Spooner, *ASR.*, 1912-13, p. 78, pl. xlix; K. P. Jayaswal, *E.I.*, xxii, 3, n. Spooner's plate is slightly defective in that it shows only three arrow-mark indicators, instead of four; and the letters *thaḥḥa* or *tha[m]ḥa* at the left-hand corner, *maurya* (r. to l.) opposite the "moon-on-hill" symbol, and the *ś* sign to *mā* near the figure 3 have not come out clearly.

The prominent and important marks are those described above, the most conspicuous being the symbols (1) to (4). Of these (1) to (3) constitute one group. The first two recur on all the signed coins of the dynasty. The fourth is, if not invariably, very frequently there; on the cast coins found, about 1,000 in number, at the Maurya level, and higher, at Bulandībāgh, it is always found. It may be recalled here that the mark (4) is an inverted *m*, which is an archaic form met with on a Patna seal (Abhayavarman's, *JBORS.* x, 189) and at Bhattiprolu. It had gone out of use in writing in the time of Aśoka, but it seems to have lingered in the monumental artist's language. On all the cast coins we find it in the same inverted form; but in Aśoka's inscription at Dhauli¹ we have an ordinary Aśokan *m*, which Cunningham recognized as such. On Taxila coins bearing the Maurya marks we find it in the Aśokan scriptorial form (see Cunningham, *CAI.*, pl. ii, 8).²

Comparison with Maurya Pottery Seals.—The eye symbol (3) is met with on the punch-marked silver coins of Taregnā³ in the Patna district (see Plate IV (e)), which must be regarded as a Maurya hoard by reason of the symbols on the coins. It is also found in a seal impressed on bowls evidently supplied to soldiers by the Maurya government; these were dug out by Dr. Spooner and Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh at Bulandībāgh; they were found along with swords, camels' bones, and parts of chariots, etc., among the palisades that had been manned by soldiers. Some specimens of this seal are illustrated in Plate IV.⁴ They came from the Maurya

¹ Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, pl. opposite p. 116.

² Probably the Persian sigloi bearing *m* in Kharoṣṭhī (*JRAS.*, 1895, pp. 865, 875; we find there also Brāhmī *m* and *mo*, see Nos. 19 and 20) are countermarks of the Mauryas signifying validity (*Arthasāstra*, ch. 32; also ch. 26). The *rūpadarśaka*, who validated coins, was stationed at the treasury (ch. 26), while the *lakṣaṇādhyakṣa*, the mint-master, had a different office.

³ Taregnā hoard, coin n. 8301, Patna Museum.

⁴ (a) pottery, 1916 Excavation, No. 10, depth 18 feet (Spooner); (b) pottery, 1923 Excavation, No. 262, depth 17 feet (Ghosh); (c) dagger blade, 1915

level. The seal group comprises four symbols, three of which are found on the bolt (see Plate II (a), 1st col., Nos. (1) to (3)). The fourth symbol on the seal reads *bi* in Brāhmī. This symbol by itself may be traced on two daggers recovered from 19 ft. 6 in. and 16 ft. levels (see Plate IV, (c), (d)), the earliest Maurya levels at Bulandibāgh. In the light of the *Arthasāstra* direction (ch. 93; cf. also ch. 50) that equipment supplied to soldiers should be inscribed with the royal monogram, I take it to be the initial of Bindusāra.

With succeeding generations the marks on seals were changed. This is proved by the seal on an entire bowl¹ (reproduced in Plate III (b)), wherein the group consists of only two symbols, the "moon-on-hill" and the eye. The bowls found below Maurya level have only a lotus (*padma*, possibly indicating Padma Nanda?).² Private pottery found during the recent sewerage excavations at Patna (1935) does not bear any seal.

Coins.—I reproduce here (see Plate IV (f)) one specimen of the cast coins recovered from the earliest Maurya level at Bulandibāgh.³ It bears identically the same marks as the coin found 15 inches below the Aśoka level at Sārnāth, i.e. below the ground level of the pillar and the Gandhakuṭi.⁴ These coins bear the symbols (1), (2), and (3), while symbol (4) is found not only on the Taregnā coins, as already stated, but also on the Pāṭaliputra seals. All these four symbols, therefore, had evidently been used before Aśoka's day, i.e. they had come down from the time of Candragupta and Bindusāra.

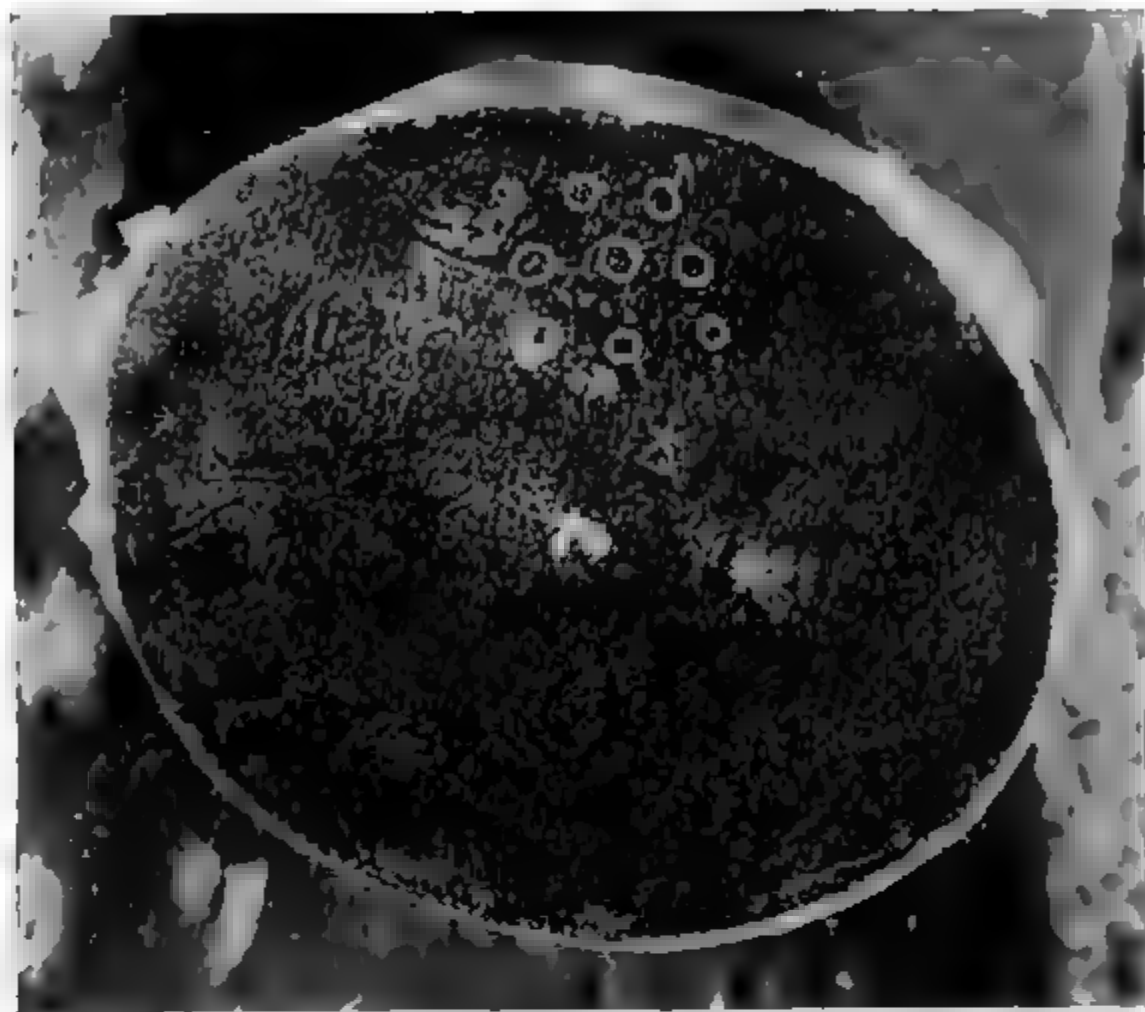
Excavation, No. 1, depth 19 ft. 6 in. (Spooner); (d) dagger blade, 1916 Excavation, No. 6, depth 19 feet (Spooner). These details of level are taken from the original excavation records now at the Patna Museum.

¹ 1927-8 Excavation, No. 51, depth 12 ft. 2 in. (Ghosh).

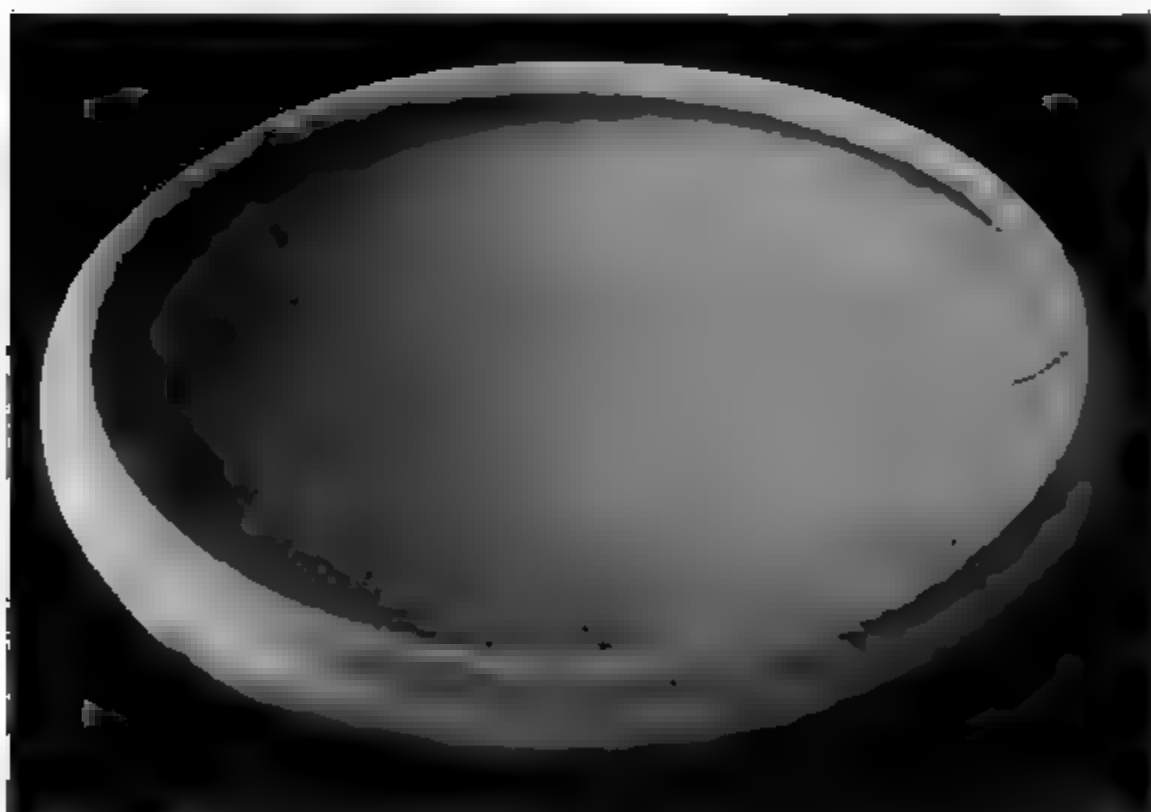
² The same lotus mark is found on the Golakhpur coins (*JBORS.* v, p. 72, pl. iv). It may be noted that none of the Golakhpur coins bears any Maurya symbol.

³ Bulandibāgh, cast, copper, No. 231, of 1915-16, depth 21 feet.

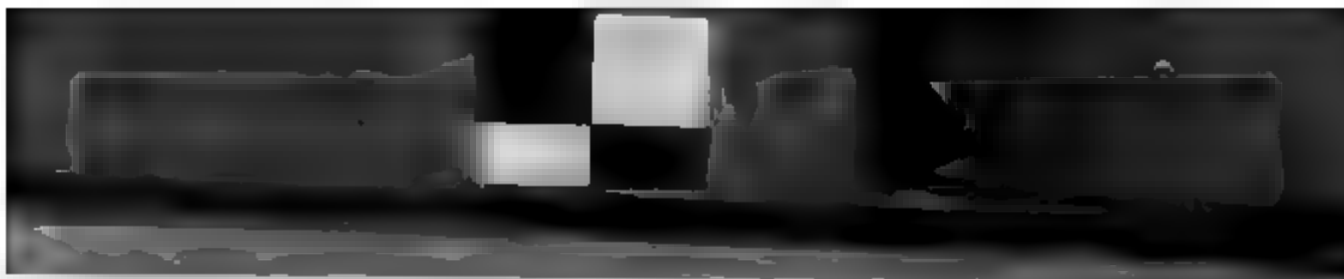
⁴ R. P. Chanda, *ASR.*, 1927-8, p. 95, pl. xxxvii, fig. 2. The additional symbols are the *svastika*, so prominent at Jaugada, an elephant facing (that is, on) the standard, and a tree.

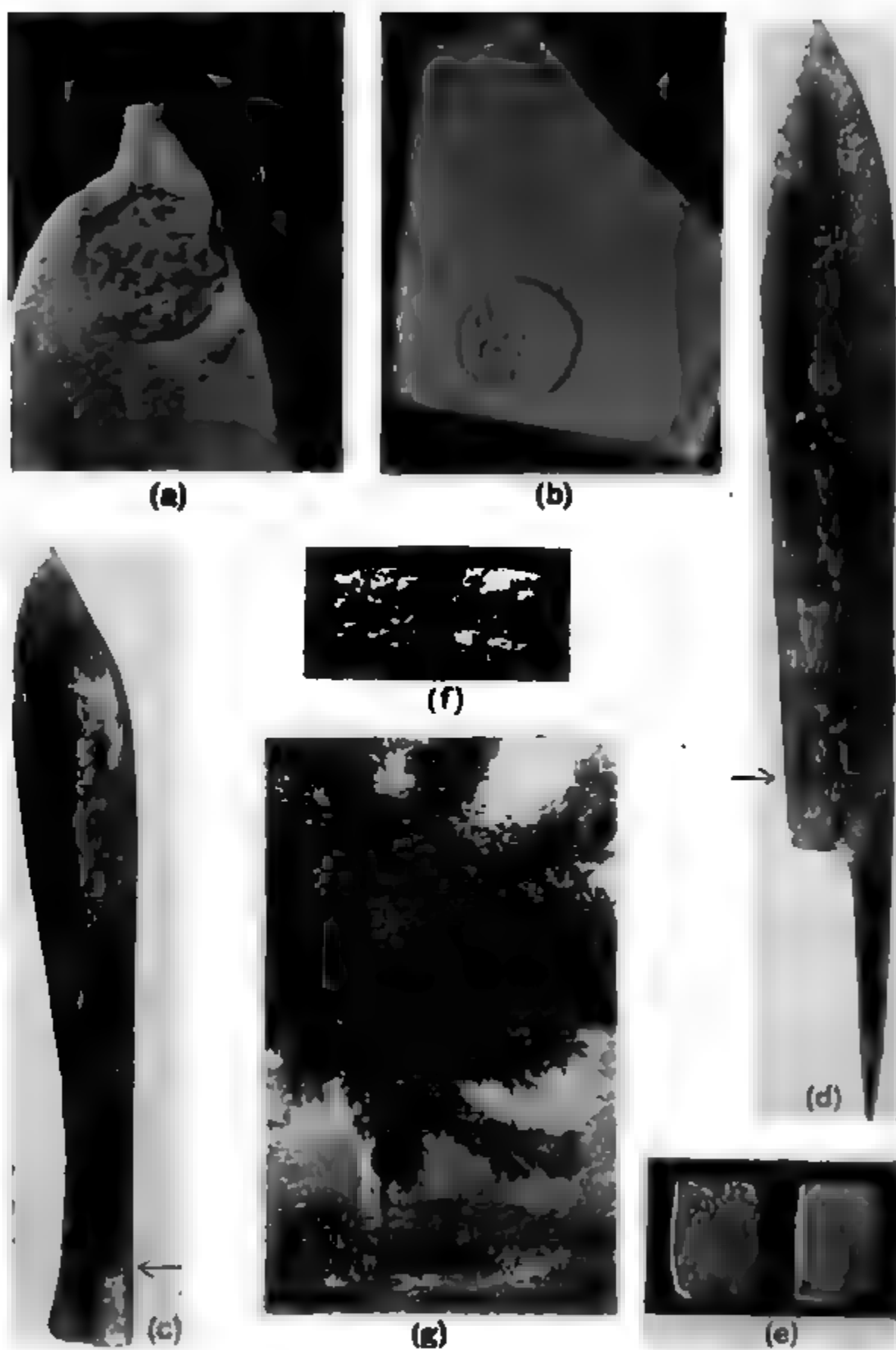


(a) BASE OF PILLAR FROM MAURYA HALL, KUMHRAR,
with erection marks, royal monogram with *candra* and name "Maurya"

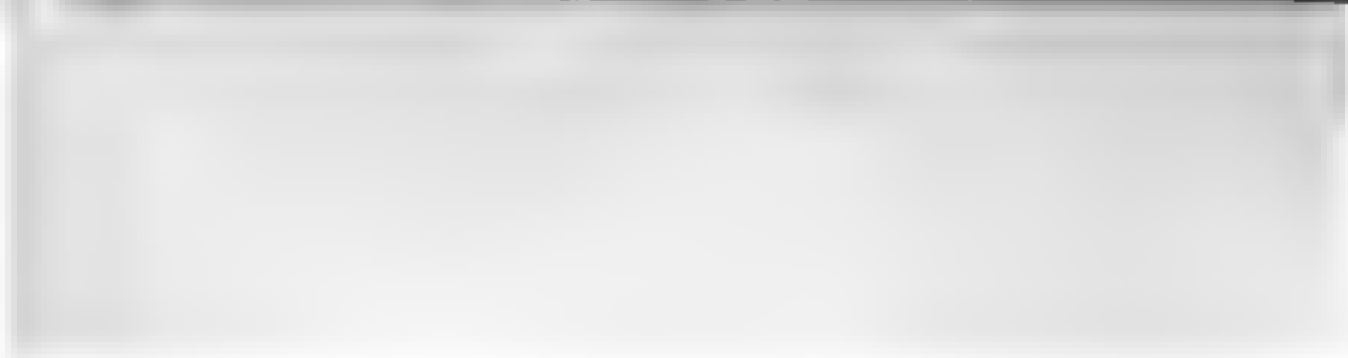
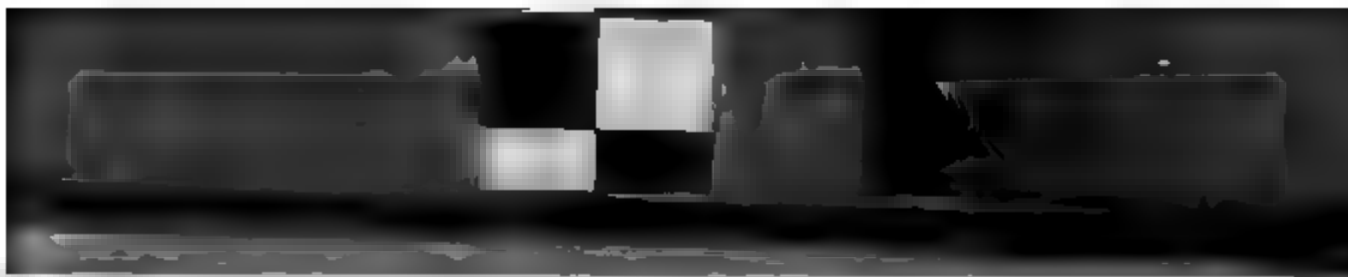


(b) POTTERY BOWL, MARKED WITH SEAL, FOUND AT BULANDIBAGH.





(a) & (b) Seals on pottery from Bulandibagh.
 (c) & (d) Daggers from earliest Maurya levels, Bulandibagh.
 (e) Silver coin from Taregna, Patna district.
 (f) Cast coin from Bulandibagh.
 (g) *Pāṭali* tree growing in Patna Museum garden.

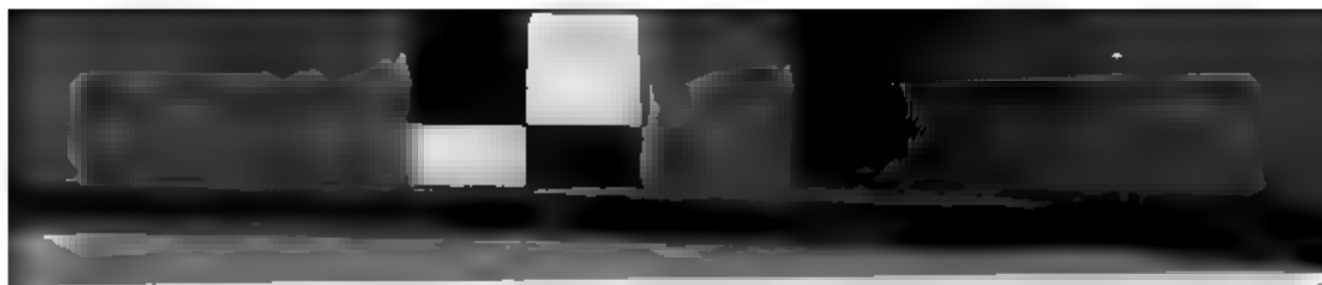


The cast coins of Patna bear a symbol of tree-leaves, which resemble those of the *pāṭali* tree¹ (see Plate IV (g)²), while all the other symbols except this are found on the Taxila coins. The tree thus seems to be a local, Māgadhan, symbol.

The identical symbols occurring on the Rāmpurwā bolt must be contemporaneous with Aśoka, since it could not have been engraved after it had been fixed in the capital of the column. Symbols (1) to (4) are the most conspicuous. Nos. (1), (2), and (3), which are grouped separately, appear to be government marks ; their recurrence on the coins and in the seals on government pottery seems to leave no doubt as to their official character. No. (4), the *m* or “taurine symbol”, which is inscribed separately, seems to have been an ancient symbol adopted by Maurya sovereigns as an official or semi-official mark.

¹ *Stereospermum suaveolens*, the *Bignonia suaveolens* of Roxburgh.

² Note particularly the pinnate form of the leaves at the end of the lowest branch on the right.



Two Royal Titles of the Early Sinhalese, and the Origin of Kingship in Ancient Ceylon.

By S. PARANAVITTANA

AMONG the royal titles used by the early Sinhalese kings there are two which, as royal titles, were not adopted by any of the dynasties known to us in India, and were therefore peculiar to Ceylon. An investigation into the history of these two titles is likely to throw some light on the origin of kingship in ancient Ceylon, and I therefore propose in this paper to pursue this line of study so far as the material available at present allows us to do so. The conclusions at which I have arrived by a study of the available data on this may not, in the present state of our knowledge, be taken as definitely established; but they might, nevertheless, be worthy of consideration by scholars interested in the early history of the Sinhalese people.

Of these two titles the first that we shall take into consideration is *gāmaṇī*. In the chronicles, this title occurs as a part of the personal name of some of the kings belonging to the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the first Sinhalese king of whose name the title *gāmaṇī* formed a part was the celebrated Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya (*circa* 101–77 B.C.),¹ the national hero of the Sinhalese people. Even before him, in times which were still semi-mythical, a prince called Dīgha-gāmaṇī, the father of Paṇḍukābhaya, is mentioned in the chronicles. After Duṭṭhagāmaṇī this title forms part of the names, as given in the chronicles, of Vaṭṭa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya (*circa* 44–17 B.C.), Āmaṇḍa-Gāmaṇī Abhaya (*circa* A.D. 79–89), and Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇī (*circa* A.D. 173–195). If we depend on the chronicles alone we have to take *gāmaṇī* as a personal name, in which

¹ The dates of kings given in this paper follow Dr. Wickremasinghe's Chronological Table, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. iii, pp. 1–47.

case even it is worth inquiring how such an unusual personal name, not found as such among the Āryans of India, came to be adopted in Ceylon. But from a study of the early inscriptions of the island it becomes quite evident that *gāmaṇī* was not a personal name, but a title; and that it was adopted by many more kings than those above mentioned, of whom it occurs as a personal name in the *Mahāvamsa*.

The inscriptions refer, so far as is now known, to Uttiya, Saddhā Tissa, Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, and several others by the title *gāmaṇī*; and it seems justifiable to hold that the title was used by many other kings as well. There are a number of inscriptions which refer to the reigning king by the title *Gamaṇi Abaya* alone, without any other particulars which enable us to identify him with any king mentioned in the chronicles.

The word *gāmaṇī* is the same as Skt. *grāmaṇī* and is found in inscriptions as *gamaṇi* or *gamiṇi*. *Grāmaṇī* means the leader of the *grāma*, the most familiar meaning of which is 'village', but which bears also the connotation of 'community', 'multitude', 'troop', etc. This meaning of the word was quite well-known to the author of the *Mahāvamsa*, for he explains that prince *Gāmaṇī* was so called because he was the lord of *Mahāgāma*. On the same reasoning, it may be explained that the *Anurādhapura* princes, who had this title or name, were so called because they were lords of *Anurādhagāma*.¹

As *Duṭṭhagāmaṇi* was the first king who, according to the chronicles, had this title and as he came from Rohaṇa, Professor Wilhelm Geiger has come to the conclusion that the title itself originated among the Rohaṇa princes. In his article "Königsnamen in den Brahmi-Inschriften Ceylons"²

¹ *Anurādhapura* was known to Ptolemy as *Anurogrammon*, i.e. *Anurādhagāma*. See McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 250.

² In *Festschrift für M. Winternitz zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1933, pp. 313-321.

he says: "Der Titel Gāmaṇi stammt sicher aus Rohaṇa und sein erster Trager war Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. In eine altere Zeit dürfen wir also keine Inschrift hinaufrücken, in der diese Bezeichnung vorkommt." Professor Geiger was quite justified in making this statement when he wrote the above mentioned article, but an inscription has since been discovered which makes it inaccurate. The record in question is from a cave at Mihintalē¹ and refers to King Uttiya as Gamaṇi Uti Maharaja, thus proving that the title *gāmaṇi* was used by kings who reigned long before Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. King Uttiya was the younger brother and successor of Devānampiya Tissa, the contemporary of Aśoka; and he is the earliest king who can definitely be identified in the inscriptions of Ceylon. But there is no reason why some of the inscriptions mentioning a king called Gamaṇi Tisa, without giving any further details that would help us in identifying him, may not be attributed to Devānampiya Tissa. In any case, the title was used by the earliest king of whom we have contemporary records; and there is no reason to believe that he assumed it for the first time.

It was not by the princes of Anurādhapura and Māgama only that the title *gāmaṇi* was used. The inscriptions at Bōvattegala show us that the title was also used by princes who ruled the south-eastern part of the island and who appear to be identical with the *kṣatriyas* of Kājaragāma mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.²

The word *grāmaṇi* occurs frequently in the Vedic literature. It is usually taken to mean 'the headman of the village'; but the *grāmaṇi*, in Vedic times, seems to have been a more important personage than the village headman is at present in India, and presumably had military functions to perform. In Pāli writings *gāmaṇi* not only means 'a headman', but is also used as the title of the leader of any kind of corporation,

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1933*, p. 14.

² See *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, vol. ii, pp. 99 ff. and 175-6.

political, military, mercantile, etc.¹ In Vedic times and in the time of the redaction of the Pāli canon *grāmaṇī* (P. *gāmaṇī*) was essentially a Vaiśya title, and does not appear to have been ever borne by a Kṣatriya.²

In ancient Ceylon, too, the title does not seem to have been exclusively royal. A Brāhmī inscription, still unpublished, found in a cave near Nāvalār tank in the Pānama Pattu of the Eastern Province mentions a person named Paduma, who is given the title *Ati-acariya-gamaṇi*. The word *ati-acariya* is the same as the Pāli *hatthācariya*, and the person mentioned here must have been the head of a company of warriors who fought on elephant-back, or possibly a band of elephant-trainers. It is interesting to compare the expression *ati-acariya-gamaṇi* of the Ceylon inscription with *hatthāsoho gāmaṇī*³ occurring in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and Buddhaghosa's interpretation of *gāmaṇī* as *hatthācariya*.⁴

The question may now be asked why the kings of Ceylon used this unpretentious title, never used by the kings of India, side by side with such appropriate royal epithets as *rājā*, *mahārājā*, *devānampiya*, etc. In my opinion the answer to this question is that the title was a legacy of the times when the forbears of the early kings of Ceylon ruled the island, or, at least, such parts of it as were then colonized, not as kings but as elected popular leaders of the community (*gāmaṇīs*).

¹ For *grāmaṇī* in Vedic literature see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 247; Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum R̥gveda*, s.v.; N. N. Law, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 88; R. C. Majumadar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 133, and Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 93. For *gāmaṇī* in Pāli literature, the following passages may be referred to: *Vinaya Pīṭaka*, Oldenberg's edition, vol. ii, pp. 296-7; *Anguttara Nikāya*, P.T.S. edition, vol. iii, p. 76; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, P.T.S. edition, vol. iv, pp. 305 ff.; *Thera Gāthā*, P.T.S. edition, p. 71; *Jātaka* (Fausboll's edition), iv, p. 351; vi, p. 579; ii, pp. 258 and 300.

² A king named Gāmaṇī is the hero of the Gāmaṇī Jātaka (*Jātaka*, i, p. 136). In the canonical verse of this Jātaka, however, there is nothing to show that *gāmaṇī* was the name of a king. It is only in the Commentary, written in Ceylon in the fifth century, that King Gāmaṇī is mentioned.

³ P.T.S. edition, vol. iv, p. 310.

⁴ *Jātaka*, vol. v, p. 260.

But before developing this theme, it is necessary to dwell upon another title of the Sinhalese kings, the interpretation of which leads us to the same conclusion.

This is the title *maparumaka*, *mapurumuka*, or *mapurumu*, which first occurs in inscriptions in the third century A.D.,¹ and continues in use till the ninth century in the forms *mapurmukā* and *mapurum*.² The title has not so far been found in an inscription earlier than the third century, and it does not occur at all in the chronicles. This title, it is evident, is a corruption of *mahaparumaka* (Skt. *mahā-pramukha*, P. *mahāpamukha* or *mahā-pāmokkha*). Though *mahaparumaka* itself does not occur in the earliest inscriptions, the epithet *parumaka* is found very frequently in them, but not as a royal title. It is rather strange that when the royal title *mapurumuka* first occurs in the inscriptions the title *parumaka* is no longer found in them.

The difference in meaning between these two titles is one of degree only, the royal title having *maha* (great) prefixed to the less pretentious one. Therefore it is necessary for us to find out what exactly is the significance of the title *parumaka*. There can be hardly any doubt that this word is the same as the Sanskrit *pramukha* and the Pāli *pamukha* or *pāmokkha*.³ The Pāli word *pamukha* is often used to denote the president of a guild or corporation (*śreṇi*)⁴; and some of the *parumakas* met with in early inscriptions might have been the heads of such bodies, particularly in view of the fact that the existence in early Ceylon of such corporate bodies is attested by the Brāhmī inscriptions. The Pāli word *pāmokkha* is also used to denote the president or leader of a corporation (*gaṇa-pāmokkha*).

¹ See *A.S.C. Seventh Progress Report*, p. 47.

² See *E.Z.*, vol. i, pp. 25 and 38.

³ It has been suggested that *parumaka* is derived from Tamil *perumakan*. This is hardly likely. If there is any connection between the two words, it appears to be from the fact that the Tamil word itself is derived from the Skt. *pramukha*.

⁴ Radhakumud Mukherjee, *Local Government in Ancient India*, p. 47.

There is also evidence in Pāli literature to show that *pāmokkha* was the title given to the nobles who formed the aristocratic republics which existed in North India in the Buddha's time. In the *Vessantara Jātaka* the word *pāmokkha*, occurring in the passage *taṃ dīrva Cetapāmokkhā rodamānā upāgamum*,¹ is explained by the commentator as *rājāno*, 'kings' (*Cetapamokkhā ti Cetarājāno*). In the course of the narrative it is stated that in the tribe of the Cetas there were 60,000 such *pāmokkhas*. As it is absurd to believe that there were so many 'kings' in one single tribe, we must interpret this word in the same manner as the epithet *rājā* applied to the Licchavis is explained. It is said that there were 7,707 *rājās* at one and the same time among the Licchavis, and it is now agreed by all scholars that these *rājās* were not 'kings' in the usual sense of the word, but members of the republican assembly which ruled that tribe.² The *pāmokkhas* among the Cetas must have also been similar. The numbers in both instances are certainly much exaggerated.

The old Sinhalese *parumaka* being the same as the Pāli *pāmokkha*, it is, I think, not unreasonable to assume that the persons called *parumakas* in ancient Ceylon were of the same status as the *pāmokkhas* among the Cetas and other republican tribes of ancient India. If this be so the title *maparumaka* and its variants, used by the ancient kings of Ceylon, may be taken as pointing to a time when a republican form of government prevailed in the island. Such a form of government might not have prevailed in the times when the Brāhmī inscriptions containing the title were indited. But it is a well-known fact that names and titles survive the forms of government with which they were originally associated.

From the evidence supplied by the many hundreds of Brāhmī inscriptions in Ceylon it appears that the number of persons in Ceylon who held the title *parumaka* must have been very large. There were probably many hundreds of them at the

¹ *Jātaka*, vi, p. 515.

² See B. C. Law, *Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 85.

same time. In social status the *parumakas* seem to have been only one degree removed from that of the king. An inscription,¹ found in a cave at Sässēruva in the Kurunāgala District, informs us that a *parumaka* named Rakaraki was the husband of a princess who was the daughter of a king named Devanapiya Gamaṇi Abaya, identified by Mr. Bell with Vaṭṭa Gāmaṇi Abhaya. It appears, therefore, that the relation of the king to the *parumakas* was nothing more than *primus inter pares*. In later times, when the doctrine of the divinity of kings had been fully developed in Ceylon, the giving in marriage of a royal princess to one who was not of royal blood, however exalted though he might have been in rank, was unthinkable. All the evidence so far given goes to prove that in the age of the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Ceylon, memories and practices were prevalent of a time when there existed forms of government other than monarchical.

The hypothesis that we have put forward, namely that the earliest rulers of Ceylon were not kings, but were popularly elected leaders called *gāmaṇīs*, seems to gain support from a statement in the *Mahāvamsa-tīkā*, which also further enables us to guess as to who was the first ruler in Ceylon to assume kingly honours. The commentator, after his explanation of verses 25–33 of chapter xi of the chronicle, which give a list of the various things sent by Aśoka for the consecration of Devānampiya Tissa, gives an interesting account of the *abhiṣeka* ceremony in Ceylon, and in the course of his explanatory remarks occurs the following significant passage :

Imasmim pana dīpe Devānampiya Tissassa muddhani Dhammāsoken'eva idha pesitā khattiyakumārī yeva Anotatto-dakapunnena sāmuddikadakkhiṇāvattasamkkena abhiseko-dakam abhisiñcī ti veditabbam. Tate pubbe pana idisam abhisekagahaṇam nāma natthi. Kevalam navayatṭhiyā eva rajjam kariṃsu. Pacehā pana Devānampiya Tisse rājā attano sahāyassa Dhammāsokarañño ito rathapatodayatṭhādayo

¹ See Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 444, where, however, that portion of the inscription containing the name of the princess's husband is omitted.

mahārahe paṇṇākāre pesesi. So pi to divvā paṇḍitvā ativiya tutho "imehi atirekatarāṃ kiṃ nāma mahaggaṃ paṭi-paṇṇākāraṃ sahāyassa me pesissāmā" ti amaccehi saddhiṃ mantetvā Laṃkādīpe abhisekapaṇihāraṃ pucchitvā "Na aññaṃ abhisekapaṇihāraṃ nāma atthi, kevalaṃ navayattīyā eva kira so rajjaṃ kareti" 'ti sutvā "Sādhu vata me sahāyassa abhisekapaṇihāraṃ pesissāmā" 'ti vatvā sāmuddikasamkhādini tīṇi samkhāni Gaṅgodakaṃ ca aruṇavaṇṇa-mattikaṃ ca atthattā khattiyabrāhmaṇagahapatikaññāyo ca atthattāṃ eva suvaṇṇa-sajjhulohamattikāmayaghaṭe ca atthahi khattiyakulehi saddhiṃ atthā amaccakulāni cā ti evaṃ sabbattākaṃ nāma idha pesesi "Imehi me sahāyassa abhisekaṃ karoṭhā" ti. Te paṭipāṭiya bhatapaṇṇākāraṃ idha āharitvā vuttanayena abhisiñcimsu.¹

"It should be known that in this island, a Khattiya maiden sent by Dhammāsoka poured the lustral water on the head of Devānampiya Tissa from a right-spiralled chank produced in the sea, and filled with water from the (lake) Anotatta. Before that there was no such receiving of the unction. They wielded the sovereignty merely by (the authority of) a new staff. Later, however, King Devānampiya Tissa sent from here costly presents such as the chariot-goad-staff to his friend, King Dhammāsoka. He (Dhammāsoka), having seen those presents, was highly pleased; and, thinking, 'What return presents of greater value than these shall I send to my friend,' took counsel with his ministers and inquired after the consecration ceremonies in the island of Laṅkā. He heard that there was no consecration ceremony there, but that he (Devānampiya Tissa) rules merely by (the authority of) a new staff. He then said: 'Well, then, I shall send to my friend the objects necessary for the consecration,' and sent here three chanks, including a chank produced in the sea, water from the Ganges, ruddy coloured mud, eight each of Khattiya, Brāhmaṇa, and Gahapati virgins, eight each of gold, silver, bronze, and earthen pots, eight Khattiya

¹ *Vāṇatthappakāsaṇi*, commentary on the *Mahāvamsa*, P.T.S. edition, vol. i, p. 306.

families, eight families of ministers—thus including eight of everything (necessary for consecration)—saying: ‘Perform the anointing of my friend with these.’ They (the envoys) in due course came here with the presents and anointed (Tissa) as aforesaid.”

The commentator says that the details regarding the *abhiṣeka* ceremony given here are taken from the commentary to the *Cūḷa Sihanāda Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* in the *Sīhaḷatṭhakathā* (the old Sinhalese commentary of the Pāli canon).¹ Thus it would be seen that the passage quoted above, though occurring in a work of comparatively late date, preserves a very old tradition—older than the *Mahāvamsa* narrative—and is worthy of credence.

From the above it becomes clear that before Devānampiya Tissa, the rulers of Ceylon did not have the *abhiṣeka* ceremony performed on them. And, according to Indian belief, it is impossible to think of a king who is not consecrated by the *abhiṣeka*, which is a necessary rite before a prince is acknowledged as sovereign. The Vedic and Purāṇic literatures give elaborate details of the ceremonies which have to be performed on the *abhiṣeka* of a king.² In the Pāli canon the expression *rañño khattiyassa muddhāvasittassa* (of the Kṣatriya king, anointed on the head) is one of frequent occurrence,³ and the commentators have supplied us with interesting details regarding this ceremony. The later Sinhalese inscriptions, in referring to kings and queens, are particular to mention the fact of their consecration.⁴ The only

¹ In the *Cūḷa Sihanāda Sutta*, occurring in the *Majjhima Nikāya* (P.T.S. edition, vol. i, pp. 63–8) there is nothing in the contents which would reasonably have given a commentator the justification for inserting, in his comments, a long account of the *abhiṣeka* ceremony of Devānampiya Tissa and other historical details. But the author of the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* also says in another place (P.T.S. edition, p. 193) that the details he gives about Aśoka’s birth and childhood were taken from the same source, and it is evident that the old Sinhalese commentary of this Sutta contained legends concerning Devānampiya Tissa and Aśoka.

² See N. N. Law, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 193–4 and 200–3.

³ See, for example, *Dīgha Nikāya*, P.T.S. edition, vol. iii, p. 60.

⁴ See *EZ.*, vol. i, pp. 225 and 237, and vol. iii, p. 300.

reasonable conclusion possible from the evidence that we have so far examined is that, before Devānampiya Tissa, the rulers of Ceylon were not kings, but were leaders of the community deriving their authority from popular sanction. It is quite possible that the title by which they were known was *gāmanī* ('leader' or 'chief').

The *Mahāvamsa*, of course, mentions the *abhiṣeka* of Ceylon rulers earlier than Devānampiya Tissa, for instance, of Vijaya and Paṇḍukābhaya. It is, however, a moot point how much of really historical matter there is in this chronicle before the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon. Even granting that the rulers mentioned earlier than Tissa were historical, the chronicler's referring to them in terms appropriate to royalty can easily be explained. The author of the *Mahāvamsa* lived at a time when the only form of government familiar to the people was the monarchical; and whenever a ruler is mentioned it was natural to assume that he was a king and to attribute to him all the paraphernalia of royalty. Thus a ruler must start his period of power by the *abhiṣeka*. We have, moreover, shown that the passage quoted above from the *ṭīkā* possesses even greater authority than the *Mahāvamsa* itself.

According to the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*, it was reported to Aśoka by the Sinhalese envoys that Tissa and, by inference, also his predecessors, ruled by the authority of a new staff. This work, however, does not inform us how the "new staff" was assumed by the aspirant to the sovereign power, or whether there were any ceremonies connected with this assumption of office. The *Mahāvamsa* itself has a reference, though not explicit, to the staff which, it seems, was the symbol of authority of the rulers of Ceylon before Tissa, for the first time, assumed regal honours. In recounting the miracles which appeared on the accession of Tissa the chronicle says:—

*Chātapabbatapādamhi tisso ca veḷuyatthiyo
Jātā rathapatodena samānā parimāṇato.*¹

¹ *Mahāvamsa*, chap. xi, v. 10.

Professor Geiger translates this verse as “ At the foot of the Chāta mountain there grew up three bamboo stems, in girth even as a wagon pole ”.¹ The word *yat̥ṭhi* is here rendered into English by “ stem ” and *rathapatoda* by “ wagon pole ”. In the case of the second word Professor Geiger, in a footnote, remarks that “ wagon-pole ” “ must be the meaning of *rathapatoda* ”, although *patoda* properly means “ goad ” or “ whip ”. The learned professor’s rendering of this verse is not in keeping with its traditional interpretation among the Sinhalese scholars, as will be seen from the passage in the *Saddharmmālaṅkāra*,² a Sinhalese treatise of the fourteenth century, recounting the happening described in the above verse. It reads : *Śigiri-prāntayehi ek huna-pāṇḍureka rathakāviti pamaṇavū hunadaṇḍu tuṇek upaṇa* “ In a bamboo grove near the Śigiri mountain there appeared three bamboo sticks of the size of cart-goads ”. The word *kāviti*, which means ‘ goad ’ in Sinhalese, is here the equivalent of *patoda*, and what is meant in the Pāli verse by this word must have been the same. If we therefore interpret the above verse in the way it has been understood by Sinhalese scholars of the fourteenth century, the three *yat̥ṭhis*³ which miraculously appeared in the beginning of Devānampiya Tissa’s reign were not so large as wagon poles, but were of the size of a charioteer’s goad, i.e. they could conveniently have been held in the hand. The *yat̥ṭhi* would thus seem to be no more than the staff or sceptre which, according to the *Mahāvamsa-tīkā*, was the symbol of sovereignty in Ceylon before Tissa’s *abhiṣeka*. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, these three rods

¹ Ibid., translation, p. 78. Professor Geiger has later adopted Dr. B. C. Law’s interpretation of *yaṣṭi* (see note 3 below) and has amended his translation accordingly. See *Cūlavamsa*, translation, vol. ii, p. 362.

² Colombo edition of 1924, p. 333.

³ Dr. B. C. Law (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. vi, p. 571) interprets *yat̥ṭhi* as meaning “ necklace ”, as the Sanskrit *yaṣṭi* occurs with that meaning in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya. The whole trend of the *Mahāvamsa* narrative is, however, against the interpretation suggested by Dr. Law. The rendering, according to this interpretation, of the compound *veḷu-yat̥ṭhi* by “ bamboo-necklace ” does not give much sense.

contained magical qualities, and one was an improvement on the famous rod of Aaron. We may conjecture that at that early age, when a chief assumed the sovereign power of the state, those interested saw to it that the wonder-working rods of authority duly appeared to overawe a credulous multitude.

The *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā* speaks of only one *yaṭṭhi* as the staff of authority, whereas the chronicle says that three of them appeared to mark Tissa's accession to power. It is difficult to explain this discrepancy. If at this early age, as in later times, there were three divisions of the island, the three rods might have signified the overlordship of the three different states. But there is no evidence to show that the division of the island into three parts dates from such an early time. However, it is interesting to note in this connection that the *Mahābodhivamsa*¹ mentions three royal parasols of Tissa, named respectively Andha, Coḷa, and Sihaḷa.

According to Indian usage it is a favourite simile to compare leaders of men to charioteers, or to use laudatory epithets connected with chariots. One of the epithets of the Buddha is *sārathi*, 'charioteer', and some of the mythical kings of India bore such names as Bṛhadratha, Daśaratha, etc. In one place the *Mahāvamsa*,² in praising a king, calls him *Sihaḷānam rathesabho* (the chariot-bull of the Sihaḷas). Therefore it is quite appropriate that the symbol of power in ancient Ceylon was a bamboo rod in shape like a charioteer's goad, and supposed to possess miraculous powers.

According to the *Mahāvamsa-ṭīkā*, Aśoka, on his own initiative, inquired after the *abhiṣeka* ceremonies prevailing in Ceylon and, learning that there was no such thing as an *abhiṣeka* in this island, sent all the requisites to perform the function according to Mauryan ritual. But the narrative, both in the chronicle as well as in the commentary, contains certain features which are somewhat puzzling. It is said in the *Mahāvamsa* that Tissa, after his father's death, was duly

¹ P.T.S. edition, p. 164.

² Chap. 49, v. 38.

anointed and became king ; and with this event occurred the miraculous appearance of the three ' rods ' and other treasures. Soon after this Tissa sends an embassy to Aśoka bearing costly presents, among which were included the miraculous rods. Aśoka, having received these presents, consulted his ministers as to what return gifts of greater value he could send to Tissa, and gave to the Sinhalese envoys, not only everything necessary for a king's *abhiṣeka*, not omitting even the minute details as, for instance, earthen vessels, but also all the paraphernalia of a king. The envoys returned to the island with these articles, and performed the second *abhiṣeka* of Tissa amidst great rejoicings. The *ṭīkā*, however, adds the information that there was no *abhiṣeka* in the island prior to this event, and, therefore, what is called Tissa's second *abhiṣeka* in the *Mahāvamsa* was really his only *abhiṣeka*. Aśoka and Tissa are said to have been friends of equal status, though, of course, the superior might and glory of the former is acknowledged. The envoys and presents sent by the Sinhalese ruler and the return presents from the Indian emperor appear in the narrative as mere exchanges of courtesies.

Now it is a most unusual proceeding for a king, when he receives presents from a brother sovereign, to inquire after the details of the latter's consecration and send, as return gifts, the things necessary for this function. It is still more unusual for the latter to receive the royal paraphernalia at the former's hands and to get himself consecrated. The strangeness of the events as detailed in the *Mahāvamsa* has not failed to strike the attention of students of Ceylon history, and Mr. Codrington¹ thinks that Tissa sought confirmation of his sovereignty from Aśoka on account of the commanding position of the latter in India, and also quotes and elaborates Mr. A. M. Hocart's opinion that it may have been due to family connections. These hypotheses, however, do not explain all the unusual features of the story. The strangeness of the

¹ *A Short History of Ceylon*, London, 1929, pp. 12 and 16.

proceedings, however, disappears altogether if we, relying on the evidence supplied by the commentary and the conclusions arrived at by a study of the royal titles occurring in the inscriptions, assume that the real purpose of the mission sent by Tissa, who till then had not enjoyed the status of a king, was to solicit, from the Maurya emperor, investiture with royal honours and titles.

It is quite possible that the omission of this fact in the chronicles written by the monks was deliberate, in order not to detract from the greatness of the king who established Buddhism as the state religion in the island. On the other hand, it might also have occurred owing to a misunderstanding of the course of events on the part of the author of the *Mahāvamsa*. As I have mentioned already, he lived at a time when the only familiar form of government was the monarchical, and it was natural for him to assume that Tissa's accession to power must necessarily have been with the *abhiṣeka*. The details of Tissa's *abhiṣeka* by Aśoka's envoys were too strongly established in tradition to be passed over, and he duly chronicled them without pausing to consider the fact that these are not in harmony with his earlier statement of an *abhiṣeka* of Tissa at his accession to power. The statement in the *Sīhalatthakathā*, preserved for us by the commentator, must, however, have been known to Mahānāma, and it is rather strange that he did not take any notice of it.

The hypothesis that the institution of kingship was introduced to Ceylon by the Emperor Aśoka gains support from the fact that the Mauryan royal title, *devānampīya* ('beloved of the gods'), was assumed by Tissa and was used, as evidenced by the inscriptions, by many of his successors for about two hundred years later. This title, which has been explained by later Brāhmanical writers to mean 'a fool',¹ was distinctive of the Mauryas; and is not known to have been adopted by kings belonging to any other dynasty in India. It appears that when Aśoka conferred the dignity of

¹ Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. xxix.

a king upon Tissa he also permitted the latter to use the title by which he always refers to himself in his own inscriptions.

If the origin of kingship in early Ceylon was such as we have surmised above, the claims of the royal family to belong to the Kṣatriya caste can very well be doubted. The title *grāmaṇī* in Vedic times was distinctive of the Vaiśyas and, in the India of the early Buddhist period, too, there is no reliable evidence that it was ever held by a Kṣatriya. The genealogies found in the early legends, of course, connect Tissa on the one hand with the Śakyas and on the other with the Kṣatriyas of Kalinga and Vaṅga. But the early legends contain so much of popular folk-tale elements, common to many peoples, that no sober student of history would accept them as embodying a genuine historical tradition. The genealogies might very well have been invented, at the time when the kings of Ceylon were firmly established as absolute monarchs, by some court panegyrist who wanted to win their favour by flattering their vanity. Such invented genealogies connecting kings of plebeian origin with one or other of the two mythical dynasties of the Sun and Moon are familiar enough to students of Indian history. In this connection it is noteworthy that in the version of the *Siṃhaḷa* legend found in the Sanskrit *Divyāvadāna* ¹—a work earlier in date than the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon ²—the eponymous hero of the Sinhalese people was the son of a merchant, and not, as in the *Mahāvamsa*, a king's son. He came to the island as the leader of a band of merchants and might have borne the title *gāmaṇī*, as did the chief of a company of merchants mentioned in the *Mahāvāṇija Jātaka*.³ This adds further support to the theory that the kings of Ceylon were of popular origin. It seems probable that the *Divyāvadāna* has preserved a version of the account of the colonization of Ceylon by the North Indian Aryans, which

¹ Edited by Cowell and Neil, pp. 523–8.

² Winternitz ascribes this work to about the third century of the Christian era. See *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Band ii, p. 223.

³ *Jātaka*, iv, p. 351.

is closer to actual facts than is that preserved in the Ceylon chronicles. It is easy to imagine how the stories could have been modified in this island in such a manner as to give more prestige to the royal line with whose origin they are concerned.

The conclusions that we have arrived at receive some measure of support from an account of the status of the king in ancient Ceylon given by Solinus Polyhistor, a Roman writer who flourished in the first century A.D. He says: "In the election of their king noble birth did not avail, for the people chose him who was most gentle and discreet and without children. A father was never elevated under any circumstances, and should he become one after his election he was deposed. The sovereignty was strictly elective and not hereditary. Moreover, though the monarch had ever so great a regard for justice, he was never permitted singly to dispense it, but in all matters of life and death was assisted by a council of forty, and there was finally a court of appeal presided over by seventy judges."¹ This account should not, of course, be taken as literally true. The Roman writer does not seem to have ever visited this island, and his information must have been received through several intermediaries, in which process the actual facts must have been distorted; or he may have misunderstood his informant. The injunction which, according to him, was enforced on the king against fatherhood must have originated from confusion in the mind of the Roman writer between what he heard about the king and what was related to him of the heads of the Buddhist Church. Nevertheless, his statements about the king in ancient Ceylon being elected and about the limitation of the sovereign's powers were possibly due to the reminiscence, on the part of his informant, of the times when the island was governed by a popularly elected leader called *gāmaṇī*.

From the evidence we have so far given we are perhaps justified in making the following conjectures as to the course of events which ended in the establishment of a monarchy

¹ Pridham, *Ceylon and its Dependencies*, vol. i, p. 8.

in Ceylon. The colonization of the island was probably not effected so suddenly nor under such romantic circumstances as the Pāli chronicles would have us believe. The immigrants to the island were probably not led by the scion of a royal house of India, but, as we may conclude from the story given in the *Divyāvadāna*, by adventurous merchants who, in all ages and climes, were the pioneers in exploring new lands. There was almost certainly more than one stream of immigrants, probably not from the same quarter; and each must have had its own leader. We learn from the Pāli writings that in the Buddha's time merchants of North India travelled in ships to distant lands in search of wealth, and some of these bold mariners must certainly have been attracted to this island by the pearls which were found on its north-western littoral and the precious stones which the interior of the island yielded. In course of time some of these adventurers must have noticed the fertility of the island's soil, and must have settled down in order to supply the valued merchandise to their compatriots who periodically visited its shores. As these settlements spread and increased they must have felt the necessity of some form of government and, in the circumstances in which they were placed, the most natural form of government must have been to elect one of their number as the magistrate of each settlement. It is also probable that some at least of the immigrants came from such parts of India as were under republican forms of government, for the existence of which, at the very time when Ceylon was gradually coming into the Aryan pale, we have ample evidence in Pāli literature as well as in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and other sources.¹ It is probably the descendants of the leaders of the various settlements who are called *parumakas* in the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions. As time went on these various settlements must certainly have felt the necessity of a common leader, not only for defending themselves against possible aggression from outside, but also for internal tranquillity.

¹ See N. N. Law, *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 2 et seq.

The chief of one of the more important among the settlements must accordingly have been acknowledged by the others as the commander in times of war and as the chief magistrate in times of peace, and he was probably given the title *gāmaṇī* (leader). There was probably more than one such *gāmaṇī* in the island. In fact the Brāhmī inscriptions at Bōvattegala, which we have already referred to, mention a *gāmaṇī* who was not connected with the ruling family at Anurādhapura and whose grandson is given the royal title *rājā*. It is also probable that this common leader was also called *mahaparumaka* (great chief), though the title itself has not yet been found in the earliest inscriptions.

There was nothing to prevent the election of a deceased *gāmaṇī*'s son to succeed his father, if he possessed the necessary qualities for leadership. The hereditary principle would thus be gradually established in the succession to the post of the chief magistrate of the state; and the leaders (*gāmaṇīs*, as we may style them) must have possessed powers equal to those of a king. But the pomp and paraphernalia associated with kingship were probably absent, and they could not have enjoyed that semi-divine veneration which the *abhiṣeka* is supposed to confer on a prince. In these circumstances it is but natural for a *gāmaṇī* to have cherished the ambition of assuming regal honours; but for some reason or other this could not be done without outside aid. Possibly the people of Ceylon were then not familiar with the ceremonial of a king's court, or perhaps the ambition of one *gāmaṇī* was not looked upon with favour by others of a similar status who could not be ignored. We may presume that this was the state of affairs when Tissa assumed the reins of government at Anurādhapura by investiture with the miraculous staff. He must have heard of the great emperor Aśoka, and probably the idea occurred to him to ask that potentate's aid to realize his ambition of becoming king. If the mighty Aśoka regarded his proposal with favour, any possible objections among his own people to the course he was going to adopt would

certainly have been silenced. Accordingly an embassy bearing costly presents was sent to the Mauryan emperor, whose energies were then being directed to the propagation of the new faith he had embraced. Aśoka must have seen in this a very good opportunity of adding another land to those he had brought within the ambit of the *dhamma*, and he seems to have readily granted Tissa's request and, in addition, sent all the requisites for performing the *abhiṣeka* ceremony. Moreover, he seems to have permitted Tissa to use his own royal title. The consideration that Tissa's request for investiture was virtually acknowledging his suzerainty must have also weighed with Aśoka in making his decision. The missionaries sent by Aśoka to propagate the *dhamma* closely followed the footsteps of the envoys sent to anoint Tissa, and the Sinhalese king (by which title we can now refer to Tissa) gave these spiritual messengers as enthusiastic a welcome as he had previously accorded to those who had come to elevate him in his worldly position. If the course of events was such as we have conjectured, the reign of Tissa marks an epoch not only in the religious, but also in the political history of the island; and it also appears that the readiness with which Tissa and his people accepted the teachings of the missionaries sent by Aśoka was not solely due to the excellence of the doctrines which they preached.

Henceforth the rulers of Ceylon were referred to as *rājā* and *mahārājā*; and they also used the Mauryan title of *devānampiya*. But the old title *gāmaṇī* was not at once discarded. It was used side by side with the more pretentious titles, witness, for instance, the name Devanapiya-maharaja Gamaṇi Tisa,¹ by which Saddhā Tissā is referred to in inscriptions. So far as is known at present, the last ruler who used this title was Gajabāhu I (*circa* A.D. 173–195), who is referred to in inscriptions as Gayabahuka Gamaṇi Abaya or

¹ See *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. i, pp. 142 and 144.

Gamiṇi Abaya alone.¹ After his reign the title seems to have gone out of use, and by the time the chronicles were written its significance had been forgotten and it was considered a personal name. The title *devanapiya*² had become obsolete even earlier, and the chroniclers know it only in connection with Tissa. The *parumakas* had also disappeared, their places being taken by *ameti* (Skt. *amātya*) 'ministers' in the records of about the second century A.D. The passing away of the order of *parumakas* probably marked the time of the consolidation of monarchical institutions and the disappearance of the last traces of the earlier popular forms of government.

¹ See Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, p. 109, and *Epigraphica Zeylanica*, vol. iii, p. 115.

² The last king, so far as is known, who used this title was Kuṭakappa-Tissa (circa 17-39 A.D.). According to Dr. Wickremasinghe, the title was used as late as the reign of Mahallaka-Nāga (196-202 A.D.), but this view is due to the wrong identification of the kings mentioned in the Maharatmalā inscription (see *E.Z.*, vol. iii, pp. 156-7).

Notes on Professor Karlgren's System for Dating Chinese Bronzes

By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL

THE pre-Confucian period has come, during the last decade, to occupy a central place in the attention of students of the history of Chinese culture. Research on the oracle bones, scientific excavations at Anyang and elsewhere, and other investigations and discoveries have not served merely to throw light on the civilization of late Shang and early Chou times. They have also shown us that those periods saw the laying of the foundations of the whole structure of Chinese culture, as it has persisted even to our own day, so that to understand them is no mere concern of antiquarians, but a vital necessity for any deep understanding of the currents of Chinese history.

The student of those times has few materials more important than the bronzes. They are our best remaining examples of craftsmanship. The decoration of the best of them approaches, if it does not attain, the level of a fine art ; we might expect, therefore, that it would mirror cultural and intellectual conditions with a considerable degree of sensitivity. The religious function of sacrificial vessels connects them with one of the most important aspects of the life of the time. And the inscriptions found on many bronzes constitute, aside from the bone inscriptions, almost our sole contemporary documents from the late Shang and early Chou periods.¹

The use of bronzes as historical material depends, obviously, upon our ability to date them. The more accurately and the more narrowly they can be placed, at least within a system of relative chronology, the more extensively and effectively can

¹ By "contemporary documents" I mean documents physically preserved from that day to this, rather than merely transmitted as to content. In my opinion, while we have many transmitted books from early Chou times, none of the transmitted books sometimes attributed to the Shang period (as for instance the *P'an K'eng* of the *Shu Ching*) is really from that time.

they be used in research. Realizing this, a great number of Chinese scholars have worked upon this problem, ever since the Sung dynasty. Yet the greatest volume of such work, and that crowned with the greatest success, has come in the last two decades. In this period a very few non-Chinese scholars have joined in the undertaking. The general tenor of such scholarship has been, while indulging in bold hypotheses and in bold attacks upon the hypotheses of others, to recognize that the field and the problems are vast, and to concede that it is not to be expected that any general formulae capable of resolving all questions will be evolved quickly.

It has remained for Professor Bernhard Karlgren to publish, late in 1935, what is probably the most comprehensive attempt ever made by any scholar, regardless of nationality, to construct a system by which bronzes produced at any time within Shang (i.e. Yin)¹ or Chou times may be dated definitely as belonging to one of certain circumscribed periods.² Indeed, if the system is as effective as it is intended to be, its usefulness is not limited to the dating of bronzes actually made in ancient times; it should also be of value in detecting forgeries, and Professor Karlgren believes it to be so (p. 88).³ Probably the most difficult of the tasks undertaken in this study is the setting up of criteria by which Shang and Chou bronzes may be discriminated with certainty; Professor Karlgren is the first scholar, to my knowledge, to feel that he has achieved definite success in this attempt.

It must be said at once that, however one may criticize it,

¹ It is generally agreed that it is better in writing to use one term, either Shang or Yin, consistently, rather than to confuse matters by using both. Many prefer Yin. I use Shang, because the term Yin does not seem to occur in the bone inscriptions at all, because the people apparently called at least their capital Shang, and because the term Yin seems to have been exclusively a term used by the Chou people to designate them.

² Bernhard Karlgren, *Yin and Chou in Chinese Bronzes*, an article, pp. 9-154, with 58 plates, in *Yin and Chou Researches* (Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, 1935, 7½ x 10½, pp. 223, pls. 90).

³ All such page references in parentheses in the text refer to the work cited in the preceding note.

this is a remarkable study upon which an almost incredible amount of research has been expended. It contains a number of suggestions which it is to be hoped will have a permanent effect on scholarship in this field; that of the term *li-ting* is a single example (p. 91). Karlgren's refutation of Maspero's sweeping condemnation of many bronze inscriptions (pp. 10-14) is a contribution which was sorely needed, and needed from one whose words would carry the prestige which his do. And his painstaking analysis of motifs, and careful examination of the criteria for dating hundreds of inscriptions of Chou date, provide material which must henceforth be considered by every student. Finally, and perhaps most important, this monograph will undoubtedly do more than any other publication to date to focus attention and stimulate research, in Occidental circles, on the much neglected bronze inscriptions.

Precisely because of the attention it will attract, and the eminence of its author, there is an element of possible danger in this study. With its content, as more or less tentative contributions, no one could quarrel. And Professor Karlgren has made occasional qualifying statements. But from the general tenor of this work the unwary reader would easily gain the impression that the author supposed the major problems of dating Chinese bronzes to have been solved by his formulae once and for all. Of his conclusions he says: "we establish general laws. . . ." (p. 89). His material, he says, "while perfectly safe, is yet quite comprehensive and sufficient for determining the style of the Yin bronzes" (p. 23). He has used "the safest and clearest criteria" (p. 87). Indeed, he feels his results to be categorically on a level far above that of Chinese scholarship in this field, for he says: "In their catalogues we find all these various types classified as Yin (Shang). But whereas the Chinese scholars have never proved them to belong to that time, we now, thanks to the testimony of the *ya hing*, *si ts'i sun*, and *kü*, are in a position to confirm the guesses of the Chinese collectors by definite proofs" (p. 138).

These are definite statements, and they raise a definite issue. If Karlgren's system for dating bronzes is "perfectly safe", based on "definite proofs", then the rest of us would do well to accept and use it forthwith, and not waste our energies on re-examination of problems he has solved. But if, on the contrary, the validity of his system is somewhat or considerably less than that which is claimed for it, great harm to scholarship might ensue if the prestige of its author should cause it to be accepted on a basis of something less than the most rigorous examination of its merits. In either case it is evident that such examination is imperative.

Limitations of space make it impossible to discuss all of the problems raised by this work; here we must focus our chief attention upon a consideration of the validity of the method by which the author would distinguish Shang from Chou bronzes. Not even all of the questions which suggest themselves in this connection can be mentioned.

The chief difficulty which will strike the average student is Professor Karlgren's apparent neglect of archaeological excavation. Surely he must have known that scores of Shang bronzes, definitely dated by cross-reference to the bone inscriptions, were scientifically excavated by the Chinese National Research Institute of History and Philology (Academia Sinica) at Anyang in 1934 and 1935. The writer has been privileged to examine a great many of them, including magnificent sacrificial vessels, on the spot. It is true that up to this time, in so far as I know, none of this material has been published. But it would seem that, if one has any regard for the results of excavation, he should at least, when speaking so definitively, mention the fact that his results would have to be checked by these materials when they become available. If Professor Karlgren did this, it was so unobtrusively as to escape my notice entirely.

He has worked on the basis of reproductions of inscriptions, and photographs and drawings of the bronzes. Reduced to its simplest terms, his method is first to find three symbols

occurring in inscriptions, which he refers to as *ya-hing* [*ya hsing* 亞], *si tsī sun* [*hsi tzŭ sun* 析子孫], and *kü* [*chü* 舉], which he postulates as Shang. To test this he has selected a corpus of 108 inscriptions in which one of these symbols occurs together with "real texts", i.e. several readable characters. Examining these he concludes that "None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou". He continues: "In category A below we have brought together 337 cases of the three inscription symbols; they are all cases in which we have pictures of the vessels. If we were to add the *ya-hing*, *si tsī sun* and *kü* inscriptions occurring in non-illustrated publications, the number would rise to something between 450 and 500. These 450-500 bronze inscriptions never contain Chou-time criteria; the 649 inscriptions of categories B, C, and D, which contain Chou-time criteria, never have the *ya-hing*, the *si tsī sun*, the *kü*. Our conclusion that these three symbols existed only in Yin time and were obsolete in Chou time is fully corroborated" (p. 23). Finally, he makes a stylistic analysis of 337 photographs of supposedly Shang vessels; after eliminating a few he says: "The remaining 303 are remarkably consistent in type and decoration . . ." (p. 109); this, he feels, is further and definite evidence of their Shang date (p. 135).

All this is rather complicated and a bit confusing. Yet logically it is a distinctly weak chain. The fact that a group of bronzes whose inscriptions resemble each other also have stylistic resemblances may indicate that they belong to the same period, but it adds nothing to the evidence that that was the Shang period. Furthermore, the crucial terms in this argument are left wholly undefined. Karlgren never tells us what are the "Chou-time criteria" which his 450-500 hypothetically Shang bronzes lack. Nor, incidentally, does he ever deal with the fact that mere absence of Chou-time criteria does not at all prove that a bronze is Shang.

Fundamentally we are asked to believe that "None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou" because

Professor Karlgren tells us that this is the case. No other evidence is given us, and the whole case rests upon this point. Basically, the argument is one from authority rather than from proof.

In order to make a fair sampling of the 108 inscriptions listed by Karlgren on pp. 21-2 as Shang, I have carefully examined all those occurring in the 殷文存 *Yin Wén Ts'un*, the 貞松堂集古遺文 *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, and the 補遺 *Pu I* and 續編 *Hsü Pien* of the latter. These are forty-four, nearly half of the total number.

Kuo Mo-jo, from whose work Karlgren quotes extensively (while saying, quite rightly, that he is not always reliable) has written that the number of bronze vessels bearing inscriptions which can be ascribed definitely to Shang times "does not reach ten".¹ By "inscriptions" (銘 *ming*) he means, of course, something beyond two or three dubiously readable symbols probably standing for a proper name, or a sacrificial name such as "*fu i*". That these are extremely rare on Shang bronzes is also the opinion of my own teacher of palæography, Professor Liu Tzū-chih (Liu Chieh), and of Chinese experts in this field generally. Mr. Laurence Sickman, of the Nelson Gallery of Art, told me that of the many Shang bronzes which he saw pass through the Peking market from 1930 to 1934, none had more than the usual two or three symbols in so far as he could recall. My own experience in Peking from 1932 to 1935 agreed with this. Among scientifically excavated Shang bronzes the absence of inscriptions is still more striking. The excavators told me that up until the summer of 1935 only three of the many bronzes found had proved to be inscribed, and these three had only one character each.

Yet Professor Karlgren's system for dating Shang bronzes is based on no less than 108 inscriptions, of which every one includes a "real text"! The forty-four of these which I have

¹ 古代銘刻彙攷, 殷契餘論, 附錄 *Ku Tai Ming K'ê Hui K'ao*, *Yin Ch'í Yü Lun*, *Fu Lu* (Tokyo, 1934), 1a.

examined averaged nine characters each. The longest contains no less than forty-one characters, and others contain twenty-five, twenty-three, and nineteen characters respectively.¹ Most scholars working in this field would consider the length of the great majority of these inscriptions, which Karlgren considers indisputably Shang, to raise serious doubt as to whether any of them should be ascribed to that period.

If Professor Karlgren considers that "None of these texts contain anything that points to Chou", there are many who will disagree with him. The very form of the characters of many of these inscriptions, the calligraphy—if we may use that term of cast characters—seems definitely of the Chou period. But that criterion is difficult to express objectively. Let us consider the character 彝 *i*, "sacrificial vessel," which happens to occur twenty-six times in the forty-four of Karlgren's supposedly Shang inscriptions I have studied. Sun Hai-po quotes four Shang forms of this character in his great index to the bone inscriptions²; we know the Chou form from innumerable bronze inscriptions.³ They differ in that whereas the Chou form in almost every case shows the "hour-glass shaped" excrescence on the tail of the bird which becomes 系 in the modern script, the Shang forms in every case lack it. But every one of these twenty-six instances of the character *i* occurring in supposedly Shang inscriptions quoted by Karlgren agrees, not with the Shang, but with the Chou form.⁴

If we turn to phraseology, the expression 寶尊彝 *pao tsun i* occurs twelve times in these forty-four inscriptions⁵;

¹ These inscriptions occur in: *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên Pu I*, shang 13; *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, vii, 18; viii, 29; and iv, 47.

² 甲骨文編 *Chia Ku Wên Pien*, xiii, 1.

³ Cf. 金文編 *Chin Wên Pien*, xiii, 2-4.

⁴ These twenty-six inscriptions occur in: *Yin Wên Ts'un*, shang 24; *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, ii, 36, 41; iv, 12, 43; vii, 12, 13, 18; viii, 18, 23 (twice), 24, 25, 29; *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên Pu I*, shang 13, 18; chung 9, 18; *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên Hsü Pien*, shang 26, 36; chung 8 (twice), 9, 19, 24, 37.

⁵ *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wên*, ii, 36, 41, 44 [the *i* occurring here was

Professor Liu Chieh has often told me that experience has led him to consider, tentatively at least, that this is a criterion of Chou date. Again, there are two cases in which individuals are named, not with the simple cyclical character, as, for instance, *fu i*, but with the prefixed character "day" after the term denoting the person, thus: 日乙 *jih i*, 日癸 *jih kuei*.¹ I have long thought that this usage, which is rare, probably came in the Chou period when the use of such sacrificial names was dying out, and it was no longer certain that the fact that the cyclical character referred to a day would be understood; certainly the script of the former of these two inscriptions is definitely Chou in type. Such an inscription as 公錫[?]貝對公休用作父乙[寶?]降彝... *kung hsi* [proper name] *pei tui kung hsiu yung tso fu i* [*pao*?] *tsun i*...² would seem to conform to a usual and familiar Chou formula. But of course it is impossible, no matter how many of such examples might be cited, to meet Professor Karlgren's arguments, because he never tells us what are the "Chou-time criteria" which his supposedly Shang inscriptions "never contain" (p. 23).

If it were granted that Karlgren's application of his method were beyond criticism, its validity would remain to be proved. Are we justified in supposing that we could hit upon any characters or symbols used in the Shang period and then be so sure that they were not reproduced later that we could employ them as a touchstone of Shang date? The Chinese tendency to copy the antique, in script as in everything else, is notorious. Tung Tso-pin has shown that it operated already in the Shang period³; the bazaars of the present attest that

not included in the above list because the character is mutilated and the 糸 element, while clearly indicated, is only partially preserved]; vii, 12, 13, 18; viii, 24; *Pu I*, *shang* 13, 18, *chung* 9; *Hsi Pien*, *shang* 26, *chung* 19.

¹ *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wen*, vii, 18; *Hsi Pien*, *chung* 24.

² *Chên Sung T'ang Chi Ku I Wen Hsi Pien*, *chung* 9.

³ See his 甲骨文斷代研究例 *Chia Ku Wen Tuan Tai Yen Chiu Li*, in *Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Peip'ing, Academia Sinica, 1933), 412-13.

it survives abundantly. In fact Professor Karlgren himself admits the possibility of such reproduction, for in concluding his stylistic examination he says: "The remaining 303 are remarkably consistent in type and decoration: there are altogether three vessels (16, 188, 189) which deviate from the definition of the Yin style contained in the criteria 1-38 above. It is certainly no exaggeration to state that these exceptional cases cannot in the slightest degree confute the general rules established with the aid of the 300 vessels which present criteria 1-38. The three exceptions must either be recent forgeries or else have been made in middle or late Chou time and quite exceptionally furnished with archaized inscriptions (*ya hing, si tsī sun, kü*)" (p. 109). But Karlgren does not adequately explain why the other vessels, which do fit into his stylistic scheme, could not also be of a period later than the Shang, with archaized inscriptions.

He considers their homogeneity of form and decorative motif to make this doubtful. But here again the same danger of reproduction enters. And he has increased the likelihood that reproductions will find their way into his corpus by refusing to work with less than gross criteria. He says: "If we do not work with criteria of this kind in the present article, it is not because we underestimate their value and importance. It is, in the first place, because they are rather the criteria of the art student, whereas we are working along more archæological lines; in the second place, because in nine cases out of ten we have to work not with the vessels themselves, which would enable us to study colour, patina, the finer details of the handicraft, but with illustrations only, and in a majority of cases not even with photographs but with more or less clumsy drawings. We are therefore forced to limit our investigations to more elementary, matter-of-fact, and palpable criteria, such as certain types of elements: straight or curved legs, scale pattern, cicada pattern, rings standing on the lids, and so on, and to leave the study of the more subtle æsthetic distinctions to the professional art connoisseur" (p. 87).

The only trouble with such a policy is that, since the connoisseur will naturally decline to deal with archaeological questions, it would leave vital problems of the history of culture to fall, between the Scylla of archaeology and the Charybdis of art, into the deep blue sea. Such departmentalization is a practical necessity for museums, but it has no place in the study of the scholar. If one decline to consider even "the finer details of the handicraft", to say nothing of "subtle æsthetic distinctions", he will be quite unable to distinguish between genuinely early bronzes and late reproductions, and this distinction is quite important. Of even more moment is the fact that, as I have pointed out in a previous publication,¹ when one compares scientifically excavated articles of Shang and of early Chou date, the motifs are sometimes virtually identical, and it is only by careful study of the details of execution that one can understand their differences. Such study is, of course, impossible from drawings, and difficult from photographs.

Professor Karlgren publishes thirty-six photographs of bronzes ascribed, by his system, to the Shang period. More than half of them fail to conform to any of the various types and styles of Shang bronzes with which I became acquainted, through examination of the excavated pieces and other material, in China. This is, of course, a subjective reaction, and does not prove that they are not Shang. Only six of these thirty-six photographs make upon me an immediately "right" impression, for a Shang piece; these are A 28, A 38, A 124, A 159, A 170, and A 283. A 1, A 2, and A 219 look as if they might be Sung pieces, but it is impossible to be sure from the photographs.

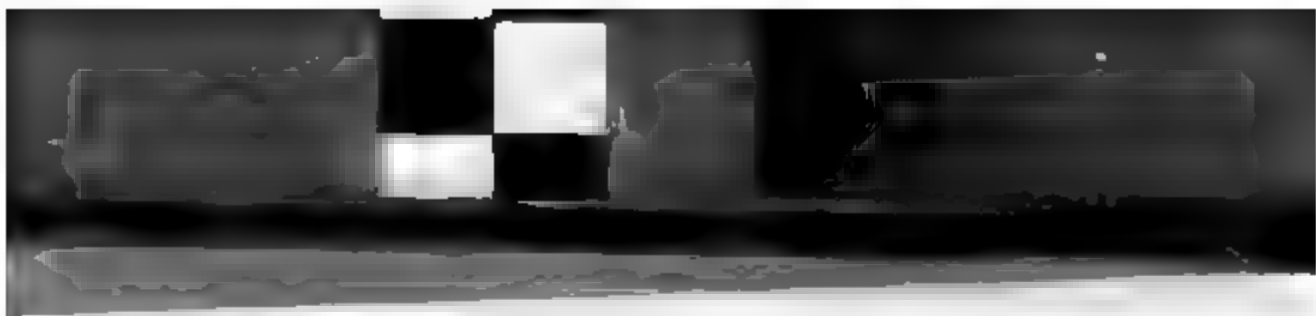
Since his formula for dating early Chou pieces is based in some measure on the method by which he has eliminated Shang pieces, the weakness of the latter detracts in some measure from his case here also (as, for instance, in connection with the "X-fu" formula, p. 25). Yet, despite occasional points

¹ *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, ix (1935), 103-104.

at which the logic of his argument might be questioned,¹ his work on the differentiation of Chou types contains much more that is likely to prove of permanent value, in my opinion, than does his system for dating Shang bronzes. Nothing in any of the above criticism is intended to detract from the appreciation of the genuine contributions made in the study under discussion. It is only when we find ourselves obliged to ask whether it does after all give us a system for dating bronzes which is "perfectly safe", based on "definite proofs", that it becomes imperative to raise these questions.

It is perfectly true that in many respects we know the Chinese of late Shang and early Chou times better to-day than their descendants of Han times knew them. The advances of the last ten years in this field are amazing, and they have only slowly been recognized by the Occidental scholarly world. Professor Karlgren has done yeoman service in combating unwarranted incredulity. But we shall have to proceed very slowly, claiming only that ground which has actually been won and established, working out gradually from the little which is known to the much which is unknown, else we are in danger of raising a new and entirely unnecessary scepticism of our methods and our results.

¹ For instance, he says of vessels of his categories C and D that "the great majority are of later date, from Eastern Chou time" (p. 24). This is because they had a conventionalized dating system, and "Since it is inconceivable that the feudal kingdoms could have such an advanced custom of conventionalized dating at the same time as the Royal Chou had an original free dating system, we must conclude that we are here confronted with a difference in period. Indeed, the *ch'u ki ting-hai* formula becomes common in the last reigns of Western Chou (B 99, 102, 103, 105, 106, 107), and the feudal states seem to have followed the lead. The feudal vessels with the *ch'u ki ting-hai* formula are therefore to be placed in the period from about 800 B.C. to 256 B.C. (end of the Chou dynasty), and the majority must be from Eastern Chou time (770-256). Moreover, since there is no reason to believe that just those feudal vessels which happen to have the month quarter indicated should be later than their undated sister vessels, we can assume it to be fairly likely that the great majority of the feudal vessels belong to this period" (p. 25). The last proposition is a *non sequitur*.



The Poems of Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî— An Umayyad Poet

By S. M. HUSAIN, M.A., D.PHIL.(OXON.)

INTRODUCTION

SURÂQAH B. MIRDÂS AL-BÂRIQÎ was a contemporary of the great trio, al-Akḥṭal, al-Farazdaq, and Jarîr, whose names stand out so pre-eminently in the list of the Umayyad bards that all contemporary poets are thrown into the shade. Thus there is no article on our poet in the *Aghânî*, and he would have passed quite unnoticed but for his taking part in the literary duel between al-Farazdaq and Jarîr. The public scolding match (مهاجاة) in which these two masters were engaged for many years attracted our poet and, like the well-known Akḥṭal, he, too, joined in the fray with his sympathies for al-Farazdaq. The anecdotes relating to the “flytings” (نقائض), which he and Jarîr composed against each other, as narrated on the authority of Abû ‘Ubaidah, will be found interesting. It is said that Muhammad b. ‘Umair b. ‘Utârid al-Dârimî, a noble,¹ offered four thousand *dirhams* and a horse to the poet who could compose a poem giving al-Farazdaq preference over Jarîr. Of all poets Surâqah, who had already composed some invective upon Jarîr,² took up the challenge and produced a piece of lampoon³ which was carried to Jarîr, requiring him to make a reply forthwith. Jarîr tried throughout the whole night but failed. At break of day, however, his poetical genius came to his aid and the

¹ Mubarrad, *Kâmil*, p. 174 ; he was secretary to the Caliph ‘Abd al-Mâlik b. Marwân (*Aghânî*, ii, 151), and also appears to have been a companion of the prince, Bishr b. Marwân, to whom he, thus, recited the verses of al-Akḥṭal (*ibid.*, xiii, 13).

² No. vi.

³ No. vii.

sharp lampoon¹ that this great poet then produced is said to have silenced Surâqah against Jarîr once for all.²

It is said that Surâqah was urged against Jarîr by Bishr b. Marwân, an artistic prince,³ who was fond of setting the poets against one another. It was he who had set Jarîr on al-Farazdaq.⁴

Suffering discomfiture, as Surâqah did at the hands of Jarîr, his sympathies for al-Farazdaq were probably estranged, as he is found to have composed certain satirical verses against al-Farazdaq also.⁵

Besides his literary duel with Jarîr for which our poet is pretty famous,⁶ he appears to be known also for his fight with Mukhtâr.⁷ The story of the poet's adventure with the Avenger is told with interesting details in the *Dîwân* in the introduction to the verses which he composed in this connection.⁸

Surâqah came to Kufa with the prince Bishr b. Marwân⁹ whom the Caliph 'Abdul Mâlik appointed governor of Kufa on the death of Mus'ab b. Jubair. When Mukhtâr carried his victorious arms into Kufa,¹⁰ he routed the chiefs who had dealt treacherously with him and took as captives seventy notables

¹ See *Aghânî*, vii, pp. 42 and 63 seq.; Jumahî, *Tabaqât al-Shu'arâ* p. 157.

² *Aghânî*, vii, p. 64. The author of the *Aghânî* on another occasion (vii, 42) refers to the same invective of Surâqah against Jarîr and in another place (vi, 30) gives him the credit of certain verses which are also ascribed, probably rightly, to al-Aḥwas, as they do not occur in Surâqah's *Dîwân*.

³ He was fond of wine, musicians, and poets. His generosity and affability earned him the warmest praise of the poets. The most famous of them, al-Uqaiṣir, 'Abd Allah b. Zabîr, and Aïman b. Khuraim, not to mention the triad, al-Akhtal, al-Farazdaq, and Jarîr, sang his praise at this epoch of the renaissance of literature—*Encyclopædia of Islam*, vol. i, p. 731.

⁴ Jumahî, *Tabaqât al-Shu'arâ*, p. 157.

⁵ See No. viii.

⁶ Surâqah is thus mentioned in the *Naqd'iq* (ed. Professor Bevan), pp. 966, 967, 1014, and 1015.

⁷ Ibn Duraid, *Ishtiqâq*, i, 282; Jumahî, *Tabaqât*, p. 156 seq.

⁸ Nos. xii and xiii.

⁹ Jumahî, *Tabaqât al-Shu'arâ*, p. 157. Al-Suyûtî reckons him as one of the poets of Iraq—see *Sharḥ Shawâhid al-Mughnî*, p. 232.

¹⁰ Mukhtâr seized possession of Kufa in A.H. 66 (A.D. 685-6).

from among the natives of Kufa. These captives included seven poets, of whom Surâqah of Bâriq, al-A'shâ of Hamdân, and Ibn Hammâm and Ibn Zabîr of Asad were prominent ; and they were brought into the cathedral mosque of Kufa, where Mukhtâr was sitting watching their arrival. The Avenger, who used to put to death every prisoner that was brought to him, ordered, however, these captives to be put into prison. At this Surâqah exclaimed to his companions : " This is our safety," and began to recite at the top of his voice :—

" Show mercy to the people, O best of Ma'add,
And best of those who respond to the call of pilgrimage
and the call of prayer and prostrate themselves in
worship,
And the best of those who have alighted at Shihr and at
Janad." ¹

" Who is this crier ? " Mukhtâr inquired. " Surâqah b. Mirdâs," was the reply. " Bring the culprit to me," he ordered. When Surâqah was presented, Mukhtâr said to him : " What do you think will be the Divine dispensation for one who is guilty of treachery and perfidy ? " " Show mercy to me," Surâqah implored. " Nay," threatened Mukhtâr, " I shall put thee to such a death to which I have not sentenced any other Arab before." " No, God has not given you that power to-day, you will slay me, though—you will slay me ! " the poet passionately exclaimed. " When ? " Mukhtâr asked. Surâqah replied : " You will conquer Mesopotamia and proceed to Syria and conquer it except Damascus ; then you will besiege its inhabitants and slay ninety-nine Arab heroes and make the number hundred with me. And by God, it is not your army that defeated us ! " " Then who defeated you ? " Mukhtâr demanded. Surâqah replied : " A turbaned host on piebald horses and grey steeds, whom I do not find now in your army." " Listen, ye Guards of God ! " Mukhtâr said to his followers, " those were the angels ; you did not see although your enemies saw them." Then Mukhtâr asked

¹ See Ṭabari, ii, 664.

Surāqah to get on the pulpit and swear unto the people as to who defeated them. The poet did as he was bidden. He, however, did not make any secret of this clever ruse and is reported to have said afterwards: "I was never more false than in my oath that I took in order to escape from Mukhtār."

Mukhtār thus set our poet free, asking him to quit Kufa. He then joined 'Abdur Raḥmān b. Mikhnaf¹ with Mus'ab b. 'Abdullah in Basrah, vowing to fight with Mukhtār till his death. When Mukhtār heard this he destroyed Surāqah's house, which was, however, reconstructed by Mus'ab after Mukhtār's death.²

Ibn Duraid gives the genealogy of the poet: Surāqah b. Mirdās b. Asmā' b. Khālid b. 'Auf b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Tha'labah b. Kinānah b. Bāriq; 'Adī b. Hārithah being called Bāriq from the name of a mountain³ where he had alighted.⁴ From Surāqah's poetry we gather that the poet's clan was descended from Azd Shanū'ah.⁵ He pays a most glowing tribute to Shanū'ah, whom he calls his tribe, coming, as he says, from Asd, whose glory the rival Tamimites seek in vain to attain.⁶

We find a poet who is Surāqah's namesake from the tribe Banū Sulaim. He is a brother of the well-known *Mukhadrim*

¹ 'Abdur Raḥman b. Mikhnaf was the chief lieutenant of the able general Muhallab, who was sent by 'Abdul Malik to suppress the Azariqite revolt. Bishr b. Marwān, the Governor of Kufa, hated Muhallab and went so far as to order 'Abdur Raḥman b. Mikhnaf to cause his general's plans to miscarry. 'Abdur Raḥman was slain in the course of his campaigns against the Azariqites. Surāqah composed two poems (Nos. i and xv) to mourn his death and the history will be found in the introduction to the first piece.

² Mukhtār was slain in a desperate sortie on the 14th of Ramaḍān A.H. 67.

³ According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Bāriq is the name of a stream at al-Sharāh; it is also said to be the name of a place in Tihāmah. See *Tāj al-'Arūs*, s.v.

⁴ *Kiṭāb al-Ishṭiqāq*, i, 282.

⁵ According to al-Amadī the Bāriqites were brethren of the Banū Khuza'ah.

⁶ See No. xi, vv. 34-52. He is called by al-Suyūṭī "al-Azdi al-Bāriqi"—*Sharḥ-u Shawāhid-i 'l-Mughnī*, p. 232.

poet, al-'Abbâs b. Mirdâs al-Sulamî.¹ Al-Âmadî also gives notices of Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî, the Senior, and Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî, the Junior, and mentions the junior Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî as a famous foul poet, and refers to his scolding match with Jarîr.²

In the opinion of Ibn Sallâm Surâqah was a humorous poet, much liked by the princes. It is said that after Jarîr had vanquished Surâqah he happened to pass by Surâqah at Minâ, where the poet was reciting verses before a crowd assembled round him. Struck with the beauty of the reciter and his fine recitation, Jarîr stopped to inquire who he was. "One of those," answered Surâqah, "whom God made to suffer humiliation at thy hands." "By God," observed Jarîr, "had I known thee I would have offered thee a present for thy grace and humour."³ It is also related that there was once a severe drought in Kufa. People went out accompanied by their governor, Bishr b. Marwân, to pray for rain. As they returned there was rain followed accidentally by flood, which plunged the quarter of Bâriq under water. Next morning Bishr b. Marwân went out to see the effects of the flood and found the house of Surâqah in water, and, lo! Surâqah standing in the water exclaimed: "May God keep the Prince in prosperity, you prayed yesterday without raising your hands, yet you see what has happened, but had you prayed raising your hands there would surely have been inundation." At this Bishr smiled and Surâqah recited certain verses.⁴

Of his poetry Surâqah himself says: "After Imru'u 'l-Qais, whose name became famous in the days that he raved at 'al-Dakhûl and Hawmal',⁵ I have attained a style of poesy

¹ See Jurjî Zaydân, *Târikh-u Âdâb-i 'l-Lughat-i 'l-'Arabiyyah*, i, 135; Amadî, *Kitâb al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-Mu'talif* and *Aghânî*, xix, 156.

² *Kitâb al-Mukhtalif wa 'l-Mu'talif fi Asmâ'i 'l-Shu'arâ*. I owe this reference to Maulana Abdul Aziz Memon of Muslim University, Aligarh.

³ Jumahî, *Tabaqât al-Shu'arâ*, p. 158.

⁴ No. xiv.

⁵ Cf. Mu'allaqah of Imru'u 'l-Qais, v. 1.

by which Muhalhil's verses became obscure—a style which was sought by Ḥassân b. Thâbit on that day when it came before his view like 'the Baradâ with whose water sweet wine is diluted' ¹; this style was also sought by Ḥassân's son, 'Abdur Raḥman, but it was unapproachable for him. The endeavours of the sons of Abû Sulmâ, like those of Jarwal,² fell short of our style and *Abû Baṣîr* did not see his way to it when he came to an assembly from the vale of Verse. And remember Labîd and Ḥâtim, amongst the 'stallion' poets, and the vastly learned Umayyah in whose verses is found wisdom like the clear revelations in the Psalms of David and al-Yadhmurî, in whose favour I passed a decisive verdict notwithstanding his early age, and Ibn al-Turâmah—not an unknown poet. My ocean of poesy did not draw from any one of them about whom you have heard. I am a youth who has attained to the utmost degree of excellence in their poetry. I have drawn from an ocean and not from a stream; I have drawn from an ocean whose sources do not fail—fuller than (the ocean) of Ka'b and the ocean of al-Akḥṭal."³

This is what Surâqah says of his style and poetry. I leave it to my readers, to whom I am presenting Surâqah's poems, to judge for themselves the poet's estimate of himself.

Surâqah is scarcely found cited in works of *Adab* or *belles-lettres*, perhaps because his style is—like that of the Umayyad poets in general—simple and easily intelligible and free from the "curious" (تكلف) and the strange and the unusual (غرائب), which the authors of such works generally sought to adapt and explain.

The poems of Surâqah have, however, been preserved for us by such eminent litterateurs as al-Ḥusain b. 'Alî al-Namirî (ob. A.H. 385)⁴ and Abû Aḥmad 'Abdus-Salâm al-Khâzin

¹ Cf. *Diwân of Ḥassân b. Thâbit*, xviii, 8.

² Jarwal b. Aws al-Ḥuṭai'ah.

³ See No. xi, vv. 57-72.

⁴ See Suyûtî, *Bughyat al-Wu'ât*, p. 235.

al-Basrî (ob. A.H. 405),¹ who respectively got them in the handwriting of the well-known collector of Arabic poetry, al-Sukkarî (ob. A.H. 275), and in the handwriting of Ibn al-A'râbî (ob. A.H. 231), stepson and transmitter of the famous rhapsodist, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbî.²

I first came across an incomplete copy of Surâqah's poems in the National Bibliothek of Wien. This copy was made in February, 1904, probably from a copy in the Kaiserliche Königliche Hofbibliothek of Berlin.³ This, again, is a copy from a manuscript in the Khedivial Library in Cairo.⁴ I had also come by the archetype of the Cairene copy, as mentioned in its colophon, in the *Mektep* of Âshir Effendi in Constantinople. This archetype is also rather incomplete and has several lacunæ responsible for the omissions in the copies which also contain numerous errors due to homœoteleuton. Fortunately, however, I happened to discover in the Khedivial Library a codex of a collection of various texts containing the poems of Surâqah.⁵ This copy, dated A.H. 1293, contains certain valuable additions with some interesting scholia and introductions to some of the poems.

Only five of Surâqah's poems⁶ exhibit double rhyme marking the commencement of an ode, and only two of them contain the erotic prelude (نسيب) in which the resources of Arab minstrelsy are beautifully displayed. The other pieces are all occasional poems which, as Brockelmann says, "are suggested by the mood of the moment and can shed a vivid light on contemporary history."⁷

¹ See *ibid.*, p. 306; Maimanî, *Abu 'l-'Alâ' wa mā ilaihi*, p. 121. Our MS. has only Abû Aḥmad. I am indebted to the learned Maulana 'Abdul 'Aziz al-Maimanî for the identification of this surname.

² See the note at the end of No. xviii.

³ Where it is *Mixt.*, 902.

⁴ *Adab* 614, dated A.H. 1279.

⁵ *Majmu'* No. 6.

⁶ Nos. vi, vii, ix, xvii, and xix.

⁷ *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, vol. i, p. 45, quoted in Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 236.

١ قال سُرَاقَةُ بنِ مِرْدَاسِ البَارِقِيِّ يَرثِي عبدَ الرِّحْمَانِ بنِ مَخْنَفٍ

[طويل]

تَوَيَّ سَيِّدُ الْأَسَدَيْنِ أَسَدِ شَنْوَةِ وَأَسَدِ عُمَانٍ وَهُوَ رَمَسٌ بِكَازُرٍ^١
وَقَاتَلَ حَتَّى مَاتَ أَكْرَمَ مِثَّةٍ بِأَيُّضٍ صَافٍ كَالْعَقِيقَةِ بِاتِرٍ

قال محمد بن حبيب : ذكروا أن بشر بن مروان لما بعث عبد
الرحمان بن مخنف إلى الأزارقة دعاه فقال له إن أمير المؤمنين كتب إلى
يأمرني أن ابعثك إلى الأزارقة في مقاتلة أهل الكوفة، فإذا أتيت المهلب فأنزل
منه ناحية ثم افعل به كذا - فجعل يغريه بالمهلب وقال له استبد بالأمر عليه
فأنت أشرف منه - فلما خرج عبد الرحمان سأله أصحابه ما أوصاك به الأمير؟
فقال لهم ترك أن يغريني بقتل عدوه وعدوي وأقبل يغريني بابن عمي -
فسار عبد الرحمان بقتال ومعه أصحاب الأرباع أرباع الكوفة : على رُبْعِ أَهْلِ
الْمَدِينَةِ جَرِيرُ بنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَعَلِي رُبْعِ نَيْمٍ وَهَمْدَانُ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بنِ سَعِيدِ بنِ
قَيْسِ الْهَمْدَانِيِّ وَعَلِي رُبْعِ مَذْحِجٍ وَأَسَدُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بنِ الْأَشْثَرِ النَّخَعِيِّ وَعَلِي رُبْعِ
رَبِيعَةَ وَكِئْشَةَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بنِ مُحَمَّدِ بنِ الْأَشْعَثِ - فلما قدم ابن مخنف
نزل من المهلب على أربعة أميال، فأتاه المهلب زائراً فقال له أنا أعلم بقتال
هذا العدو منك فمُرْ بِخُنْدَقٍ عَلَيْكَ وَأَصْحَابِ أَرْبَاعِهِ يَسْمَعُونَ - فقال عبد
الرحمان بن محمد بن الأشعث لهم والله أهون علينا من ضرورة الجمل - فلقب
يوثند «ضرورة الجمل» والأشاعنة يفضبون منها - وقالت امرأة من أهل
البصرة حين انهزم عبد الرحمان بن محمد بن الأشعث من الحجاج بن يوسف
مُخَيَّرَهُ هَزِيمَتَهُ :

^١ يريد كازرون

تَرَكَتْ وَلَدَتَنَا تَدْمَى نُحُورُهُمْ وَجِئْتَ مِنْهُمْ يَا ضَرْطَةَ الْجَمَلِ
 فقال أهل الكوفة خنادقنا أسيافنا فكث قطرى بن الفجاءة أياماً ثم أتى
 المهلب فأناخ بخندقه فقاتله يومه ذلك حتى العصر وبعث المهلب إلى عبد
 الرحمان بن مِخْنَفٍ أن عدونا واحد ويدنا واحدة فأمدني بمن قبلك - فندب
 عبد الرحمان الناس إلى المهلب مع جعفر ابنه، فأتدب معه خمس مائة -
 فشدوا على جانب عسكر قطرى فأفرجوا لهم فدخلوا خندق المهلب ثم قال
 قطرى لأصحابه : ميئوا إلى أهل الكوفة فإنه لا بقاء لهم بعد من أراه خري
 من عسكرهم - فما إلىهم فقاتلهم بقيّة يومهم وليلتهم حتى جنّ الليل وطلعت
 القمر لسبع بَقِينٍ من الشهر وبعث عبد الرحمان بن مِخْنَفٍ إلى المهلب بـ
 ابى صَفْرَةَ يستمده - فقال بعض الناس لم يُسمّده برجل، ندب الناس إليه
 فقالوا لا نقوى أن نمدّه مع ما لقينا من التعب يومنا هذا - وقال آخرون
 لا بل خذلهم عمداً وأتاهم جعفر بن عبد الرحمان فيمن كان معه من أهل
 الكوفة وقليل من أهل البصائر من أهل البصرة فقاتلهم من ورائهم حتى
 قُتِلَ وقُتِلَ من معه وقُتِلَ عبد الرحمان وأصحابه فقال سُرَاقَةُ بن مِرْدَاسِ الْبَارِقِ
 في ذلك يرثى عبد الرحمان بن مِخْنَفٍ ويذكر خذلان المهلب إياه.

قَضَى نَحْبَهُ يَوْمَ الْإِلْقَاءِ ابْنُ مِخْنَفٍ وَأَذْبَرَ عَنْهُ كُلُّ دَيْوْثٍ دَابِرِ
 إِمْدٍ وَلَمْ يُنْدِزْ وَمَاتَ مُشْمِرًا إِلَى اللَّهِ لَمْ يَذْهَبْ بِأَثْوَابِ غَادِرِ

٢ وقال سُرَاقَةُ أيضاً يرثيه

[كامل]
 إِنْ يَقْتُلُوكَ أَبَا حَكِيمٍ مَرَّةً^٢ فَلَقَدْ تَشَدُّ وَتَقْتُلُ^١ أَلَا بَطَالَا

^١ الصواب عند الطبرى (٢ : ٨٨٠) الوث دائر

^٢ عند الطبرى غدوة

١ نَ يُشْكِلُونَا سَيِّدًا وَلِسَيِّدٍ
 لَمِثْلُ قَتْلِكَ هَذَا قَوْمَكَ كُلَّهُمْ
 مَنْ كَانَ يَحْمِلُ غُرْمَهُمْ وَيَحُوطُهُمْ
 فَسَمْتُ مَا سُلِبْتُ مَقَاتِلُ نَفْسِهِ
 تَنَاجَزَ إِلَّا بَطَالُ حَوْلٍ لَوَائِهِ
 يَوْمًا طَوِيلًا ثُمَّ آخِرَ لَيْلَةٍ
 تَفَرَّجَتْ عَنْهُ الصُّفُوفُ وَخَيْلُهُ
 ٢ صَخَمِ الدَّسِيعَةَ ٢ مَاجِدًا مِفْضَالًا
 مَنْ كَانَ يَحْمِلُ عَنْهُمْ ٣ الْأَثْقَالَ
 يَوْمًا إِذَا كَانَ الضَّرَابُ نِزَالًا ٣
 حَتَّى تَسْرِبَلَ مِنْ دَمٍ سَرِبَالًا
 ٤ بِالمَشْرِفِيَّةِ فِي الْأَكُفِ نِصَالًا
 حَتَّى اسْتَبَانُوا فِي السَّمَاءِ هِلَالًا
 ٥ فَهُنَاكَ نَالَتْهُ الرِّمَاحُ نِهَالًا

٣ وقال سُرَاقَةُ أيضًا

[واقرأ]

حَتَّى مَا تَلَقَّ بِي خَيْلًا تَدَاعَى
 لَمَسْتُ بِكَارِهِ إِلِقَاءِ رَبِّي
 كَاتِلُ حِينَ أُغْرِفُ وَسْطَ قَوْمِي
 أَضْبِرُ فِي أُمُورٍ قَدْ عَرَّتْنِي
 لَسْتُ بِلَاطِيمٍ وَجْهَ ابْنِ عَمِّي
 ١ [لَا] الْهُوَ بِقَيْنَةٍ أَقْرَبَائِي
 وَدُونَ فِرَاقِهَا وَجَعٌ وَمَوْتُ
 وَلَا فَرَحَ الْفُؤَادِ إِذَا نَجَوْتُ
 وَاسْتَحْيَى الْكِرَامَ إِذَا نَبَوْتُ ٢
 فَمَا جَزَعَ الْفُؤَادُ وَمَا شَكَوْتُ
 وَشَلَّ الْخَمْسُ مِنِّي إِنْ نَصَوْتُ ٣
 وَمَا عَلِمِي بِهِنَّ إِذَا قَفَوْتُ ٤

٢ الدَّسِيعَةُ : الخُلُقُ ويقال الجَفَنَةُ.

٣ ويروي : "نِصَالًا"

٤ كما ضبطنا.

١ عند الطابري لسود سمع الخليفة
٢ النزال : المنازلة في الحرب
٣ بالأصل : "فلا" مصحفاً عن : "نِهَالًا" كما ضبطنا.
٤ يقول إذا كانت مني نبوة فكلمني كريم استحيته ويكون نبا به الزمان وقل ماله فنزل به ضيف فاستجاباً من ردة.
٥ أي أخذت بناصيته ٦ أي مضيت

كَذَآكَ نَشَأْتُ فِي قَوْمِي صَغِيرًا وَ رَبُّونِي بِذَلِكَ إِذْ رَبَّوتُ
 ٤ وقال سُرَاقَةُ أَيضًا

[طويل]

لَا تَنَكِّحَنَّ الذَّهْرَ إِنْ كُنْتَ نَاكِحًا
 مُلَفَّقَةً مِمَّا تَضُمُّ الذَّ سَاكِرُ
 وَ نُبَيْتَهَا تَسْرِي إِذَا اللَّيْلُ جَنَّا
 يَجْوَخِي وَهَلْ تَسْرِي يَجْوَخِي الْحَرَائِرُ
 لَهَا مُنْزَلٌ أَعْيَا إِذَا مَا تُدِيرُهُ^١
 وَ مِنْ كَامَخِ الْفُرْهَى جِرَارٌ حَوَادِرُ^٢
 ٥ وقال سُرَاقَةُ

[وافر]

مُجَالَسَةُ السَّفِيهِ سَفَاهُ رَأْيٍ وَ مِنْ حِلْمٍ مُجَالَسَةُ الْحَلِيمِ
 فَإِنَّكَ وَالْقَرِينَ مِمَّا سَوَاءُ كَمَا قَدْ أَلَدِيمُ مِنَ الْأَدِيمِ
 ٦ وقال سُرَاقَةُ يهجو جرير بن الخطاف

[طويل]

لَعَمْرُكَ إِنِّي فِي الْحَيَاةِ لَخَائِفٌ لِبِشْرِ عَلَيَّ أَنْ لَسْتُ مُتْرِكًَا ذَحَلًا
 إِذَا كَانَ قَلْبِي لِلْخَلِيفَةِ نَاصِحًا وَ وَجْهُهُ الْأَمِيرِ حِينَ أَحْضَرُهُ سَهْلًا

^١ يروى : لَهَا مُنْزَلٌ حَتَانُ حِينَ تُدِيرُهُ

^٢ الْفُرْهَى : مِنَ الْفَارِغَةِ الشَّدِيدَةِ الْأَكْلِ وَالْحَوَادِرُ : الْعِظَامُ

تَهَذُّمْتُ أَغْدَايِي وَجَاشَتْ مَرَا جِلِي
تَخَالُ الْقِمَامُ^١ تَحْتَهَا حَطْبًا جَزَلًا

فَإِنْ أَهْبَجُ رَبُّوعًا فَإِنِّي لَا أَرَى
لِشَيْخِيهِمِ الْأَقْصَى عَلَى نَاشِيٍّ فَضْلًا

صِفَارٌ مَقَارِنِهِمْ عِظَاءُ جُمُورُهُمْ
بِطَاءٌ إِلَى الدَّاعِي إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ أَكْلًا^٢

قَبِيلَةٌ لَا يُذَرِّكُونَ بِبَلِيهِمْ وَلَا يَسْبِقُونَ الدَّهْرَ مُطْلَبًا تَبْلًا
سَوَاءٌ كَأَسْنَانِ الْحِمَارِ فَلَا تَرَى

لِذِي شَيْبَةٍ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى نَاشِيٍّ فَضْلًا^٣
لَعَمْرِي لَقَدْ بَاعَ الْفَرَزْدَقُ نَفْسَهُ

بِوَكْسٍ وَجَارِي لَا كَفِيَّةً وَلَا فَخْلًا
٧ وقال أيضًا يهجو جريراً^٤

[كامل]

مِنْ الدِّيَارِ كَأَنَّهُنَّ السُّطُورُ قَفَرٌ عَفَّتْهُ رَوَامِسُ وَدُهُورُ
أَخْشَى رَيْنَةً أَنْ أَلِمَّ بِدَارِهَا وَكَأَنِّي بِطِلَابِهَا مَأْمُورُ
طَارَتْ عُقَابِي طَيْرَةً فَتَحَيَّرْتُ وَحَمَتِ بَوَازٍ صَيْدَهَا وَصَقُورُ

^١ القمام : صغار الحطاب ^٢ يقولون هم أصعاب بطون

^٣ أي هم كأسنان الحمار فلا يشبه بعضهم بعضاً أي مشابهتهم في العقول كشبانهم

^٤ راجع الاغانى ج ٧ ص ٤٢ و ٦٣ وكتاب المغتلف والمؤتلف للأمدى

يَا بَشْرُ حَقَّ لَوْجْهِكَ التَّبْشِيرُ هَلَا غَضِبْتَ لَنَا وَأَنْتَ أَمِيرُ
 حَرَزَ كُلِّبَا إِنْ خَيْرَ صَنِيعَةٍ يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ الصَّوْمُ وَالتَّخْرِيرُ
 هَبْ لِي وَلَا هُمْ^١ أَوْ لِأَذَنِي دَارِمٍ إِنْ نِي وَرَبِّي إِنْ فَعَلْتَ شَكُورُ
 اضْرِبْ عَلَيْهِمْ فِي الْجَوَاعِرِ حَلَقَةً تَبْقَى فَإِنْ إِبَاقَهُمْ مَحْذُورُ
 مَا يَطْلَعُونَ مَعَ الْكِرَامِ ثَنِيَّةٌ وَلَهُمْ مَنَازِلُ دُونَ ذَلِكَ وَعُورُ
 أَبْلِغْ تَمِيمًا غَثًّا وَسَمِينًا وَالْحُكْمُ يَقْصِدُ مَرَّةً وَ يَجُورُ^٢
 إِنْ الْفَرَزْدَقَ بَرَزْتَ حَلَابُهُ عَفْوًا وَ غُودِرَ فِي الْغُبَارِ جَرِيرُ
 مَا كَانَ أَوَّلَ مِحْمَرٍ^٥ عَثَرْتُ بِهِ أَنْسَابُهُ إِنْ اللَّثِيمَ عَشُورُ^٦
 هَذَا قَضَاءُ الْبَارِقِيِّ وَ إِنْ نِي بِالْمِيلِ فِي مِيزَانِهِمْ لَبَصِيرُ^٧

^١ ولا هم أن يكونوا مواله وإنما يعبرهم انهم عبيد
^٢ كذا روى في الأغاني ٧ ص ٦٣ ومختلف الأمدى وبالأصل: «الجلثم» محرفاً عن:
 «الحكم»

^٣ حلابة التي في الحلبة له من الحبل كذا كان بخط السكري ورواه ابورياش
 «حلباته»

^٤ روى في الأغاني ج ٧ ص ٤٢ و ٦٣: إن الفرزدق برزت أعراقه * سبقاً وخلف
 في الغبار جرير وروى صاحب الأغاني (٧ × ٦٣) بعده:

ذهب الفرزدق بالفضائل والعلا * وابن المراء خلف محسور

^٥ الميحر: الثقيل من الدواب الثقيل الصدر

^٦ روى في الأغاني (٧ × ٤٢): ما كنت أول محرقعدت به مسعاته ان اللثام
 عشور

^٧ روى في الأغاني فيما مضى آنفاً «إنكم» موضع «إنني» و «ميزانكم» موضع
 «ميزانهم»

٨ وقال سُرَاقَةُ حينَ فسدَ ما بينه و بين الفرزدق

[كامل]

قَدْ كُنْتُ أَحْسَبُ يَا أَبْنَ قَيْنٍ مُجَاشِيعٍ
أَنْ قَدْ خَصَّكَ فَلَا تَقِطُ جَرِيرُ
وَلَقَدْ عَلِمْتُ عَلَى تَبَاغِيكَ الْخَنَّا أَنْ الْخَصِيَّ إِذَا أُسْتَفْزَ ذَعُورُ
إِنَّ الْخَصِيَّ يَشُولُ حِينَ يَرُومُهُ قَرْمٌ قُرَاسِيَّةٌ اللَّيْقَاءُ غَيُورُ

٩ وقال سُرَاقَةُ أيضاً

[بسيط]

لَا تَطْلُبِينَ^١ فَتَاةً مِنْ مَسَامَتِهَا مَا لَمْ يُوَاقِقْكَ مِنْهَا الدِّينُ وَالْخُلُقُ
وَالرِّفْقُ يَجْمَعُ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ مَا اجْتَمَعُوا
وَقَدْ يَشُقُّ عَلَى أَصْحَابِهِ الْخُرْقُ

١٠ وقال سُرَاقَةُ^٢

[طويل]

أَلَا يَا لَقَومٍ لِلْهُنُومِ الطَّوَارِقِ
وَلِلْحَدَثِ الْجَائِي بِإِحْدَى الْمَضَائِقِ
وَمَهْلِكِ غَطْرِيفَيْنِ^٣ كَانَا عِمَادَنَا
مِنْ أَلَدِ الدِّينِ الْمُقَدِّمِينَ الْأَصَادِقِ
سَمِعْتُ فَهْدَى الرُّكْنِ مِنْى صَوَارِخُ
وَقَدْ غَوَّرَتْ أُولَى النُّجُومِ الْخَوَافِقِ

^١ ويروى : لَا تُسَكِّنُ^٢ راجع قاربج الطبري ٢ : ٧٥٧
^٣ الْغَطْرِيفُ : السِّدُّ وَالْبَازِي غَطْرِيفٌ

بِأَسْرِ حُمَاةٍ يَا لَهَا مِنْ رَزِيَّةٍ

إِذَا الْحَرْبُ أُنْذِتْ عَنْ خِدَامِ الْمَوَاتِقِ¹

وَمَصْرَعُ مِرْدَاسٍ عَلَى حُرُوجِهِ

وَصُحْبَتِهِ تَحْتَ السُّيُوفِ الْبَوَارِقِ

فَرِيقَيْنِ هَذَا قَرْمٌ غَامِدٌ كُلِّهَا وَهَذَا الذُّرَى وَالْفَرْعُ مِنْ آلِ بَارِقِ

فَبِئْسَتْ مِمَّنْ كُنْتُ أَمِلُ نَفْعَهُ إِذَا نُسِفَتْ مِنْ أِكْرَامِ الْخَلَائِقِ

وَتَوْبٌ³ دَاعِي الْمَوْتِ بِالْمَوْتِ بَيْنَنَا

وَدَارَتْ رَحَى حَرْبٍ بِقُعْسٍ⁴ الْبَطَارِقِ

وَعَاذَتْ بِأَيْدِيهَا النِّسَاءُ كَأَنَّهُا مَصَائِيحُ لَيْلٍ أَوْ مَيْضُ الْعَقَائِقِ

وَذُرْنَا وَدَارَ الْجَمْعُ فِي حَمْسٍ الْوَغَا كَمَا دَارَ وَلَدَانُ لَهْوًا بِالْمَخَارِقِ

هُنَالِكَ لَا يُرْجَى حَيَاها⁵ لِنَفْعِهَا إِيَّاسٌ وَلَا يُرْجَى لِدَفْعِ الْبَوَائِقِ

فِيكَ عَيْنُ بَكِّي الرَّائِقَيْنِ أُولَى النَّهْيِ

سِمَامُ الْعِدَى وَابْنِي حُمَاةَ الْحَقَائِقِ

وَبَكِّي إِيَّاسًا فَارِسَ الْحَرْبِ وَانْدُبِي

حُمَاهَا لَدَى الْهَيْجَاءِ فِي كُلِّ مَارِقِ

¹ يقول اذا الحرب كانت شديدة وذلك أن النساء إذا خفن على أنفسهن أن يسببن كسفن عن أسواقهن ليزدن في قتال أزواجهن وقومهن فيغارون فيقاتلون إذا رأوا ذلك

² ويروى: "فأويس" موضع: "فبيست" نسفت: قلعت

³ توب: دعا ⁴ القعس: البطاء البراح ⁵ ويروى: "جهاها" البوائق: الدواهي

فَقَدْ فُجِئَتْ أَسَدُ الْعِرَاقِ وَشَامِهَا^١ وَ أَسَدُ عُمَانَ بِالطَّوَالِ الْغَرَائِقِ^٢
 وَ أَمَحَلَّ وَادِينَا وَأَوْحَشَ أَهْلَهُ^٣ وَ بَدَّلَ مِنْ فُرْسَانِهِ بِالنَّوَاقِعِ^٤
 فَقَدْ أَصْبَحَتْ نَفْسِي لِذَاكَ حَزِينَةً^٥ وَ شَابَ لِمَا حُمِلْتُ مِنْهَا مَفَارِقِي^٦
 فَمَا أَنَا فِي طُولِ الْحَيَاةِ بِرَاقِبٍ^٧ وَ مَا أَنَا إِذْ بَانُوا لِدَهْرٍ بِوَامِقٍ^٨
 فَلَيْتَ الْمَنَايَا أَقْصَدْتَنِي سِهَامُهَا^٩ وَ عَافَتْ^{١٠} أَبَا بَكْرٍ بِزَحْرِ عَوَائِقِي^{١١}
 وَ لَمْ يَبْقَ فِي طَيْشٍ رِعَاجٍ أَذِلَّةٍ^{١٢} عَوَاوِيزٍ فِي الْهَيْجَا غَدَاةَ التَّلَاحِقِ^{١٣}
 إِذَا مَا الْخُصَى طَارَتْ^{١٤} وَ جَادَ بِنَفْسِهِ^{١٥}

أَخُو الْمَوْتِ تَحْتَ اللَّامِعَاتِ الْخَوَافِقِ^{١٦}
 وَ حَامِي الْمُحَامِي عَنْ أَيْهِ وَ بَرَزَتْ^{١٧} بِأَحْشَانِهَا أَهْلُ الْبُيُوتِ الشَّوَاهِقِ^{١٨}
 وَ عَرَدَ أَبْنَاءُ اللَّيْثَامِ مَخَافَةً^{١٩}

وَ حَامِي حُمَاةَ الْجَمْعِ عَنْ ذِي الْوَشَاقِقِ^{٢٠}
 وَ إِنْ أَكُ مَفْجُوعًا حَزِينًا مُرَّرًا^{٢١} يُورِقُنِي طَيْفُ الْهُومِ الطَّوَارِقِ^{٢٢}
 فَمَا أَنَا بِالْوَانِي وَ لَا عَاجِزَ الْقَوَى^{٢٣} وَ لَا نَزِقٍ يَخْشَى أَذَاتِي مُرَافِقِي^{٢٤}
 وَ لَا لَا طَمَّ وَجْهَ ابْنِ عَمِي سَفَاهَةً^{٢٥} وَ مَا أَنَا بِالْمُورَاءِ^{٢٦} يَوْمَا بِنَاطِقِ^{٢٧}

^١ الغرائق: الشباب السود الرؤوس . يقول قتلوا شباباً ومعناه انهم كرام ذوو سود

يقتلون لا يموتون على فرشهم شيوخاً^٢ التوابع: أصحاب الضأن: يروي: التوابع

^٣ أقصدتني: قتلني^٤ لعله وعافت .. عوائقي

^٥ زحر: موضع قال السكري كذا كان بخط ابن حبيب ثم رجع عنه وقال ابن زحر

^٦ أي ارتفعت الخصى من الفرق^٧ الموراء: الكلمة القبيحة

Judge H. T. Colebrooke's Supposed Translation of the Gospels into Hindi, 1806

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

IN Darlowe and Moule's *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scriptures*, 1903 (= DM.), the earliest Hindi translation of the Gospels is entered as follows : " 1806. The Gospels translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837), president of the bench at Calcutta, and honorary professor in Fort William College, the first great Sanskrit scholar of Europe." This is confirmed by Pearce Carey's book, *William Carey* (= PC.). In the third edition, p. 408, he writes "so far from vaunting how many versions he and his colleagues could add to their credit, they postponed the publication of their translated Hindi Gospels till Colebrooke's was printed in 1806". In the eighth edition, 1934, p. 420, "they postponed till 1811 the publication of their translated Hindi Gospels leaving the field to Judge Colebrooke's version for five years."

I suggest that this statement, though found in two important independent works, both involving much research, is entirely incorrect and that to William Carey belongs the great honour of having produced the first translation of any part of the Scriptures in Hindi.

The libraries which might be expected to have a copy of Colebrooke's supposed translation do not possess one. These are the libraries of the Brit. Mus., the India Off., the Brit. and For. Bib. Soc., the Roy. As. Soc., of which Colebrooke's son was president, the Bapt. Miss. Soc., and Serampore Coll. The Catalogue of the As. Soc. of Beng., of which Colebrooke himself was president, does not contain it. Further, *Colebrooke's Life*, by his son, which gives a list of his works, and the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, in its "complete list", do not mention a translation of any part of the Bible.

After a time continued investigation practically convinced me that the idea of a translation by Colebrooke was due to

a misunderstanding. But the question remained "What was the source of the categorical statement that Colebrooke published Hindi Gospels in 1806?" Among numerous letters to various places I wrote one to Serampore College, and from the Rev. R. A. Barclay I received a reference which gives the probable origin of the story of the translation, though the date (1806) still required explanation. In a letter written by William Carey to Dr. Rylands on 14th December, 1803, which Mr. Barclay most kindly transcribed in full, Carey writes "A few days ago Mr. Buchanan informed me that a military gentleman had translated the Gospels into Hindoostanee and Persian, and had made a present of them to the College, and that the College Council had voted the printing of them. . . . I am glad that Major Colebrooke has done it. We will gladly do what others do not do" (*Periodical Accounts*, vol. ii, 456).

This is perhaps the place to point out the distinction between Hindi and Hindustani. Hindi is largely Sanskritic, many words are pure Sanskrit, while Hindustani, more correctly called Urdu, partially the same language, has Arabic and Persian words instead of Sanskrit. Carey, though using the terms indiscriminately, truly said that two translations were necessary "one into that [language] which draws principally on the Persian and Arabic for its supplies of difficult words, and another into that which has recourse in the same manner to the Sungscrit. Indeed the difference in these kinds is so great, that the Gospels translated into the former kind of Hindee under the auspices of the College of Fort William, is in many places quite unintelligible to Sungscrit pundits born and brought up in Hindoosthan" (*First Memoir*, 1808, p. 9).

Buchanan was Rev. Claudius Buchanan, for some years Vice-Provost of Fort William College, the author of some very interesting books, and a man of earnest Christian piety.

It is evident, as Mr. Barclay has pointed out to me, that Judge Colebrooke has been confused with Major Colebrooke.

The Judge does not seem to have done any Bible translation, though he was a great Oriental scholar and a good friend to the missionaries. He died in 1837—twenty-nine years after Major Colebrooke—and was not a military man. PC. in his earlier editions called him simply “Colebrooke”, but in his latest edition added the word “Judge”. Major Robert Hyde Colebrooke (1762 or 3–1808), afterwards Lieut.-Colonel, was probably Judge Colebrooke’s first cousin. He served in the Indian Army for thirty years, becoming Surveyor-General, and died in Bhagalpur. He was not directly connected with the College.

There has been further misunderstanding. The sole evidence for any translation into Hindustani (Urdu) by Colonel Colebrooke seems to be Carey’s letter. But the letter contains merely a second-hand reference to a conversation. Impressions left on one’s mind by conversation are notoriously inaccurate; impressions of a verbal report of conversation still more so. Here we have an account of a conversation reporting another which had taken place some time before. According to it Buchanan thought that Colonel Colebrooke had translated the Gospels into Hindustani, but in quarters where we should expect confirmation of this there is none; there is no reason to suppose that Colebrooke ever did so.

We come now to another point. Carey’s letter speaks of an Urdu translation of the Gospels, but DM. and PC. refer to Hindi, and there is nothing to show that either of the Colebrookes did anything in Hindi. The evidence to the contrary is strong.

I. THE COLEBROOKES DID NOT TRANSLATE THE GOSPELS INTO HINDI OR HINDUSTANI

(a) The very Buchanan, who is quoted as having said that Colebrooke translated the Gospels into Urdu, himself published in March, 1805, less than fifteen months after the conversation, a book called *The College of Fort William*,¹ containing the

¹ Published anonymously; but the author’s name is given at the end of *Christian Researches* which is by the same writer. See below.

"official papers and literary proceedings of the College" during its first four years. On pp. 219-225 is a list of "Works in Oriental Languages and Literature, printed in the College or published by its learned members", and on pp. 225-231 under the date 20th September, 1804, the list is continued to include those published during the past year or "now in course of publication". Several translations of the N.T. or of the Gospels in different languages are mentioned, but there is no reference to any Hindustani or Hindi translation by either Colebrooke.

(b) In 1819 Thomas Roebuck, one of the College staff, published a similar book entitled *The Annals of the College of Fort William from its Foundation on the 4th May, 1800, to the Present Time*. It contains (p. 586) "a general list of all works patronized or encouraged by the College". This does not mention Colonel Colebrooke at all. Two Sanskrit works by Judge Colebrooke are referred to, but nothing by him in Hindi or Urdu. There is, however, the following reference to an Urdu translation of the N.T.: "The New Testament translated into Hindoostanee by [Mirza Mohummud Fitrut and] learned natives of the College of Fort William, revised and compared with the original Greek by Dr. William Hunter, Calcutta, in one volume quarto, 1805." This translation appears in Buchanan's *College of Fort William*, under date September, 1804, as "in the press" (p. 227). The words in brackets, omitted by Roebuck, are on the title-page. Though the language is Urdu, the character is Nagri. Several copies are in existence.

(c) Buchanan in 1811 wrote *Christian Researches in Asia*, which went through many editions. I have examined the 1st, 1811; 2nd, 1811; 5th, 1812; and 11th, 1819. On p. 2 we read "the first version of any of the Gospels in the Persian and Hindostanee tongues, which were printed in India, were issued from the press of the College of Fort William. The Persian was superintended by Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke, and the Hindostani by William Hunter, Esq." Here again

nothing is said of a Hindi or Hindustani translation by Colebrooke.

A very important passage occurs on p. 223, n. (1st ed., also later edd.). “There are several Orientalists, who have been engaged in translating the Holy Scriptures. We hope hereafter to see the name of Mr. Colebrooke added to their number. Mr. C. is the Father of Shunsrit literature.” The translation here hoped for, as the author goes on to say, was a Sanskrit version of the Pentateuch. This quotation shows us that so late as 1811 Judge Colebrooke had not translated any part of the Bible.

On p. 225 of the 1st ed., p. 251 of the 2nd and 5th, omitted in the 19th, we read : “The first Persian translation was made by the late Lieut.-Col. Colebrooke ; and it ‘blesses his memory’. Mirza Fitrut furnishes the *Hindostanee*. There is another Hindostanee translation by the Missionaries at Serampore.” Fitrut was the principal translator of William Hunter’s version ; the other is Carey’s first (1811) Hindi version.

We see then that in these contemporary works nothing is said about any Hindi or Hindustani translation published by either Colonel or Judge Colebrooke ; only Fitrat and Hunter’s Urdu Gospels (1805) are mentioned. Nor have I come across any reference in the Serampore letters. It is evident that Hunter’s translation has been attributed to Colebrooke and changed to Hindi.

II. THE DATE (1806)

We now ask why was the year 1806 given with such confidence by both DM. and PC. ? The answer is not very difficult. In Carey’s letter of 14th December, 1803, we are told that the missionaries had begun the Hindi or Urdu translation in 1802, but were not saying anything about it. On hearing Buchanan’s story of the Persian and Urdu translations they stated openly what they were doing. On 24th September, 1804, they write “we are waiting to see the Hindoostanee

gospels which are printing at Calcutta for the College. . . . Translations are going on in Persian and Hindoostanee. When we have the advantage of seeing this work we shall probably begin part of the Bible in Hindoostanee". (*Per. Acc.*, iii, 23, 4. The reference is to Hunter's Urdu N.T., which was in the press in September, 1804.) Further, *ibid.*, iii, 242, 2nd June, 1806, "On the application of brother Carey we have been favoured with four hundred Testaments, from the College." (Reference again to Hunter's N.T., pub. 1805.)

It seems clear that the time at which Carey received Hunter's Urdu N.T. has been assumed to be approximately the time of its publication, and that Colebrooke has erroneously been supposed to have been the translator.

III. CAREY DID NOT DELIBERATELY HOLD UP THE PRINTING OF HIS HINDI NEW TESTAMENT IN ORDER TO LEAVE THE FIELD TO ANOTHER TRANSLATION

In Carey's letter we read "About a year and a half ago, some attempts were made to engage Mr. Gilchrist, in the translation of the scriptures into the Hindoostanee language. By something or other it was put by. At this time several considerations prevailed on us to set ourselves silently to work". We may say that they began the translation in autumn, 1802. (*Per. Accts.*, ii, 456.)

At the very end of 1803 they were verbally given to understand that the Gospels had already been translated into Hindustani (*ibid.*). But they continued their own work, for in April, 1804, they write that in the previous year they had engaged in the translation of the N.T. into "Hindoostanee" and Persian; the former was nearly finished (a rough draft, doubtless, *ibid.*, ii, 538). In September, 1804, they are waiting to see the other translation. It was published in 1805 (probably the end), and in 1806 they get 400 copies. On 11th and 18th February (? 1806) Carey writes: "The scriptures are translating into eleven languages, of which six

are in the press, namely . . . Hindoost'hanee" (iii, 333, 4). At the end of 1807 Carey tells of their having printed "the Hindoostanee (new version) to Mark V". (Marsh, *Hist. of Translations of Sacr. Scripts.*, 1812, quotes this as written on February, 1807.) Apparently the term "new version" is used to distinguish it from Hunter's Urdu version. (*Brief Narr. of the Bapt. Miss. in India*, 1813, p. 66.) Two pages further on "the N.T. in the Hindostanee put to press". In the *First Memoir*, 1808, p. 9, they write: "In the Sungscrit Hindee version nearly the whole of the N.T. waits for revision. We have begun the N.T. in the Deva Nagree character, and the book of Matthew is nearly finished." Ibid., p. 22, "The printing of the whole ten [languages] will probably be completed in about four years; less than half that time will probably complete the N.T. in several of these, as . . . Hindee."

November, 1809. "Circumstances principally of a pecuniary nature" have "affected the printing of the N.T. in the Hindoost'hanee language. We have been enabled, however, to complete the better half of it, and hope soon to be able to finish the whole". (*Per. Accts.*, iv, 53.) (End of 1809) "Hindoost'hanee N.T. above half printed. The printing retarded by the same cause" (want of pecuniary support), *ibid.* v, vii. Finally we get "March, 1811. In the month of March, 1811, a N.T. in the Hindee and Mahratta languages have been finished at press". (*Ibid.*, iv, 243). "Hindee or Hindoost'hanee. The N.T. translated and printed" (*ibid.*, iv, 244). "20th August, 1811: The versions already printed and now circulating in India comprise five, namely . . . Hindee" (*ibid.*, iv, 370).

The course of events is plain. They began the N.T. in 1802; in December, 1803, they heard of Hunter's Urdu translation; their own first draft was far advanced in 1804; in September, 1804, Hunter's translation was sent to press; it was ready in the end of 1805; they received copies in 1806, and in the same year or in 1807 sent their version to press;

they had printed half by 1809, but money difficulties delayed them, and it was not ready till March, 1811.

V. CONFUSION BETWEEN HINDI AND HINDUSTANI (URDU)

This is partly responsible for the mistakes that have been made. Carey's 1st ed. of 1811 and 2nd ed. of 1812 are correctly described by both PC. and DM. as Hindi, and the first Urdu translation of the N.T. (omitting Schultze and Callenberg's which hardly counts), that by Mohummud Fitrat and William Hunter, 1805, is rightly given by DM. under Urdu, not Hindi.

Carey himself did not distinguish between the two terms, but realized the difference between the two dialects, calling one Sanskrit Hindi, and the other Delhi Hindi. (The latter name is not quite certain. Rev. David Brown says, in a letter dated 13th September, 1806, that he had received from Serampore MS. specimens of Shanscrit Hindoostanee and Delhi Hindoostanee.) On the English title-page of the 1811 ed. of his Hindi N.T. he called it Hindoostanee, but on the Hindi title-page of both the 1811 and the 1812 edd. he correctly said Hindi. It is true that it is not pure Hindi, but the Urdu words employed are not impossible in Hindi, whereas a very large number of Hindi words are used which could not occur in Urdu. William Hunter's Urdu is pure Urdu, Carey's Hindi is Urduized, and after the 2nd ed. had been exhausted the pure Hindi translation of another Baptist missionary, John Chamberlain, was printed instead of it.

CONCLUSIONS

(1) In 1803 Claudius Buchanan had a conversation in the course of which he learned that the Gospels were being translated into Urdu and Persian. He reported this to Carey and left on his mind the impression that Colonel Colebrooke was the translator. Colonel Colebrooke translated one Gospel into Persian, but nothing into Urdu.

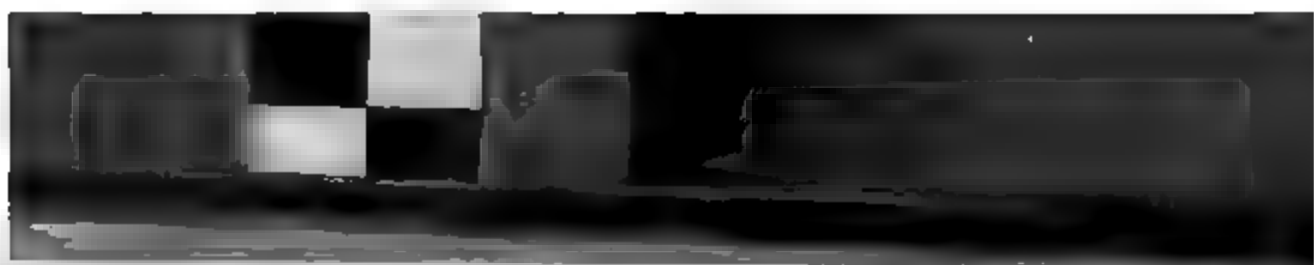
(2) Colonel Colebrooke was confused with Judge Colebrooke who never did Bible translation.

(3) There has been some confusion between Hindi and Urdu (Hindustani), but neither of the Colebrookes translated into either language.

(4) References in Serampore letters to William Hunter's Urdu N.T., 1805, without the mention of his name, have led to further misunderstanding; it was assumed that Colonel Colebrooke had done them, and he was confused with Judge Colebrooke. The fact that the Serampore missionaries received copies in 1806 has led to the belief that Colebrooke published Gospels in that year.

(5) The missionaries proceeded with their translation. Hearing in September, 1804, that Hunter's N.T. had just gone to press they waited for it. They saw it in 1806 and found it was Urdu. They then went on with the printing of their Hindi version, but were delayed by money difficulties.

(6) *Final Conclusion.*—The first translation of any part of the Bible into Hindi was the N.T. done under William Carey's superintendence and published in 1811.



MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON THE CUNEIFORM TABLET FOUND AT SAMARIA

In Reisner's *Excavations at Samaria*, vol. i, 247, is published a small cuneiform tablet found in the construction trench of the Greek fort wall. The text can be controlled by photographs in vol. ii. There is a fragment of a circular press seal on this tablet inscribed 𐎶𐎵; hence the document is stamped with a Hebrew seal. The proper names have been misread by Reisner or by a collaborator responsible for the edition. The editors give a name *Nergal-tallim* (?) which is to be read *Nergal-šal-lim*, a well-known Assyrian name. See Tallquist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 171. The photographs show that the sign copied PI is a form of *ŠAL* as written in the Amarna period, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, xii, p. 93, No. 208. The omission of the sign for god before Nergal is common in Assyrian contracts of the seventh century. Also the name A-A-PAP-ME is misread *Abi-aḥi* for *Aya-aḥê*, "The goddess Aya (has increased) the brothers." This name is also Assyrian, Tallquist, *ibid.*, p. 1; *A-a-aḥ-ḥa'*, Tallquist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, p. 5.

The text also contains the title *amel rab alāni*, characteristic of the Assyrian official nomenclature of the eighth and seventh centuries; C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, iv, 247. Also the form of the sign for *amēlu* is characteristic of Assyrian epigraphy of the same period. The document reads, "If, on the tenth of the month, Ab Nergalshallim gives orders, Aya-aḥê shall give six oxen and . . . sheep to the 'chief of cities'." This document, therefore, was written at Samaria during the Assyrian domination after 721. The local officials are Assyrians. The scribe employs a mixture of the older script current in Palestine in the Amarna period and the official Assyrian script of the time of Sargon and

Senecherib. This document cannot be used to prove that Nergal was worshipped at Samaria. Adrammelek, a pagan deity at Samaria, was undoubtedly a type of Nergal (*Semitic Mythology*, pp. 71-2), but the proper names on the Samaria tablet are not based upon Hebrew philology nor upon Canaanite religion.

S. LANGDON.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ETHNOLOGIE DER JEMENITISCHEN JUDEN. By ERICH BRAUER. Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliothek, 1 : VII. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xix + 402, pls. 8, ill. 7, map 1. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1934. Mks. 25.

This is a model piece of ethnographical writing, no aspect of the subject being ignored. Full and profusely documented accounts are given of the history, occupations, domestic life, social customs, names, folklore, songs, laws, religious institutions, and even anthropometric measurements of the Jews in Yemen. The author has laid all previous work under contribution, but has depended mainly upon his own survey. A particularly welcome feature of the book is the constant citation of native terms, and the reproduction, with translations, of leading songs and proverbs. The full presentation of so many wedding-songs is especially to be commended and will perhaps be of value to those who would find analogies in the Song of Songs. The complete description of trades is another feature of the work which general anthropologists will find useful, whilst for the folklorist there is here an especially rich field.

Among more interesting points is the fact that even after marriage women are reckoned as belonging to the kindred of their fathers rather than husbands. In this connection Robertson-Smith's *Kinship* should be compared. The marriage ceremonies are closely similar to those of Syria described by Wetzstein and thought to underlie the Song of Songs, while the descriptions of the bridegroom as king and warrior perhaps explain Psalm xlv. The forfending of demons is a prominent feature of the wedding ritual, thus lending plausibility to Lauterbach's explanation of analogous Jewish rites. The alphabetic eulogies on the bridegroom call him by exactly

the same titles as are applied to God in the alphabetic acrostic of the Jewish Haggadah-poems *Addir Hu* and *Ki lo Naeh*. This the author has not noticed. The bride is secluded before the wedding, as in many parts. This perhaps explains the very name *kallah* "secluded one" (?).

In the account of the upbringing of male children I find no mention of any custom of "releasing the firstborn" (*Pidyon habben*) as among Jews. It would be interesting to hear if this occurs.

If there is any fault to be found with this book it is that the author does not sufficiently indicate what are exclusively Yemenite customs and what generally Jewish. The ordinary anthropologist will require such a control.

This, however, is a minor drawback to a work which is wholly excellent. The illustrations are clear and illuminating, and the whole book is fit to rank on one's shelves beside Spencer and Gillen—than which there can scarcely be higher commendation.

A. 244.

THEODOR GASTER.

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS. By Sir SIVASWAMY AIYER. Kamala Lectures. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6, pp. xix + 242, ill. 1. Calcutta: University Press, 1935. 4s. 6d.

In this interesting series of lectures the author sets himself to deal with the much discussed question of the adequacy of Hindu moral ideals for the solution of present-day ethical problems, both individual and social. His standpoint is that of liberal conservatism. He admits that, in their protest against any reform by the legislature of Hindu social usage, the orthodox have gone farther than was necessary. It is not essential, he thinks, that the rules laid down in the Dharma Sastra should be regarded as immutable and eternal. As a matter of fact he holds that in many cases only lip-service has been rendered to these doctrines and that in practice the ethical ideals of Hinduism have not remained stationary.

Sir Sivaswamy certainly does not whole-heartedly defend the reliance upon authority which is advocated by the rigid, but he argues that many other systems of ethics are in like case, and that a belief in the eternity of the Vedas "calls only for a somewhat larger order upon belief" than is demanded by reliance upon the authority of revelation in general or upon the doctrine of "intuition" in Western philosophy.

The author's main contention is that the authority of ancient texts has not exerted an excessive influence upon practice, and that by peculiar principles of interpretation or by recourse to legal fictions little difficulty has been found in bringing about such modification of the rules of society as are necessary in modern times. He points out, however, that at an earlier period new writers were admitted to the category of authoritative law-givers, and he protests against the present-day unwillingness of the orthodox to grant similar recognition.

The development of ideals is discussed in detail with much perspicacity and knowledge, and there are useful disquisitions upon such topics as marriage, the position of women, the law of inheritance, caste, slavery, the relations of ruler and ruled, etc. We do not know, however, that we can agree with the somewhat peculiar theory of moral freedom put forward in the course of an analysis of the doctrine of *karma*. The comparisons with other religions are not always quite fair, e.g. as when discussing tolerance it is suggested as a generalization that other religions "condemn the followers of other creeds to eternal damnation". Perhaps the author is rather too fond of a *tu quoque* as a means of rebutting criticism. But on the whole the book shows a healthy readiness to consider favourably the changes in the traditional system which are called for by the requirements of modern society.

SA'ADJA AL-FAJJUMI'S ARABISCHE ÜBERSETZUNG UND ERKLÄRUNG DER PSALMEN (Psalm 90-106). Von ERNST EISEN. 9½ × 6½, pp. viii + 107. Leipzig: Druck von Albert Teicher, 1934.

Sa'adya Gaon's Arabic translation of the Old Testament has a place quite its own in the history of the Texts and Versions of the Bible. It was made directly from the Massoretic text by a Jewish Rabbi of the Fayyūm in Upper Egypt, who lived in the late ninth and early tenth centuries of our era, and was accompanied by brief but often illuminating commentary. Though the Pentateuch in this translation was published at Constantinople as early as 1546 and has been reprinted in the Polyglots, it is curious that we still have no complete accessible edition of the whole work. The Derenbourgs assisted by Mayer Lambert commenced a project for the production of the *Oeuvres complètes de R. Saadia ben Josef al-Fajjumi* in 1893, but it stopped with Bacher's edition of Job in 1899.

The Psalms in Sa'adya's translation have attracted the attention of many scholars, and different groups of them have served as the basis of several Theses in German Universities. Dr. Eisen's work is of this class, being his Doctoral Dissertation prepared under Bergsträsser at München. It contains the necessary introductory material on the work of Sa'adya as a translator and exegete, the style of his Arabic, the possibilities of Islamic influence, the curious freedom both in his translation and his rationalistic exegesis, and the problems of his relation to the Massorah and the Targum. Then with some account of the MSS. comes the text, in Hebrew characters, of the Psalms studied with brief commentary and translation.

It is a useful addition to the now numerous studies of Sa'adya, and is particularly useful to the student of Arabic philology by reason of the excellent *Wortregister* at the end.

DE ISLAM EN DE VROUW: BIJDRAGE TOT DE KENNIS VAN HET REFORMISME NAAR AANLEIDING VAN M. R. RIDA'S "NIDA' LIL-DJINS AL-LATIF". Door WILLEM JAN AREND KERNKAMP. $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. viii + 251. Amsterdam, 1935.

The attention of students interested in the movements of modern thought in Islam should be called to this Doctorate Thesis presented to the Faculty of Law in the University of Utrecht.

The publication of Dr. Adam's work on *Modernism in Egypt* and the Essays edited by Professor Gibb on *Whither Islam?* has led to considerable interest in the currents of thought moving in the Near East towards a restatement of Islamic belief and reform of Islamic practice. Dr. Kernkamp's book takes up this study from a new angle, that of the Woman Question.

No one at all familiar with the life of the Near East can be unaware of the enormous importance of the Feminist Movement in Modern Islam, whether that championed by Mme Charaoui Pasha and her co-workers, or the more humble and less publicized efforts in many centres that are working determinedly for a new deal for women within Islam. Nor can anyone in touch with modern Arabic literature fail to notice the fruits of the championship of the cause of women by the Egyptian writer Qāsim Amīn. What great progress there has been in the way of attempted reform of the Islamic Law (Shari'a) has been illustrated by Professor Schacht in his article "Shari'a und Qanun im modernen Agypten: ein Beitrag zur Frage des islamischen Modernismus" in *Der Islam* for 1932, and the literary controversy over the subject by Rudi Paret's pamphlet *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt*, 1934.

The champions of reform have often tended to be drastic in their rejection of orthodox Islamic teaching, and there have not been wanting forces of reaction. In the daily press of Egypt and Palestine one not infrequently finds articles

or reports of lectures which definitely call for the rejection of this whole spirit of modernism and plead for the acceptance *in toto* of the old orthodox teaching as to place of women. Others are convinced of the need for reform and are aware that in the modern world young women who have imbibed the spirit of Western culture are not going back to the old conditions of life prescribed for them by Islamic orthodoxy, but they would have the reforms worked out in a way that would not break too definitely with the Islamic system.

One of the outstanding works that have appeared in this controversy is the essay by Sheikh Rashid Ridā, "Nidā' lil-Djins al-Laṭīf," which is the expansion of a lecture delivered by the Sheikh on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday celebrations in the year 1932. Its full title is "An Appeal to the Tender Sex on the rights of Women in Islam and their share in modern Islamic Reform, with investigation into the questions of Polygamy, Concubinage, Veiling and Divorce, the problem of the Prophet's wives, the respect due to women, piety towards parents, the education of Daughters, and such like matters". The Sheikh's essay is of peculiar importance as he is the most vocal of all the disciples of the great Egyptian Reformer Muḥammad 'Abdu, whose works he has edited and whose Life he has written. He has, however, neither the intellect, the broad outlook nor the kindly charity of the great 'Abdu, and has with the years tended to move back more and more in the direction of a defence of pure orthodoxy.

Dr. Kernkamp gives a brief account of the forces that are playing on the modern world of Islam and forcing on these problems of Reform, and a somewhat fuller account of the various types of Modernism within Islam, and the problems which their teaching raises. Then he fastens on the Woman Question as raised by Sheikh Rashid Ridā's essay, and after showing the legal problems involved, goes on in the main part of the Thesis to give a detailed analysis of the argument of the essay with copious commentary from both the old

literature of Islam and the modern literature of reform. Being a man of law Dr. Kernkamp is mainly interested in the juristic aspects of the problem, and perhaps the main value of his work is the wide documentation that it provides for all students of the subject. He is not, however, blind to the human problem, and the sociological fact that the sentiment of love that is all important to woman's position in any community is never developed save where there is a strong moral restraint on the male instincts. The problem of this moral restraint is all important for the future of womanhood in Islam.

N.R. 34.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

A TIBETAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. With Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects. By H. A. JÄSCHKE. 9 × 6½, pp. xxii + 671. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1934. 42s.

This book is a reprint of the well-known dictionary first published in 1881, which, in spite of many others which have seen the light since then, is still a *livre de chevet* for every Tibetan scholar.

The Tibetan dictionary by S. Chandra Das has rendered valuable services so far as the so-called classical texts are concerned, viz. those contained in the *Bka' agyur* or in the *bsTan agyur*, but it appears to be incomplete if one has to deal with the immense indigenous literature, viz., the *rnam t'ars*, the *gsun abums*, the popular songs, etc.

The dictionary by Desgodins contains many words and expressions which seem to be peculiar to Eastern Tibet; that of Jäschke, on the other hand, is chiefly based upon Western Tibetan dialects, and its value is enhanced by the fact that the author lived for many years in Lahul and had the opportunity of studying on the spot, not only local manuscripts but the living language.

Up to the present day it is the best dictionary so far as those provinces are concerned, and every page points to the

insight and linguistic sense of the author. Of course it is far from being complete : but no dictionary can boast such a claim until individual dictionaries are compiled for the various provinces, because, of the truth of a Tibetan proverb which I have often experienced in that country, "every lama has his own religion and every village has its own language."

The dictionary of Jäschke presents us with a good and well digested material concerning Indian and parts of Western Tibet. The editors must therefore be congratulated for having reprinted a work which has long become extremely scarce.

A. 235.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

LES SOURCES INÉDITES DE L'HISTOIRE DU MAROC PUBLIÉES.
PAR PIERRE DE CENIVAL. Publications de la Section
Historique du Maroc : Première Série—Dynastie
Sa'dienne : Archives et Bibliothèques de Portugal. Tome
I, Juillet 1486—Avril 1516. 11 × 7½, pp. xvi + 782, pls.
9, plans 2. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1934. Frs. 150.

This stately volume contains documents dealing with a very obscure period of Moroccan history : the attempt of the Portuguese with a certain measure of success to obtain possession of the country. The documents are mostly in Portuguese, some in Arabic, and a few, emanating from or addressed to Popes, in Latin. The editor has provided French translations of the Arabic pieces ; to all he has prefixed careful analyses in French, which will prove helpful to those who find the archaic Portuguese difficult. Besides elucidating the allusions and technicalities in the documents M. de Cenival has inserted between the groups of letters a history of the events with which they are concerned based on elaborate and probably exhaustive research. The result is a work of great, to some extent dramatic interest, although there are neither heroes nor villains. For a time things go on the whole well for the Portuguese ; they capture a number of

places and obtain the allegiance of various tribes. Towards the end of the period the tide begins to turn. An attempt to take Marrakesh fails ; another, to build a fort at Mamora, by the mouth of the Sebou ends in a terrible disaster. The belief in Portuguese invincibility is shattered, and the loyalty of the tribes that had accepted Portuguese rule becomes suspect.

The occupation of the Moroccan strongholds would seem to have been a steady drain on both the man-power and the finance of Portugal, since the letters consist very largely of applications to the king for men and money ; great armies were sometimes despatched, as for the conquest of Azemmour ; the bulk had to be sent home when the objectives had been gained, and there are complaints of the insufficiency of the forces left to defend the conquered territory. We should guess that Portuguese imperialism in this region was not financially successful. The Jews seem to have enjoyed a fair measure of protection, and one Ibrahim b. Zamirou plays a rather important role.

The work appears to merit warm recognition as a contribution to the history of Portugal and North Africa.

A. 354.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

DASTŪR-I-PAHLAVĪ. By DIN MUḤAMMAD. Comparative Grammar of the Pahlavī and Persian Languages. In Persian. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 244. Bombay : Fort Printing Press, 1934. Rs. 8.

This is a Pahlavī grammar and a comparison between Pahlavī and modern Persian grammatical formations. It contains 240 large pages. The author apologizes for his Indian style, but, though a Persian might detect a few idioms which he might himself vary, the style is really very creditable to one who is not a native of Iran. The work is interesting, and Mr. Din MuḤammad is to be congratulated on the labour he has incurred and the way in which he brings out what he seeks to show. The printing, both of Persian and Pahlavī,

is good and clear. At the same time it would be misleading to ignore certain defects.

The book is much too long. Its length is due to the profusion of quoted examples, a large proportion of which might have been omitted. Thus it is not necessary to give three quotations from classical Persian writers to show that the Persian plural of the names of living creatures ends in ان , and no less than five to show that in the case of inanimate objects it ends in ها . These facts are so well known to all who know any Persian at all that they might simply be stated, and all examples dispensed with.

Pahlavi is just an archaic form of Persian without its Arabic, and written in a very peculiar way. Complicated forms of writing, which appear to spell some Semitic word or root, are used to express in written form common Persian words. Salemann wrote his *Middle Persian Grammar* thirty-five years ago and made this quite clear. But a reader of Mr. Din Muḥammad's work might easily not realize it. There is nothing to show it in the main body of the grammar. In the very interesting introduction—in which, however, I should have liked to have seen some acknowledgment of indebtedness to Browne—Balsara's suggestion that Semitic forms were deliberately adopted in order that races under Persian influence might more easily understand the language of their rulers is quoted, and (p. 225) this idea is apparently accepted. Surely it is incredible; such forms did not exist, they were only ideograms which were read as Persian words.

A. 357.

C. N. SEDDON.

AN IMPERIAL HISTORY OF INDIA. (In a Sanskrit Text c. 700 B.C.–c. A.D. 770.) By K. P. JAYASWAL. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xvi + 77 + xiv (index) + 75 (Skt. text). Lahore : Motilal Banarsi Dass, 1934. Rs. 8.

The *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa*, which Mr. Jayaswal edits under the above title, is part of a Mahāyānist work on the history

of Buddhism written about 770 A.D. The uncorroborated evidence of a Sanskrit MS. is usually regarded by historians with suspicion, but fortunately the Sanskrit text of this *Mūlakalpa* was translated very literally into Tibetan about 1060 A.D., forming part of the Kanjur canon. The close agreement between this and the Sanskrit version (which came to light in Travancore) excludes all possibility of faking.

The document is Pan-Indian in outlook, Kushāns, Chālukyas, Pallavas, and Indonesia find place in it, but its chief interests centre in Bengal (where presumably it was written), and, particularly, in the dynastic struggles for paramountcy (Maukhari, Thānesar, Valabhī, and later Gupta) in the obscure period between the Hun invasions and the accession of the Pālas (A.D. 500–800). The chronology is inevitably elastic (contrast pp. 44 and 63) and, as names of persons are mostly indicated by initials only, Mr. Jayaswal himself has occasional qualms as to their interpretation, but he is far too sound a scholar to indulge in improbabilities, and his reconstruction is of extraordinary interest and importance. It is to be hoped that fresh archæological discoveries will confirm it. The printing is careful, but on p. 69 Vinayāditya's demise should be dated 696, not 656, A.D.

A. 373

F. J. RICHARDS.

LES NOMS PROPRES SUD-SÉMITIQUES. By G. RYCKMANS.

3 vols. 10½ × 7, pp. xxi + 415, 134; xxiv + 206.

Louvain : Bureaux du Muséon, 1934–35.

This important work will be found indispensable by all who have had any dealings with the subject of the early Arabian inscriptions. It contains in the first volume a *répertoire analytique* of proper names found in the north Arabian (Tamoudian, Lihyani, etc.), South Arabian (Sabaeen, Minaean, etc.), and Ethiopic inscriptions, arranged by roots under the headings of divine, personal, tribal, local, and month names, which is in itself a valuable advance towards the much-desired end of a complete word-index to the early Arabian inscriptions ;

in the second volume, an alphabetical index to the first; in the third, a "concordance générale des inscriptions", enabling one to identify those which are commonly cited by more than one name. Students of the subject who have in the past known the irritation of attempting to track down in the Corpus an inscription referred to by its number in the Halévy or Glaser collection, will feel profoundly grateful to Professor Ryckmans for having undertaken the laborious and dull, but most essential task of compiling this concordance. I would draw special attention to this part of the work because the title of the whole gives no clue that it includes such a part.

One word of warning to users of the first volume. For reasons explained in the introduction, the citations in the body of the work are not exhaustive, and must be supplemented by reference not only to the addenda at the end of the volume, but also to the *répertoires alphabétiques*, where additional citations are given.

A reference work does not lend itself to detailed criticism. Of the short chapter on month names, however, I have been able to make an exhaustive study, and believe that there are two citations of some interest which might have been added. The month דְּעֵתָתָר is quoted only from *CIH*. 547⁷⁻⁸, the citation *CIH*. 461 being classed among the "noms ethniques". This fragment has, so far as I know, not been commented on since its publication in the Corpus, which gives up any attempt at a consecutive rendering. The recognition, however, of דְּעֵתָתָר there as a month name would, I think, help considerably towards explaining the whole of it. Further, by omitting altogether דְּחָרָף (*CIH*. 6⁴) from the list, the author seems to imply that he considers the word to have its usual meaning of "year". Apart, however, from the fact that Halévy read דְּחָרָף before it (unfortunately that part of the stone became illegible shortly after his time), the following consideration seems to me to

support the idea of it being a month name here. The inscription is dated in the sixth century of the Sabaeen era : now, of the other inscriptions dated in the sixth and seventh centuries, one (*CIH.* 537) has the word “ year ” before the numeral, against three (*CIH.* 540, 541, 621), and possibly four (if, as is likely, *CIH.* 644 is of similar date to 621), which omit it, the formula being, e.g. in 540 “ ורדוודרתא ורלחמסתו ” ; it is only in dates up to the fourth century that “ year ” invariably occurs. The example just quoted further gives a precedent for the use of the name of a season also for a month.

A. 377.

A. F. L. BEESTON.

JAPANESE BUDDHISM. By the late Sir CHARLES ELIOT.
9 × 6, pp. xxxiv + 449. London : Edward Arnold
and Co., 1935. 42s.

This book, in the words of Sir Harold Parlett's *In Piam Memoriam* Foreword, is complementary to Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*. Consistent to the end in his loyalty to work of research, the author waited to complete and publish it, till he had laid down his office of ambassador at Tokyo, having thereby gained liberty to write his judgments. I was looking forward to his return from his unofficial visit to Japan, “ bringing his sheaves with him,” when death took him at sea, leaving Sir Harold Parlett and Mr. G. B. Sansom, who had both worked with him in Japan, to complete and publish his work. This begins with chapters on “ the Canons ”, Hīnayānist and Mahāyānist, Buddhist doctrines in India and China, “ the Pantheon,” i.e. of Buddhas, and Buddhism in China. Part II then gives us a history of the entrance and spread of Chinese Buddhism into Japan, with chapters on Amidism, Zen, and—this by Mr. G. B. Sansom—Nichiren. Once more our materials for knowledge little known has been enriched by this man's watchful and untiring travels and pen. The results will find due and critical mention by other hands.

A. 403.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

TEXTES POPULAIRES INGUŠ recueillis par M. JABAGI. Traduits, commentés et précédés d'une introduction grammaticale par G. DUMÉZIL. 9½ × 6½, pp. 73. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1935.

The preface and grammatical introduction end on p. 15, and the rest of the book contains eighteen different pieces with interlinear translation and commentary. This is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the rapidly dying languages of the North Central Caucasus, and it is to be hoped that M. Jabagi may publish more of the large store of folk-songs and folk-tales which he began to collect from his boyhood till political events drove him into exile.

A. 435.

O. WARDROP.

DIE KOSMOGRAPHISCHE EPISODE IM MAHĀBHĀRATA UND PADMAPURĀNA. By LUISE HILGENBERG. Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 4. 9½ × 6½, pp. liii + 40. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1934. R.M. 9.

From W. Kirfel's *Kosmographie der Inder* we know that the cosmographic episode in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣmaparvan, Adhyāyas 5-11) occurs in a word for word parallel in the Padmapurāṇa (Svargakhaṇḍa, Adhy. 3-9). Dr. Hilgenberg has made it her object to analyse this episode and trace its relation to other similar fragmentary cosmological descriptions which are found in what Professor Kirfel calls the second group of the Purāṇas (especially the Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya and Vāyu P.). Her task, in which she has been successful, was to deal with those problems which are connected with the history of the texts, this being of importance not only for the solution of the chronological and critical problems of the Mhbh. and Purāṇas but also for the history and critique of Indian cosmological ideas.

In her exhaustive treatise she discusses all the identical passages in the two sets of texts and comes to the conclusion that the Purāṇa versions of the episode are the older ones,

serving as basis for the Mhbh. and Padmap. texts. The latter show several deviations, of which some exhibit Jainistic influence. Their closest resemblance is with the Matsya P. It is also more than likely that the redactor of the Mhbh. took the episode from the Padmapurāṇa.

The whole text of the episode (beautifully collated and carefully edited with copious references) is given in forty pages at the end of Dr. Hilgenberg's investigation.

A. 279.

W. STEDE.

TUHFAT EL A'YÂN BI SÎRAT AHL 'UMÂN. By 'ABDALLÂH IBN HUMAID ES SÂLIMÎ. Edited and annotated by IBRAHÎM IBN IṬFAYISH EL JAZÂ'IRÎ. 9 × 6½. Arabic text. Volume I (2nd edition), pp. 302, Cairo, 1350 (1931). Volume II, pp. 316, Cairo, 1347 (1928). London A. Probsthain. 12s.

'Umân is a province of Arabia so isolated that as a rule what happens there does not matter much to the outside world. Occasionally it has had a share in movements and developments that is worth studying. The present book, which was written in 1330 (1912), consists almost entirely of rather loose and indefinite annals of the province beginning before Islam and ending near the date mentioned. A large part of the contents is concerned with small wars and petty local struggles, which even if they had been related with the dates and details required to give them substance would still have remained tedious and not very profitable to follow. More useful matter appears occasionally, but the amount is not great. From some of the authorities cited it seems that it is not impossible that some genuine early historical material, unknown elsewhere, may still be preserved in 'Umân from which further facts of value could be obtained with regard to such questions as the part taken by the Azd tribes in the Islamic conquests, early Islam in 'Umân, and so forth.

Though the *Tuhfa* resembles in a general way the history of 'Umân by Salîl ibn Razîk, of which a translation by G. P. Badger is published in the Hakluyt Series, it differs from it in detail and for the most part seems to be quite independent of it. It may be useful to draw attention to an account in the *Tuhfa* of an expedition of 100 ships sent from 'Umân in the time of the Imâm Eş Şalt ibn MALIK (237-273 (851-886)) against the Christians of Socotra, since this event does not appear to be mentioned in any other book. The *Tuhfa* goes rather out of its way to confuse 'Isâ ibn Ja'far, the cousin of Hârûn ar Rashîd and Zubaida, with 'Isâ ibn Ja'far ibn Sulaimân, a mistake not made by Salîl. For some of the later parts of the history, Salîl's book ending at 1273 (1856) is fuller than the *Tuhfa* and probably more reliable.

The annotations are few and short.

A. 303.

R. GUEST.

RÉPERTOIRE CHRONOLOGIQUE D'ÉPIGRAPHIE ARABE. Tome cinquième. Publié, etc., sous la direction de ÉT. COMBE, J. SAUVAGET et G. WIET. Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale. 11½ × 9, pp. 193. Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1934.

The fifth volume of the excellent collection of the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology of Cairo contains 400 Arabic inscriptions. Nos. 1601-2000, from the years A.H. 354-386, and a few additions and corrections to this and the former volumes. The material includes signatures, epitaphs, and inscriptions, relative to the foundation or construction of monuments.

The Arab Museum of Cairo, the Benaki Museum of Athens, the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford, the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, the Archaeological Museum of Madrid, the Vatican Museum, the Museo civico of Syracuse, the Convent of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem, and the collections

of Abemayor, Bailleul, Nahman, and Tano, are among the institutions which contributed material to this volume. Valuable additions were furnished by M. S. Dinand (Nos. 1617, 1630, 1771–3), E. Tisserand (Nos. 1626, 1634, 1652, 1922, 1949), E. Kühnel (Nos. 1638, 1644), É. Lévi-Provençal (Nos. 1614, 1631–2, 1649–50, 1823, 1863, 1872–3, 1882, 1904), A. Grohmann (No. 1766), Rh. Guest (Nos. 1767–1770, 1782, 1810, 1870), K. A. C. Creswell (Nos. 1899, 1901, 1902 (with Rh. Guest), U. Monneret de Villard (Nos. 1880–1), and Eustache de Lorey (No. 1898).

A. 383.

JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI.

1. *Iṣṭasiddhi* OF VIMUKTĀTMAN with Extracts from the Vivaraṇa of Jñānottama. Edited by M. HIRIYANNA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXV. 9½ × 6, pp. xxxvi + 697. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1935. Rs. 14.
2. *Siddhāntabindu* OF MADHUSŪDANA with the commentary of Purushottama. Edited and translated by PRAHLĀD CHANDRASHEKHAR DIVĀNJI. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXIV. 9½ × 6, pp. 24 + cxlii + 93 + 306. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1933. Rs. 11.
3. *Shabara-Bhāṣya*. Translated into English by GANGANATHA JHA. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXVI and LXX. 9½ × 6, (Vol. I) pp. xv + 1–706, (Vol. II) pp. xx + 707–1416. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1933 and 1934. Rs. 16 each volume.

The *Iṣṭasiddhi* is a polemical work of the Advaita school of Vedānta, dated by the editor between the limits of A.D. 850 and 1050, and dealing chiefly with the theory of *māyā*. Its importance lies in its discussion of the various theories of error, and, though apparently it contains no identifiable quotations from Buddhist works, specialists in Buddhist logic would do well to consult it. The editing is good and the introduction scholarly and admirable, giving adequately but briefly all the information required by the reader and avoiding digressions into extraneous matters.

The next work is a late Vedantin manual, in the form of a commentary on the *Dasāṅgī* attributed to Śaṅkara, and has already been printed elsewhere. The text is good, and the translation, if hardly intelligible by itself, is of assistance to grasping the not always easy original. The introduction and notes would have benefited by the excision of all irrelevant or unnecessary matter and by a more concise method of expression; to discourse at length on every conceivable subject too frequently brings into relief the limitations, not the extent, of a writer's learning, besides the aggravation it causes the reader.

The last two volumes cover for two-thirds of the distance the final stage of a great undertaking, the complete translation into English of the *bhāṣyas* on the six orthodox philosophic systems. The methods and excellence of MM. Gangadhara Jha's translations are by this time so well known that it would be superfluous to use up space in describing them, but at least a word of gratitude is due to him for his labours, which in the case of a text like that of Śaṅkarasvāmin were necessarily formidable. As a study in method (the results being much the same), a comparison should be made with O. Strauss's translation of the *bhāṣya* on the first five *sūtras* in *SBPAW.*, 1932, each author having worked independently of the other. A really good index, as promised for the third volume, would be a great boon, especially if it mentions all controversies with other systems, a point omitted in the preliminary index to the first volume.

A. 386, 385, 387, 391.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA, with the commentary of ABHINAVAGUPTA.

Edited by M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI. Volume II.
Gaekwad's Oriental Series, LXVIII. 9½ × 6½, pp. xxiii
+ 25 + 460 + iv. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1934.
Rs. 5.

In the eight years that separated the appearance of the first volume of this edition of the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* from

that of the second, the editor acquired much new material and has evidently studied the Sanskrit literature on the subject in greater detail. The text of the *śāstra* as worked out by him in this volume is distinctly better than any we have, and he has on the whole done well with the commentary, the MSS. of which are very corrupt. But as the latter often gives little idea of the actual words that Abhinavagupta had before him, the edition inevitably raises the whole problem of the constitution of the text, which is almost as complicated as that of the *Mahābhārata*. Mr. Kavi seems now to have arrived at definite ideas on this subject, but he expresses himself with such lack of lucidity and gives so little of the essential information that it is very hard to find out exactly what he thinks or has done. It is to be hoped that in the introduction to the final volume he will explain his views clearly in detail and give us a considered and critical account of the MS. material. A really good index to the whole work is also required, all the more so as he has failed to provide distinguishing marks to direct attention to the occurrence of references to writers and literary works in the commentary.

The commentary raises one point of importance for literary history ; for on the *anubandha* to chapter xvi, which is treated as chapter xvii in other editions, it illustrates the explanation of rhetorical terms by quotations, the majority of which are from plays, whose MSS. only survive in Southern India, such as the four plays known as the *Caturbhāṇī*, the *Kundamālā*, the *Avimāraka*, etc. These plays do not seem to be quoted elsewhere in the commentary, and the method of citation differs from that elsewhere employed by Abhinavagupta. *Prima facie* I incline to the view that these passages have been added by a later hand in peninsular India and that it is unsafe to draw any deductions from them about the authenticity or the date of the plays in question.

A. 389.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

AN EARLY MYSTIC OF BAGHDAD. A study of the life and teaching of Hārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī, A.D. 781-857. By MARGARET SMITH. 8½ × 5½, pp. xi + 311. London: The Sheldon Press. 1935. 15s.

This book gives us what has long been desired, a full account of the doctrine of Muḥāsibī of Baṣra, who died in A.D. 857 and is celebrated as one of the most original mystic theologians in Islam. His writings are among the oldest of their kind, and had a great influence not only on Ṣūfīs but, through Ghazālī, on the main body of earnestly religious Moslems, while it is probable that St. Thomas Aquinas and other medieval Christian authors indirectly drew inspiration from him. Dr. Smith is now preparing an edition of his masterpiece, the *Kitāb al-Ri'āya*; of his extant works (more than twenty in number) only one has yet been printed. Nearly all these, however, have been utilized in the present study, and much new material was collected by Dr. Smith herself during travels undertaken for that purpose in Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. That it sheds little or no light upon outward events and circumstances is not surprising: the whole object of these treatises is to set forth the true principles and practice of the mystical life, a theme which Muḥāsibī develops with extraordinary insight, subtlety, and delicacy. His use of dialectic (*tashqīq lil-kalām*, p. 27) as a controversial and literary weapon shocked orthodox and old-fashioned people like Ibn Ḥanbal, and was criticized by some eminent Ṣūfī contemporaries. But he writes from the heart. His own story of his conversion (translated on pp. 18-20) will bear comparison with the well-known parallel passage in Ghazālī. The seven chapters in which Dr. Smith discusses his psychological theory and the ascetic, moral, devotional, and mystical aspects of his theology are illustrated by many striking extracts and give an admirable view of the man and his teaching. Although the goal he seeks is perfect harmony with God through disinterested love, he takes care to maintain a just balance between the intellectual and emotional elements

in religion. "God," he says, "is not known except by means of the reason," and he warns his readers against the pantheistic tendencies inherent in the doctrine of *faná*. We find frequent borrowings from the Gospel and other works of Jewish or Christian origin, but it does not follow, and personally I think it unlikely, that he had studied the earliest Arabic translations of this literature. There was a vast floating stock of such foreign goods, easily accessible to Moslems at the time.

Dr. Smith's learned and lucid exposition should attract many besides specialists. On p. 71, l. 3, "group" is obviously an unsuitable word for the *Ahl al-Sunna wa-'l-Jamá'a*, who were not "founded" by any one. In the first footnote on the same page, read "Ibn Khallikān, iii, p. 554; Sha'rānī, p. 84". The spelling of proper names is occasionally inaccurate, e.g. 'Atba ('Utba), Ḥudayfa (Ḥudhayfa), and on p. 259 *Ghurriyat* (*Ghunyat*), Ibn Rāhwiya (Rāhawayh), Ibn al-Dakhmasī (al-Dakhmīsī). But these are small blemishes in a fine book, for which every student of Šūfism will be grateful.

A. 519.

R. A. NICHOLSON

PERSIAN LITERATURE. A bio-bibliographical Survey. By C. A. STOREY. Section II, fasciculus 1: (A) General History; (B) The Prophets and Early Islam. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xl + 175. London: Luzac and Co., 1935.

In this second instalment of his work Professor Storey continues his description of the raw materials available to the student of Persian history and literature. An account is given of all historical works written in Persian down to the time of the neo-Iranian renaissance and either noted in catalogues or mentioned elsewhere as being in existence. The work is comprehensive enough to include with the purely Persian writers not only Indian authors but all translators also. Even with a knowledge of this it is a little startling to

find that the dubious efforts at Persian composition of Thomas Wm. Beale are regarded as worthy of a place (p. 151). However, within the encyclopaedic range of the survey this must be regarded as admissible. Professor Storey is engaged on further instalments of his work, and one may look forward to the time when an index begins to be possible. In some future fascicule, it may perhaps be suggested, a correction might be made of the phrase in No. 213, p. 173, which states that 'Askar al-Mahdī was "in" al-Rusāfah, at Baghdad. According to Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 189, the two were identical.

It is to be hoped that Professor Storey's other duties and interests will not divert him from the task of completing his survey as quickly as possible. Even now its usefulness to anyone concerned with the literature of Persia is very evident.

A. 486.

R. LEVY.

THE BUCHEUM. By Sir ROBERT MOND and O. H. MYERS. Forty-first Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society. 12½ × 10. Vol. i, pp. xii + 203—History and Archaeology of the Site. Vol. ii, pp. 92—The Inscriptions. Vol. iii, pls. clxxiii The Plates. London: (Egypt Exploration Society), Humphrey Milford, 1934.

In writing a review of a work to the compilation of which so many persons have contributed, and which in consequence is made up of so many parts, one finds it difficult to know where to begin. Perhaps it will be wisest, therefore, to give merely a short summary of the results of the work done and of their historical connections.

Beside what could be discovered from references in classical and early Christian authors, little has hitherto been known about the worship of bulls in Egypt, a practice common among primitive peoples and not confined to that country. The previous excavations of the burials of two Mnevis bulls at Heliopolis (Daressy) and of those of the Apis bulls at the Serapeum (Mariette) provided, however, a little information.

The present excavation of the burials of the sacred Buchis bulls at Armant (the Bucheum) and of the cow-mothers (the Baqaria) has yielded much new material for comparison. It is possible that the excavations of the French Archæological Mission at Tôt and Medamût may throw further light on the subject.

Not the least of the finds is a series of stelæ inscribed in the hieroglyphic character, which extends from the time of Nekhtorheb (346 B.C.) until that of Diocletian (A.D. 295), providing a fairly continuous history of the bulls, and examples of the latest form of hieroglyphic writing which we possess. The stelæ have been translated and commented upon by Mr. H. W. Fairman, and form a large portion of the subject matter of vol. ii. Some of the late examples are extremely difficult to make sense of.

Briefly stated, the information which we now have concerning the Buchis bulls is as follows. The worship of Buchis began in the reign of Nekhtorheb (always supposing that there are no earlier burials still to be discovered), Buchis being then equated with the bull of Medamût, at which place there had been a bull-cult as early as the twelfth Dynasty. The bull was probably white with black head, and would have been selected by this and other distinguishing marks. The bull was installed and rowed from Thebes to Armant, his mother being highly honoured, perhaps as a virgin mother, like the mother of Apis, and kept in the temple of Armant. The bull may have been peripatetic, visiting Armant, Medamût Tôt, and Thebes, remaining for a short while in each place. A solar connection (Mnevis) of the Buchis bull is shown by his description in the stelæ as *bꜣ 'nh n R', whm R'*, "the living soul of Re", the repetition of Re" (the exact shade of meaning conveyed by the latter epithet is uncertain), and a connection with the Nile (Apis) by the fact that in 1730 a Nilometer was still standing in the temple lake of Armant. The bull appears to have been allowed to die a natural death, the span of life being anything up to a little less than 25 years.

The excavation on the site commenced in 1927, and was not concluded until the end of the season 1931-2. During this time directors were Mr. W. B. Emery, Dr. H. Frankfort, and Mr. O. H. Myers, the last being responsible for the publication of the results of the work of his predecessors as well as those of his own. The memoir contains a great amount of work, and, as already intimated, the assistance of a large number of experts in subjects related to archæology has been called in. The various types of antiquities have all been thus considered, described, and recorded in their respective places with painstaking detail.

A few mistakes and misprints have been noticed in vol. ii. In Stela No. 15, G (1), p. 15, "Year 2" should be "Year 24". In Stela No. 16, pp. 16 and 17, the notes¹ (there are two) and² do not correspond with the reference-letters in the translation. In Stela No. 21, G (1), p. 20, "Khoiak 2" should be "Mesore 2".

A. 299.

M. F. LAMING MACADAM.

LA PLACE D'AL-FĀRĀBĪ DANS L'ÉCOLE PHILOSOPHIQUE MUSULMANE. By IBRAHIM MADKOUR. 10 × 6½, pp. x + 254. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1934.

Some years ago the Paris publisher, Félix Alcan, issued a series known as "Les grands Philosophes", which included Ibn Sīnā, Al-Ghazzālī, and Maimonides. Why Al-Fārābī, a philosopher head and shoulders above those mentioned, was not included, is an enigma. Yet for anyone who was prepared to tackle the *mu'allim al-thānī* the ground was already well ploughed and sown by the scholarly Steinschneider whose *Al-Fārābī* was issued over half a century ago.

In view of this hiatus, it was with the greatest pleasure that we opened the new book on Al-Fārābī by Dr. Madkour which Professor Massignon introduces with a flourish. When such unmitigable notes are sounded by so eminent a professor we were naturally roused to enthusiasm by the

fanfare. Yet as we read page after page of this book our interest seemed to cool, until by the time we had reached the end a feeling of disappointment had taken possession of us. It is true that Dr. Madkour has "cultivated the Arabic sources direct", but in almost every case the sources are those which have already been made known to us by Dieterici who, in addition, has even given us a translation into German. Why not have culled from the *Talkhīṣ nawāmīs Aflātūn*, the *Risāla fī'l-nafs*, the *Kitāb al-alfāz al-Aflātūniya* or the *Risāla fī'l-'alam al-a'lā* which we only know by name since they have not been published? Further, seeing that Al-Fārābī was first of all a logician, as Aristotle would have every philosopher, we might have had an introduction to Al-Fārābī's philosophy via his logic. Even if many of his logical treatises are wrapped up in Hebrew translations there are enough Arabic tracts in the Escorial and Bodleian libraries to have furnished Dr. Madkour with material for such a contribution. If we may use the simile of Professor Massignon, this "panorama of the philosophical ideas of Al-Fārābī", is not panoramic. What is given us in Dr. Madkour's book is not an "all-round view". This criticism covers the main portion of the book. On the other hand, chapters 1 and 2 are decidedly a contribution of considerable value to those interested in the origins of Muslim philosophy, although much of it may be found in the writings of Boer, Carra de Vaux, Dieterici, Horten, and Steinschneider.

The author writes clearly and convincingly. Following Al-Fārābī he is synthetic in his treatment of the subject. On the whole, the book is well worth reading. It is furnished with two excellent indices and a comprehensive bibliography, although it manages to omit the present writer's contributions on the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* in the *JRAS.* (1932-4). A full page is devoted to errata which, on closer scrutiny, could easily be doubled.

KUNDAKUNDĀCĀRYA'S *PRAVACANASĀRA*. Critically edited, with the Sanskrit Commentaries of Amṛtacandra and Jayasena, and a Hindi commentary of Pāṇḍe Hemarāja, and an English translation, by A. N. UPADHYE, Professor of Ardhamāgadhī, Rajaram College, Kolhapur. 2nd ed. 10 × 7, pp. 14 + cxxvi + 376 + 61. Bombay : Shetha Manilal Revashankar Jhaveri for the Parama-Śruta-Prabhābaka-Maṇḍala, 1935. Rs. 5.

This volume forms a most useful contribution to the growing literature of Jainism and supplements excellently the translation of the *Pravacanasāra* which we owe to Professor Faddegon. Of special importance is the detailed investigation of Kundakunda's date. The editor very justly rejects the proposal of the late Professor Pathak to assign him to A.D. 528, pointing out that the Merkara copperplates of Śaka 388 mention six Ācāryas with a clear statement that they belonged to the Kundakundānvaya, which is quite incompatible with the date suggested, apart altogether from the fact that, as Professor Thomas has justly stressed, the identification of Śivakumāra, whom Jayasena mentions as the king, for whom this treatise was written, with the Kadamba king Śivamṛgeśavarman is quite untenable. Nor is it possible to adopt the view of Pt. Premi that the term *loyavibhāgesu* in Kundakunda's *Niyamasāra* refers to the *Lokavibhāga* of Sarvanandi composed in Śaka 380 ; the reference is clearly to works generally on the topic, not to a specific text.

An effort is made by the author to utilize the Prākṛit of Kundakunda in favour of his own tentative conclusion that Kundakunda's age lies at the beginning of the Christian era. His very useful investigation of the Prākṛit (pp. cxi-cxxvi) leads him to the conclusion that its appellation Jaina Śaurasenī is justified, and that, taken on the whole, it represents a stage earlier than that of the Prākṛit portions, as analysed by Professor Jacobi, of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. That text may be placed before Bhāsa and Kālidāsa at the beginning of the second century A.D. Moreover, the absence of Apabhraṁśa

forms in the best preserved of Kundakunda's works may be adduced to support this view, since such forms are found in the *Paiimacariya* of Vimalasūri, whose own statement places him at the beginning of the Christian era. Neither argument, it is clear, can be stressed. The date of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* as we have it is very uncertain, and the condition of the Prākṛit therein much disputed, while Vimalasūri is probably to be placed considerably later than his apparent date. As matters stand, we can hardly say more than that Kundakunda is probably older than Umāsvāti, himself of disputed date, and that he may be placed not later than the fourth century A.D. How much earlier must remain problematic.

Professor Upadhye gives us not merely a very careful account of Kundakunda and his works in general and the *Pravacanasāra* in particular, but also a most valuable summary of certain of the Jain metaphysical doctrines (pp. lxii-xcv). His most interesting contribution is perhaps his conclusion that the similarities of Jainism, Buddhism, and the Sāṃkhya philosophy point to the existence of a great Magadhan indigenous religion which flourished before the advent of the Aryans; to the commingling of the streams of Aryan and indigenous religion at the close of the Brāhmaṇa period we owe, on the one hand, the Ātmavidyā of the Upaniṣads, and the tenets of Jainism and Buddhism on the other.

The text of the Gāthās and the commentaries seems to have been carefully edited, and there are useful indexes of the leading technical terms and to the Introduction. The commentators are treated fully, and their dates as far as possible determined (pp. xcvi-cxi).

A. 539.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

THE TUHFA I SAMI (SECTION V) OF SAM MIRZA SAFAWI
 Edited in the original Persian, with an index, Persian
 and English prefaces, variants and notes, by MAWLAWI
 IQBAL HUSAIN. 9½ × 6½, pp. vii + iii + 193 + 8.
 Patna : Printed at Shanti Press, Allahabad for Patna
 University, 1934.

Professor E. G. Browne has remarked on the extraordinary dearth of notable poets in Persia during the Šafawī period, calling attention in particular to the great collection of names mentioned in the *Tuhfah i Sāmī* (a work which, in this connection, he recommends urgently for publication) among which, with certain well-known exceptions, none is first-rate. It is the peculiar merit of anthologies that they spare the discerning reader the very heavy and often fruitless task of ploughing through fat volumes of *dīwāns* in the hope of finding poetry of outstanding merit : while before the invention of printing, the anthologist secured immortality for an otherwise worthless poet in consideration of a few eminent verses. The *Tuhfah i Sāmī*, as an anthology, has the added distinction of having been compiled by a man who was himself a considerable poet. On the biographical side it may not bear comparison with other more celebrated *tadhkirahs* : of the quality of the poems quoted in it there can be no two opinions. Maulawī Iqbāl Husain has enriched our knowledge of Persian poetry, and deserves our warm thanks for a scholarly and usefully annotated and indexed text clearly and accurately printed. It is much to be hoped that he will realize his project of publishing the whole work, of which this is the most important part.

A. 542.

A. J. ARBERRY.

KITĀB AL-AWRĀK. (Section on Contemporary Poets.) By ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. YAḤYĀ AL-ṢŪLĪ. Edited by J. HEYWORTH DUNNE. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 256 + 17. London : Luzac & Co., 1934.

Although the larger part of it has been lost, what remains of the work bearing the above title is of great value for the literary history of the early 'Abbásid time. ṢŪLĪ, who lived in the latter half of the third and the first thirty-five years of the fourth century A.H., was an accomplished courtier, a famous chess-player, a connoisseur of poetry, and personally acquainted with the characters and circumstances of contemporaries about whom little or nothing is known from other sources. The present instalment—Mr. Dunne has recently edited another dealing with the Caliphs Rāḍī and Muttaqī, and it may be hoped there is more to come—comprises only the final section of the book. This is mainly an anthology. The poets cited are arranged under the families to which they belonged, and since the author regarded lack of celebrity as a reason for preferential treatment in the allocation of space, the materials collected here are, on the whole, new and not likely to be preserved elsewhere. Ampler details concerning the writers would have been welcome, but the volume derives its importance from the fact that it illustrates a period of transition in poetical style ; sometimes, too, it has a more particular interest, e.g. the specimen of Abán's *mathnawí* version of *Kalíla wa-Dimna*, which must be one of the first experiments in this form. The editor earns high praise for the pains he has taken to correct the text now published with an Arabic introduction and indices. Owing to the often dubious legibility of the unique Cairo MS., on which it is based, his task was a difficult one, and he acknowledges help from Dr. Ṭáhá Ḥusayn and other distinguished Egyptian scholars. Many corrupt passages have been successfully emended ; a few cases left over for critics to try their hands on seem pretty desperate.

SON OF HEAVEN. A Biography of Li Shih-min, founder of the T'ang Dynasty. By C. P. FITZGERALD. 8½ x 5½, pp. ix + 232, pls. 3, maps 9, ill. 1. Cambridge University Press, 1933. 12s. 6d.

This is a remarkably well-written and interesting account of one whom many would consider to be the greatest of all Chinese emperors. Certainly the difficulties he had to contend with at the outset of his career were as formidable as can well be imagined. After the collapse of the Sui, no fewer than eleven pretenders to the throne had started up in various parts of the country, and it was only through the well-nigh superhuman efforts of Li shih-min that the house of T'ang emerged victorious. Mr. Fitzgerald has a keen eye for character, and makes us realize the cool daring of his hero all the better by contrasting it with the timidity and vacillation of his father, the nominal emperor, who had to be driven forward at each step. Yet as a politician, or rather as a courtier attempting to thwart the intrigues of his enemies, this brilliant strategist and man of action showed himself singularly inept. His indifference to personal danger and his imprudent clemency remind one not a little of Julius Cæsar; and he came within an ace of sharing his fate. As it was, the tragedy of the Hsüan-wu Gate, in which his treacherous brothers both perished, might well have been avoided by a man with less goodness of heart and more aptitude for "the stealthy warfare of palace corridors". And the same lack of insight in domestic matters may have been partly responsible for the lamentable conspiracy and ruin of his son. In spite of these flaws, however, the name of Li Shih-min will always be honoured by the Chinese as that of a wise and beneficent ruler who inaugurated an era of unexampled prosperity and splendour.

The present work is based principally on Ssü-ma Kuang's *Tzū chih t'ung chien*, but judicious use has also been made of several other Chinese sources and European books. The campaigns and decisive battles are described with a fullness and accuracy rendered possible by the fact that the author

has himself been over much of the ground. A number of useful sketch-maps are interspersed, and there is an index with Chinese characters, in which, unfortunately, there are not a few mistakes.

A. 64.

L. GILES.

CONFUCIANISM AND MODERN CHINA. The Lewis Fry Memorial Lectures, 1933-4, delivered at Bristol University by REGINALD F. JOHNSTON. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5, pp. 272, ill. 7. London: Victor Gollancz, 1934. 8s. 6d.

“What is Confucianism?” In attempting to answer this question Sir Reginald Johnston begins by citing fourteen short texts selected from the Confucian canon by an able and distinguished Chinese scholar for the guidance of school-teachers in Java. All but the first are taken from the Lun Yü, or Analects; the remaining one is from the Hsiao Ching, or Classic of Filial Piety, but has nothing to do with that subject. It will surprise many, indeed, to find no specific reference to filial piety in any of these sayings. The truth is that, in spite of a general belief to the contrary, this virtue was not greatly stressed by Confucius himself. It is largely due to the spurious Hsiao Ching that filial piety has come to be regarded, even by scholars like the author of this book, as the very main-spring of Confucian teaching. Neither can ancestor-worship, to which a chapter is devoted, be called a fundamental part of Confucian doctrine, as handed down in the Analects. It was an ancient cult which Confucius seems to have accepted without enthusiasm. Even political loyalty is not much emphasized by the Sage, who was more concerned with the duties of rulers to their subjects than vice versa. It is significant that in the chapter treating of this virtue not a single passage is quoted from the Analects: all are taken from Mencius or later works.

The old question whether Confucianism can be considered a religion receives no definite answer from Sir Reginald, who prefers to describe it as a Way of Life, and a very noble one, too. But he also quotes a remarkable passage from the Chi T'ung in the Book of Rites, beginning thus: "Religion (*chi*) is not a thing that comes to man from without. It has its origin in his innermost being and is born in his heart. When emotion stirs the heart there is an outward manifestation of it, and that, when ordered aright, is ritual." It should be said that the ordinary meaning of *chi* is "sacrificial offering", but here it clearly stands for something closely akin to "religion".

The second half of the book deals with the fortunes of Confucianism in history, and discusses the place that it will occupy in the future. The author rightly deplores the intolerance of the Kuomintang in 1927, when the portrait of the Sage was torn down and trampled underfoot at Hankow, and the bombardment of Ch'ü Fou, the holy city of Confucian tradition, by the armies of the "Christian General" in 1930. But reaction has set in, and there are good grounds for a moderate optimism. The altars of Confucius are still warm; and "it will be an evil day for China and not for China only but for the whole world—when they grow stone cold".

The book is written in the pure, flowing English which we have learned to expect from Sir Reginald's pen; his polemical instincts find full scope in these pages; his arguments are as crushing, and his irony as deadly as ever. The copious notes at the end of the book testify to wide research and careful reading. For easy reference, it is a pity that they are numbered according to chapters, and not serially throughout.

A. 291.

L. GILES.

THE PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RUBA'IIYYÁT OF 'UMAR-I-KHAYYÁM IN THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS. Transcribed and edited with introductory notes by Dr. BARTHOLOMEW CSILLIK. Vol. I. 10 × 7, pp. lxii + 168. Travaux de la bibliothèque universitaire de Szeged, No. 4. Szeged, 1934. London: Luzac and Co., 1934.

This volume gives autographed transcripts of three Omarian MSS. representing different types of textual tradition (Suppl. Pers. 1417, Anc. Fonds 349, and Suppl. Pers. 823), which the author designates as PA, PB, and PC respectively, together with an elaborate analysis on the lines laid down by Professor Christensen. No doubt such investigations can do something towards separating the wheat from the tares, so that Dr. Csillik's work is not without interest even for those who regard the problem as ultimately insoluble.

A. 453.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

MEDIEVAL INDIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, RAI BAHADUR, late Superintendent of the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Introduction by R. L. HOBSON, Keeper of Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum. pp. xiv + 75 + 1, pls. xxiv. London: Kegan Paul, 1936. 10s. 6d.

The nucleus of the present important collection of Indian figure sculpture at the British Museum came from the specimens acquired by an enthusiastic eccentric, General Charles Stuart, who died over a century ago. This has been largely added to in later years, and the collection as a whole is now an extremely fine one.

An authoritative description of its contents was badly needed, and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda has produced a most valuable monograph. A trained archæologist and scholar, he is able to explain clearly and concisely a number of

points which it is necessary to grasp in order to appreciate the peculiar conditions under which Indian sculpture evolved, such matters, for instance, as the predominating influence of notions of auspicious signs in determining the character of early Buddhistic and Jaina images.

After a chapter on the origins of figure sculpture and the early periods he passes to his main subject, the Gupta and later medieval art, which he treats with special reference to the examples in the Museum. Some of these are described in detail, with a good deal of information on provenance, dates, and the various motives. The concluding chapter deals with the numerous examples from Orissa.

The book is enriched by literary references and quotations, and with its series of fine plates it should appeal to many besides scholars—to all in fact who wish to know more about a collection of singular beauty and variety.

N.R. 39.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

DIE ARBEITERWANDERUNGEN IN SÜDOSTASIEN. Von Dr. KARL JOSEPH PELZER. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vi + 126, maps 3 (in the text). Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1935.

This little book deals with the migration of labour, with special reference to India, Burma, Ceylon, China, British Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies, in that order. An introductory chapter explains the causes of this migration, the chief of which is the great difference in density of population between one region and another, coupled with the consequent demand for labour when European, or other, capital requires its aid in the development of the sparsely inhabited ones. India, China, and to a less degree Java (all countries containing over-populated areas) are the chief sources of supply. India, besides furnishing migrant labour for its own agricultural requirements, renders the same service to Ceylon, Burma, and British Malaya (which, however, also receives an even

greater number of labourers from South-Eastern China), while the Javanese for the most part go to Sumatra, where they now very much outnumber the Chinese immigrants.

The author deals with his subject historically and describes the various methods of recruiting and the contractual terms of engagement, both of which factors have been modified from time to time by legislation and otherwise ; and he also gives brief accounts of the economic conditions of the several countries concerned. His statements are supported throughout by statistics, and these are further supplemented by an appendix containing six statistical tables showing the immigration and emigration of labourers in connection with Assam, Ceylon, British Malaya, Eastern Sumatra, and Java. In short, the book contains a great mass of information in a very small space and represents a considerable amount of research ; the bibliography of authorities cited in the text includes no less than 185 items.

A. 578.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

INDIAN INFLUENCES IN OLD-BALINESE ART. By Dr. WILHELM F. STUTTERHEIM. 10 × 7½, pp. xiii + 41, pls. xxiii, map 1. London : The India Society, 1935. 15s.

This small book is a valuable introduction to our acquaintance with the art, and in particular the sculpture, of Bali. The text deals with the history, religion, and antiquities of the island, starting from the period before the introduction of Indian influences and tracing their development to the fourteenth century or thereabouts. The oldest stone sculptures found in Bali are closely connected in style with those of Central Java of the eighth and ninth centuries ; and in them Indian, and in particular remote Gupta, influences are clearly traceable. Subsequently, later Javanese and local Balinese tendencies modified this art in directions leading it further away from its ultimately Indian sources. The historical chapter gives us an insight into the political relations between

Bali and its larger neighbour Java and indicates the causes which influenced its art and maintained its religion of Hinduism (in which the cult of deceased kings was an important factor), while Java became Muslim. Long before that last period, however, a native Balinese tendency in art had shown itself and eventually it prevailed; but in the medieval phase of its development Balinese art retained definite traces of Indian influence, which can be observed in the excellent and well-chosen illustrations included in this work.

A. 468.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

ADATRECHTBUNDELS. XXXVIII: Gajo-, Alas- en Batak-landen. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. vi + 511, map 1. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1936. Gld. 5.

This volume is concerned mainly with the Batak districts of Northern Sumatra and consists to a great extent of legal documents in Malay or Batak, generally accompanied by Dutch translations and recording decisions in matters of customary law or embodying contracts or agreements, while others take the form of a statute declaring what the law is. There is also a good deal of historical information, and a number of pedigrees of local chiefs are given in the text as well as a good deal of information about tribal subdivisions. In short, like its predecessors, this volume is a valuable contribution to the ethnography of the Dutch East Indies.

A. 597.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

PRIMITIVE LAW. By A. S. DIAMOND. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. x + 451. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1935. 25s.

The chief purpose of this extremely interesting and valuable work is to refute certain propositions (too numerous to be quoted here) formulated by Maine with regard to the origin and development of ancient law and in particular the fundamental one that "law is derived from pre-existing rules

of conduct which are at the same time legal, moral, and religious in nature". With this end in view the author describes and analyses with great acumen the early "codes", such as those of Hammurabi, the Assyrians, Hittites, Hebrews, Romans, and Western Europe in the "dark age", as also the laws of Manu, and cites examples from the unwritten laws of primitive tribes in various parts of the world. After some chapters bridging the gap between the last named and the codes and dealing with the establishment of courts, he then proceeds to discuss several sections of law, e.g. those concerned with marriage, inheritance and property, criminal and civil law, procedure and contract, in considerable detail.

The careful, systematic, and critical analysis and classification of all this material constitutes the bulk and in my view the most valuable part of this important work. It brings together and collates a mass of information most of which was unknown three quarters of a century ago, when Maine published his *Ancient Law*, and it certainly seems to make some of his theories untenable. But so far as the first one, quoted above, is concerned, I am disposed to think that it may still hold good if referred to a remoter past. In really primitive communities it seems highly improbable that there was any clear differentiation between law, morality, and religion. As a lawyer, the primitive savage must have been in a position somewhat analogous to that of M. Jourdain, who had talked prose all his life without being aware of it.

Sometimes the author appears to be trying to prove too much, e.g. in denying that the abolition of slavery in 1833 was influenced by religious opinion (p. 168); and if, as is the fact, some ecclesiastics have often opposed reforms (pp. 168-9), this only proves that they were behind the times and misinterpreted the ethical implications of the religion they professed.

A. 540.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A TRUE DESCRIPTION OF THE MIGHTY KINGDOMS OF JAPAN AND SIAM. By FRANÇOIS CARON and JOOST SCHOUTEN. Reprinted from the English edition of 1663 with Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes by C. R. BOXER. 10½ × 7½, pp. cxxix + 197, pls. 13, maps 7. London: The Argonaut Press, 1935. 42s.

This beautifully produced volume is very fully documented. The actual reprint of Capt. Roger Marley's English version of the two Dutch works forms about a third of it. The rest consists in the main of a detailed and very interesting life of Caron (to which three appendixes add further information about him and his family) and a briefer account of Schouten, notes explanatory of the reprinted texts, a glossary of Japanese terms, and a list of officials (Japanese and Dutch), two bibliographies and an index.

All are very good, and the life of Caron is particularly interesting, for he had a remarkable career, rising from being a cook's mate on a Dutch ship to the high position of Director-General at Batavia, and then after a number of years in private life in Holland making a fresh start in the service of France. His account of Japan, where he lived for many years, having first visited it in 1619, is of permanent value, giving as it does a great deal of information about the condition of the country in the period preceding 1636 when it was written. To it are here appended a number of shorter documents by other hands, all relating to Japan and included in some of the earlier editions of Caron's monograph. Schouten's description of Siam, though also valuable, is much briefer and to the story of his life a list of his reports is added. His text is dated in the same year as Caron's work.

The notes by the editor are numerous and very helpful, especially those which deal with Japan. With Siam he appears to be less intimately acquainted. Under note 145 (p. 133), Iangonia (p. 95), which on p. 102 is spelt Jangoma, is evidently Chiangmai, and Tangon (which is spelt Tangou on p. 95, though on p. 102 it reappears as Tangon) may be Taungu, in

Burma. Among the place names on p. 96 which the editor has not attempted to identify there is no difficulty in recognizing Pitsanulok, Sawankhalok, Sukhothai, Kamphengphet, Nakhon Sawan, Pichai, Pichit, Patalung, and Ratburi. Pypry represents the Phiphri mentioned in Anderson's *English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, 1890, pp. 7, 228, 240, 244, 398 (in the last case spelt Phriphri) and in De Choisy's *Journal du voyage de Siam*, 1741, where it is called Pipeli (p. 225), Pepeli (p. 379), and Pitpri (p. 397). It appears to have been situated on or near the coast somewhere to the west of the Menam. Tenou is probably Tannaw or Tanão (cited as an old name of Tenasserim by Anderson, op. cit., p. 13) and Martenayo seems to be his Maritanau (ibid., p. 15), i.e. Marit [= Mergui] + Tannaw, although "Mergy" (which, by a misprint, is identified in note 148 of the work under review as "Merguli") is also mentioned by Schouten, who may have collected these names from various sources. His Mormelon (p. 95) may represent Maulmain, in Burma. Kedah (note 134) is not one of the Federated Malay States, and it is odd that the word "Flamin" (p. 105) should not have been recognized by the editor as the Latin *flamen*. But these are very minor defects in an excellent work.

A. 489.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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1. AKṢARA. A forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy. By P. M. MODI. 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 178. Baroda: Baroda State Press, 1932.
 2. DER SANG DES HEHR-ERHABENEN. Die Bhagavad-Gītā. Übertragen und erläutert von RUDOLF OTTO. 8 × 5, pp. 171. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1935. RM. 4.50.
 3. DIE URGESTALT DER BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ. Von RUDOLF OTTO. Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge, 176. 9¼ × 6, pp. 46. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1934. RM. 1.50.

4. **DIE LEHRETRAKTATE DER BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ.** Von RUDOLF OTTO. Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge, 179. 9½ × 6, pp. 47. Tübingen : J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1935. RM. 1.50.

The first book on this list is a doctoral thesis of unusual merit and deserves a brief, if belated, notice. The author starts from the just point that progress in the interpretation of the *Bhagavadgītā* has not corresponded to the amount of work published on the subject, because of the failure to determine the precise meaning of the technical terms it employs, and he accordingly examines the use of the word *akṣara* in the literature extending from the oldest Upaniṣads to the *Brahmasūtras*. In the course of the discussion, in which he criticizes somewhat bluntly the views of previous scholars, he makes many acute and valuable remarks ; and his method is to be commended, in that it is only by analysis and comparison of all the occurrences of a term in this period that its meaning or meanings can be settled. But he has in my opinion failed to establish his main point. Though, according to the *Ahīrbudhnyasamhitā*, *akṣara* was one of the topics treated in the *Śaṣṭitantra*, and though it is true that the position of the early Sāṃkhya theorists and contemporary philosophers is not to be grasped without a comprehension of the significance of the term, it never formed the central point of any system of real importance, and an inquiry, which, like Dr. Modi's, is conducted without a preliminary understanding of the ideas at the root of early Sāṃkhya, cannot but be abortive. He has in fact forced his interpretation on the texts, instead of letting the texts give birth to the interpretation. He would probably, too, have avoided some misapprehensions if he had extended his inquiries to all texts dealing with early Sāṃkhya, not merely to a rather arbitrary selection of them, and his method is not applied with the requisite strictness ; this is specially marked in his habit of replacing the original terms with synonyms to suit his views, when he is giving the effect of original passages. Thus, to

take a single instance, he persistently uses for the Sāṃkhya soul the word *jīva*, though Īśvarakṛṣṇa avoids its employment and its significance in early Sāṃkhya is entirely different, a point the present reviewer hopes to explain elsewhere in due course. If not altogether successful then, the thesis at any rate gives rise to the hope that, as he pushes his studies further, Dr. Modi will produce work of permanent value.

The next book on this list can hardly escape the criticism quoted above from Dr. Modi on the work of scholars on the *Gītā*; the author does, however, make some addition to our understanding of the text by his comparisons with later writings of the *bhakti* school. In particular his handling of canto xii is illuminating, and his solution of the difficult verse, xii, 12, sound and so simple that now one may wonder why no one ever thought of it before. But the main purpose of the translation and of the other two books by the same author is to propound a theory of the composition of the *Gītā*, according to which hardly any of it belongs to the primitive text and the contents consist mainly of tracts emanating from writers of different schools and foisted on to the original work. The scheme is elaborated with much ingenuity and avoids the obvious defects of the late Professor Garbe's dichotomy of the text; but that the *Gītā* is a symposium of different and opposed views seems to me quite impossible and to be based on a fundamental misunderstanding of Indian thought processes. Some of the details are, however, valuable, and it is reasonable to hold that the author has in several cases hit the mark in stigmatizing certain verses as glosses or interpolations, while those, who, like the present reviewer, can only go a small part of the way with him, will benefit from working out their reasons for the rejection of his views.

621, A. 473, A. 565, A. 566.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE WILD TRIBES IN INDIAN HISTORY. By Dr. B. A. SALETORÉ. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 163 + xv. Lahore, 1935.

In this little work the author professes to aim at giving a short history of such of the wild tribes which, so far as available information about them is concerned, "have added to the annals of the country".

He deals more particularly with the tribes of Western and Southern India, up to the end of the eighteenth century. Commencing with a short study of the attitude of Hindu Rulers in the past towards the somewhat unruly dwellers in the forest tracts, Dr. Saletore proceeds to describe and illustrate with many valuable references to published works the Kirātas, the Śābaras, and the Bedars or Berada. A number of less important tribes are grouped together in the concluding chapter.

In his brief reference to Aśoka's attitude towards the wild tribes the writer makes no mention of the earlier attitude which the great emperor, on conversion, publicly regretted. We are given some interesting details of how the rulers of Vijayanagar regarded them. To these latter rulers the Beds or Bedars must have proved most unruly. As recently as forty years ago serious police measures had to be taken in the Belgaum and Dhārwar districts against a rising of this tribe. It may be remarked that in these districts the common form of Bedar is still Berad, and that the reference quoted to *JRAS.*, 1929, pp. 363-4, in chapter iv, is a slip of Dr. Saletore's. The latter seems to have overlooked the connection between the Rāmōshi and the Berad, which is of the utmost significance in tracing the tribes' habitat.

It seems unlikely that the Villavars or Billavars of Madras are, as the writer asserts on p. 76, identical with the Bhils. No evidence is adduced for such an assumption beyond the nominal resemblance. The hare fable quoted on p. 78 as common to the Deccan and Vijayanagar is a well-known tradition of Ahmadabad in the Bombay Presidency. The author seems to assume that Vālmiki was a Bedar, though,

on the grounds on which he makes this assertion, Vālmiki would equally be a Rāmoshi, and was probably neither. The work contains much information of value ; but it would have proved of wider interest if more material had been collocated from published ethnological records of recent date. Such as it is, however, the work will prove of great use, by its amplitude of references, to all students of the tribes of Southern and Western India, who will be grateful to the author for his fruitful research.

A. 491.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE YAZIDIS PAST AND PRESENT. By ISMĀ'IL BEG CHOL. Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, American University of Beirut, Oriental Series, No. 6. Edited by COSTI K. ZURAYK. Beirut : American Press, 1934.

Mr. Zurayk has edited three Arabic texts dealing with the Yazīdīs. The first and third are historical, the former, which is the longest (72 pages), is the autobiography of Ismā'il Beg Chol, a Yazīdī Amīr, who died in 1933, and throws light on contemporary history. The third is the shortest text (ten pages) and deals with a few events of the 150 years of Yazīdī history in Jabal Sinjār.

The second text (thirty-six pages) deals with Yazīdī doctrines and religious and social customs and, although repeating much that has already been written by European writers about the sect, will be very useful to those interested in the Yazīdīs, if only for the fact that the author himself belongs to that sect.

Apart from the historical value of these texts, they also offer some interest to the philologist. The following are only a few of the words that offer interest and show to what an extent colloquial has been affected by other languages :—

p. 6 : معركة, corruption for معرفة, probably a synonym

for عراقية or عراقة "a woollen pad placed under the saddle";

(مروور) تذكره for تذكره passport or *laissez-passer*.

p. 13 : بايتون, Turkish = فايتون, French = Phaéton.

p. 14 : فاميلة, Italian = *famiglia*.

p. 17 : مناط, Italian = *moneta*.

p. 23 : الشمندفير, French = *chemin de fer*.

p. 25 : ماصة, Italian = *mesa*, explained by the editor by another Italian word طاولة, *table*.

p. 27 : مسافر خانه guest-room or reception-room.

p. 27 : كارت, French = visiting-card.

p. 31 : وراور, pl. of ورور = revolver.

p. 33 : ذبون, Turkish = waistcoat.

p. 41 : قابوط, Italian = *cappotto*. Written also in Arabic كبوت.

p. 46 : قواقيب for قباقيب.

The edition is well printed and annotated; there is an introduction in Arabic and a good index of names of persons.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

14th May, 1936

Professor Margoliouth, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., President, in the chair.

The proceedings began with the reading and confirmation of the Minutes of the last Anniversary General Meeting of 9th May, 1935.

In common with the remainder of the British Empire, we mourn the loss of our beloved Sovereign King George V, one of whose titles was "Emperor of India". On the occasion of the consequent Accession of H.M. King Edward VIII, the following addresses of condolence and loyalty to His Majesty and to The Queen Mary were approved at a General Meeting of the Society on 13th February, 1936, and forwarded to the Home Secretary on 13th March, 1936.

"The Humble Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's loyal and devoted Subjects, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society in Meeting assembled, solicit permission to tender to your Majesty and the Royal Family with our humble duty our heart-felt participation in the great personal and national grief caused by the lamented death of our late Sovereign Lord King George the Fifth.

In addition to the sorrow which we share with the rest of his subjects we deplore the loss of our Society's Patron, gratefully acknowledging the honour accorded us by his acceptance of that title, and the evidence which it furnished of his interest in and sympathy with the studies which we pursue and endeavour to further.

To your gracious Majesty we solicit permission to tender the respectful expression of our loyalty and congratulation on your Majesty's accession to the throne of your Ancestors.

We gratefully remember the honour conferred upon our Society by your Majesty in delivering the inaugural Address on the occasion of our Centenary celebration, and therein communicating

to us the impressions left by your travels in India; and conscious of the deep interest felt by your Majesty in all that concerns your Eastern Dominions, we pray that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take this Society under that August Patronage which it has uninterruptedly enjoyed under your Majesty's Royal Predecessors since the granting of our Charter in the year 1823.

We desire humbly to assure your Majesty of our earnest wish and confident hope that your reign over a loyal Commonwealth of Nations may be long, prosperous, and glorious.

Given under the Common Seal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland this 12th day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and thirty-six.

To her Most Excellent Majesty The Queen Mary.
Madam,

We, the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in General Meeting assembled, solicit permission to express our profound sorrow at the great loss which your Majesty, the Royal Family, and the British Commonwealth of Nations have sustained in the death of our beloved and revered Sovereign Lord King George the Fifth, whose memory will ever be cherished throughout the dominions over which he ruled, and in whom this Society, whose membership is about equally divided between this country and the Indian Empire, deploras its Patron. The Society gratefully acknowledges your Majesty's gracious Message to the Nation and desires to be included among those to whom it was addressed.

Given under the Common Seal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland this 12th day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and thirty-six."

The following replies were received:—

"Home Office,
Whitehall.
17th March, 1936.

Sir,

I have had the honour to lay before the King the Loyal and Dutiful Address of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society on the occasion of the lamented death of

His late Majesty King George the Fifth and have received the King's Commands to convey to you His Majesty's grateful thanks for the assurances of sympathy and devotion to which it gives expression.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN SIMON.

The President,

The Royal Asiatic Society.

Home Office,

Whitehall,

17th March, 1936.

Sir,

I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that the Address of Condolence of the President, Council, and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society on the death of His late Majesty King George the Fifth has been laid before Queen Mary, whose grateful thanks I am to convey to you.

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

R. R. SCOTT.

The President,

The Royal Asiatic Society."

We also regret to announce the loss by death of the under-mentioned Honorary Members and Members during the year :—

H.M. The King of Egypt.

Mr. Justin C. W. Alvarez.

Professor J. H. Breasted.

Professor J. Charpentier.

Mr. Sati K. Ray Chaudhuri.

Mr. R. P. Dewhurst.

Mr. R. S. Greenshields.

Il Duca di Sermoneta.

Sir John P. Thompson.

Mr. A. C. Woolner.

Oriental Scholarship has suffered a grievous loss and the Council of the Society will mourn the death of two of its trusted advisers.

The following Members have resigned :—

Dr. Upendranath Banerjee.	Miss M. E. Middlemore.
Mr. K. Bonerjee.	Rev. Professor A. C. Moule.
Mrs. S. Bonerjee.	Mr. H. H. V. Noone.
Sir F. de Filippi.	Mr. B. N. Reu.
Raja of Hindol.	Mr. J. K. Rideout.
Baron Hayashi.	Pandit P. L. Sharma.
Mrs. H. Irwell.	Mr. A. Silcock.
Mr. Sobhan Singh Ji.	Dr. H. M. Wise.
Dean Kirkpatrick.	Mr. G. Yates.
Mr. E. W. Mead.	

The following Members have taken up their election :—

As Resident Members

Miss G. Ashmead-Bartlett.	Miss M. L. Hambleton.
Mr. C. Haller.	

As Non-Resident Members

Mr. A. S. Atiya.	Miss Winifred Lamb.
Dr. Upendranath Banerjee.	Professor G. H. Luce.
Mr. A. F. L. Beeston.	Mr. L. A. Lyall.
Miss Noor-un-Nisa Begum.	Mr. A. R. A. Memon.
Rev. Dr. Matthew Black.	Mr. A. M. Pathak.
Rai Br. G. Bonerjee.	Rev. J. Gibson Philip.
Mr. E. Boyd-Morrison.	Mr. F. C. Rastogi.
Mr. Ramanathan Chettiar.	Mr. G. Sarma.
Mr. T. W. Clark.	Dr. H. Sastri.
Mr. M. K. Dutt.	Mr. Frank Sell.
Mr. C. J. Gadd.	Mlle. M. A. Serin.
Mr. S. H. Hansford.	Mr. A. G. Shirreff.
Habib Gazale Bey.	Dr. Margaret Smith.
Mr. E. B. Howell.	Mr. V. Shrivastava.
Mr. S. M. Jaffar.	Mr. R. Sundaravaradan.
Rai Br. R. K. Jalan.	Mr. A. Yellappa.
Mr. K. L. Jain.	Miss B. D. de Zoete.
Mr. K. M. Joglekar.	

The following member joined and resigned during the year :—

Mr. L. Newton Hayes.

As Library Associates

Mr. G. Brackenbury.	Miss V. Morrison-Bell.
Mr. M. S. Collis	Mr. A. Upham Pope.
Mr. Serajul Haque.	Miss Chao Yueh Tseng.
Mrs. E. T. Hibbert.	Mr. M. W. Wynne.

As Student Associates

Mr. K. J. Dover.	Mrs. W. W. Stifler.
Miss A. K. Lambton.	

As Resident Compounder

Mr. C. A. Kincaid.

As Non-Resident Compounders

Mr. K. N. Singh.	Rev. Canon Anderson Meaden.
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The President and Council have elected Professor H. E. Winlock of New York, Professor Georges Coedès of Hanoi, Professor Wilhelm Geiger of Munich, and Professor A. J. Wensinck of Leiden, to take the places of Professor Breasted, Professor Finot, Professor Sylvain Lévi, and Il Duca di Sermoneta as Honorary Members. Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazvini was elected in place of Professor Ignazio Guidi at the end of last year.

Under the terms of Rule 25a, 28 persons ceased to be Members of the Society owing to the non-payment of their annual subscription. Last year the number was 55.

The total number of Members is 764, being a decrease of 8. The number of subscribing libraries is 238, or 17 less than in 1934. In cases where resignations have occurred, the reason given is invariably that expenses must be cut down because of the uncertainty of the general outlook, and is often accompanied by a generous tribute to the efficiency and competence of the Society's activities.

The number of Library Associates under Rule 16a has increased since 1934 from 6 to 22, and Student Associates from 1 to 4, thanks to the efforts of Professor Yetts and Mr. Sidney Smith, who have brought the Society's Library to the notice of their students.

Every effort has been made to reduce expenditure, and it has also been found necessary to continue for the present the reduction of the size of the *Journal* to 800 pages.

At the same time the matter submitted for publication continues to be of a high order both in quantity and quality. A welcome sign of encouragement is the fact that more Oriental Scholars from Europe and America have sought membership during the year.

The allowance for binding books in the Library has again been limited as in 1934 to those which needed it and those loaned to foreign University Libraries. Similarly, new purchases have been limited, though the Library is badly in need of assistance in both of these departments. A small allotment of funds for aid to the librarian has, however, been necessitated, as the number of scholars using the reading room is steadily increasing and the work of keeping them supplied is growing heavier. The number of additions to the Library now amounts to some 400 a year. The number of visits to the Library paid by students has risen to 945, from 730 in 1934 and a previous average of about 500. The number of books lent out was 816 as against 613 the year before. In addition to the above, 64 were lent to affiliated members through the National Central Library, and 67 were borrowed by our Members from affiliated libraries through that Library, showing a small increase on the previous year.

Two manuscripts were lent to universities for the use of scholars: one to Berlin and one to Birmingham. Both have been returned.

Photostat copies of three MSS. were made and sent to students abroad: to Calcutta University Library, to Leningrad for the U.S.S.R. Commission for the Advancement of Scientists, and to Tokio University. During the month of May, Professor Asahi of Tokio University was introduced by a Councillor to the Library. He desired to see some Malay MSS., and as a result of his examination he requested that a reproduction might be sent to him for use at the University.

Mutual exchange of Journals with other Societies, Universities, or Institutions at their request has been authorized by the Council in eleven instances during the year. In addition the exchange with the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. has been revived, the publication of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* having now been renewed by the Academy.

Lectures.—In order to participate in the celebrations of the 800th anniversary of the birth of the Jewish physician, jurist, and philosopher, Moses Maimonides, the Society obtained the services of two experts, Dr. A. S. Yahuda and Dr. M. Gaster, who delivered lectures dealing with his career and achievements. For the latter it secured the co-operation of the Society for Biblical Study represented by the Rev. Canon W. Emery Barnes, who took the chair. For the former the Society was honoured by the Chairmanship of the Egyptian Minister, Hasan Sabri Bey, who addressed the meeting in English and Arabic.

The undermentioned lectures were also given before the Society during the past Session ; almost all were illustrated by lantern slides.

“ Finno-Ugrian Philology,” by Mr. Alan S. C. Ross.

“ The Joseph Narrative in the Light of the Egyptian Monuments,” by Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

“ Buddhist Sculpture in Siam,” by Mr. Reginald le May.

“ Bull Worship in Ancient Egypt,” by Mr. H. W. Fairman.

“ Some Coins of the Mauryas and Sungas,” by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.

“ A newly explored Route of Ancient Cultural Expansion,” by Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales.

“ In Search of Stone Age Man in the Near East,” by Miss Dorothy Garrod.

“ Indian Philosophical Mentality,” by Professor S. N. Dasgupta.

“ Moses Maimonides, the Philosopher and the Physician,” by Dr. A. S. Yahuda.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1934						
On Carnegie Grant for printing catalogue	250	0	0			
On Compound Subscriptions Account	471	13	3			
	<u>721</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>			
Less: Over-expended on General Account	<u>639</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>			
				81	16	7
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	245	14	0			
Non-Resident Members	789	6	0			
Resident Compounders	18	18	0			
Non-Resident Compounders	82	4	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	38	11	8			
	<u>1,174</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>			
RENTS RECEIVED				616	0	0
GRANTS—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
" Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
" Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
" Hong Kong	25	0	0			
	<u>400</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>			
SUNDRY DONATIONS				9	8	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	407	10	2			
Additional Copies sold	19	3	8			
Pamphlets sold	5	2	11			
	<u>431</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>9</u>			
DIVIDENDS				83	7	0
INCOME TAX RECOVERED FOR THE TWO YEARS						
ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1935				5	16	6
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				11	4	
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES				5	8	
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				4	7	5
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT				14	6	
SALE OF OLD BOOKS				12	17	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				39	17	6
				<u>2,861</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
BALANCE AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1935						
Over-Expenditure on General Account	834	19	10			
Less: Carnegie Grant for printing						
Catalogue £250 0 0						
Compounded Subscriptions £572 15 3	822	15	3			
	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>			
Represented by:						
Bank Account overdrawn	56	8	4			
Less: Cash at Post Office						
Savings Bank	29	18	4			
Cash in hand	14	5	5			
	<u>44</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>			
	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>£2,873</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>

INVESTMENTS

£350 3½ per cent War Loan.
£1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
£777 1s. 1d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1935

PAYMENTS		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Account—							
Rent and Land Tax		502	2	3			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants		114	9	1			
Gas and Light, do.		68	16	4			
Coal and Coke, do.		33	14	8			
Telephone		14	7	0			
Cleaning		8	5	6			
Insurance		32	15	5			
Repairs and Renewals		33	7	6			
		<hr/>			807	17	9
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND					30	10	6
SALARIES AND WAGES					803	0	10
PRINTING AND STATIONERY					55	13	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—							
Printing		859	19	8			
Postage		62	0	0			
		<hr/>			921	19	8
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE					77	16	10
GENERAL POSTAGE					57	13	2
AUDIT FEE (including Taxation Work)					5	5	0
SUNDRY EXPENSES—							
Teas		26	11	2			
Lectures		14	14	0			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance		19	18	0			
Other General Expenditure		52	16	7			
		<hr/>			113	19	9
					<hr/>		
					2,873	16	6
					<hr/>		

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and have verified the Investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
 { R. BURN, Auditor for the Society.

31st March, 1936.

SPECIAL FUNDS

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS						PAYMENTS							
1935. Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	1935. Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE				327	3	6	STORAGE OF STOCK				14	10	7
SALES (NET)				52	0	8	BINDING 25 VOL. XIX				12	6	
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT				1	5	0	PRINTING 500 AND BINDING 100 VOL. XXXIII				145	3	3
							BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY				220	2	6
				<hr/>							<hr/>		
				£380	8	0					£380	8	9

ROYAL ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE	150	16	0	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	150	2	6
SALES (NET)	8	5	0		<u>£150</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
	<u>£159</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>				

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	220	2	6	CASH AT BANK— On Current Account	129	4	11
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY MONOGRAPH FUND	159	2	6	On Deposit Account	250	0	0
	<u>£379</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>		<u>£379</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>

LEARNOLD REDEMPTION FUND

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE	391	11	7	BALANCE REPRESENTED BY £410 1s. 1d. 3½%			
TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT	30	10	6	War Loan	422	2	1
DIVIDENDS TO BE RE- INVESTED	14	7	0	CASH AT BANK	14	7	0
	<u>£436</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>		<u>£436</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>

TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

1935. Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	1935. Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE	144	14	4	BINDING 25 VOL. XIII	1	5	0
SALES (NET)	18	1	11	PRINTING 500 AND BINDING 100 VOL. XIV	60	6	6
DIVIDENDS	18	0	0	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	110	4	9
	<u>£180</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>£180</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND.

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE	60	13	6	COST OF MEDAL	36	17	6
DIVIDENDS	9	15	0	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	40	10	11
	<u>£79</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>		<u>£79</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>

UNIVERSITIES PRIZE ESSAY FUND.

Jan. 1.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
BALANCE	157	3	6	CASH PRIZE	40	0	0
DIVIDENDS	20	15	4	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	157	18	10
	<u>£177</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>		<u>£177</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.	Dec. 31.	£	s.	d.
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	110	4	9	CASH AT BANK ON CUR-			
GOLD MEDAL FUND	40	10	11	RENT ACCOUNT	288	14	6
UNIVERSITIES PRIZE							
ESSAY FUND	137	18	10				
	£288	14	6		£288	14	6

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS.

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable " B " Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
£645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable " B " Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).
£40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund).

I have examined the above Statements with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates of the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

Counter-signed { N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
R. BURN, Auditor for the Society.

31st March, 1936.

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS.	PAYMENTS.
1935. Jan. 1.	1935. Dec. 31.
BALANCE	CASH AT BANK ON CUR-
DIVIDENDS	RENT ACCOUNT
	8 7 4
	£8 7 4
INVESTMENT—	
£49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.	

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

Jan. 1.	10% COMMISSION ON 1934	
BALANCE	SALES	4 7 5
SALES (NET)	PRINTING 1000 AND BIND-	
DIVIDENDS	ING 500 VOL. XIII	209 8 6
INCOME TAX RECOVERED	PRINTING 500 AND BIND-	
FOR THE TWO YEARS	ING 100 VOL. XIV	131 15 0
ENDED 5TH APRIL, 1935	BINDING 25 VOL. I	2 12 3
	BINDING 25 VOL. II	1 2 0
	COMMISSIONS ON SALE OF	
	VOL. XIII	1 19 7
	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL	
	STUDIES—Research	50 0 0
	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL	
	STUDIES—Bursary	20 0 0
	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL	
	STUDIES—Scholarship	30 0 0
	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL	
	STUDIES—Lectures	50 0 0
	BALANCE, CASH AT BANK	
	ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	125 8 8
		£626 13 5

INVESTMENTS

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1942-62.
£1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock 1940-60.
£1,010 Bengal-Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.
£1,143 6s. 8d. India 3½ per cent Inscribed Stock.
£700 Conversion Loan 3½ per cent.
£45 East India Railway Co. Annuity Class " B ".
£253 18s. 4d. 3½ per cent War Loan.

I have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

Counter-signed { N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
R. E. ENTHOVEN, Auditor for the Council.
R. BURN, Auditor for the Society.

31st March, 1936.

"The recently found Gospel Fragments," by Dr. H. Idris Bell.

"Further Discoveries at Jericho," by Professor John Garstang.

"Maimonides and his Works," by Dr. M. Gaster.

"The Art of the Chinese Painter," by Miss Helen Fernald.

"The Temples of Yunnan," by Madame Gabrielle Vassal.

The new Universities Prize Essay Competition, founded by the generosity of certain Ruling Chiefs and Gentlemen of Southern India, has proved more attractive than the Public School Prize Essay Competition which it has superseded. The fifth competition was held during the year. For 1935 the subject chosen by the committee of examiners appointed by your Council was "The Causes of the Decay of the Mogul Empire", and the prize of £20 and a Diploma was awarded to Mr. Evan Glyndwr Jones of Bristol University. The subject for the next essay is "The Portuguese in India".

The publications of the Society for the year 1935, in addition to the *Journal*, consist of the following :—

Oriental Translation Fund—

32. Thomas, F. W. *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, vol. i (vol. ii in the Press).

33. Grierson, Sir G. A. *Puruṣa Parīkṣā, or the Test of a Man*.

Prize Publication Fund—

14. Lichtenstädter, I. *Women in the Aiyām al-'Arab*.

Forlong Fund—

14. Dave, T. N. *A Study of the Gujarātī Language in the Sixteenth Century, V.S.*

As was foreshadowed in the Annual Report last May, a fresh trust is in course of being founded through the munificence of Dr. Bimala C. Law of Calcutta to facilitate the publication of Monographs on Buddhism, Jainism, and Ancient Indian History and Geography up to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. It is to be entitled "The Dr. B.C. Law

Trust Series". Further information will be given when the matter is completed and the necessary regulations framed.

The preparation of the Library Catalogue progresses slowly. The thanks of the Society are due to the Members of Council who are so kindly giving of their valuable time to the correction of the proofs; namely, Mr. Ellis, Dr. Randle, and Dr. Barnett.

The thanks of the Society are also due to Mr. G. A. Yates for his skilful assistance to the Editor of the *Journal*.

The Society is greatly indebted also to Mr. and Madame Shelley Wang for their kindly sympathy with our needs in connection with the Chinese Library, including the completion and correction of the catalogue of the Chinese books and MSS. and the card index so as to facilitate the correct printing of the list in due course.

By Rules 28–38 of the Society, certain annual changes occur automatically in the constitution of the members of your Council. Dr. A. M. Blackman on his appointment to the Liverpool Professorship of Egyptology resigned his membership of Council, Professor Moule also resigned, and Sir John Thompson and Mr. Dewhurst have died. Mr. C. J. Gadd, Professor Yetts, Sir John Marshall, and Dr. E. Hamilton Johnston were respectively appointed by the Council under Rule 28 to fill these vacancies for the remainder of the year. The Council now recommends the re-election of the same gentlemen to the Council. One Member of Council, Dr. H. W. Bailey, also retires by rotation, and he being ineligible for re-election, your Council recommends that the vacancy be filled by Lieut.-Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer, whose works in connection with the little known languages of the Indian frontier are so authoritative. The three Honorary Officers, who have so truly earned the gratitude of the Society for their devoted services, Mr. Ellis as Honorary Librarian, Mr. Oldham as Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Perowne as Honorary Treasurer, retire under Rule 31, but being eligible are recommended by your Council for re-election to their respective offices.

The annual accounts of the Society have been professionally audited as usual, and certified by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co. The accounts were then examined, according to our rules, by a board of auditors, appointed last year at the Anniversary General Meeting on 9th May. The board consists of Sir Nicholas Waterhouse and two members of the Society, Mr. Enthoven representing the Council and Sir Richard Burn representing the Members. The Audit Meeting was held on 31st March, and the auditors reported as follows :—

“The accounts are in their usual form, and as usual have been excellently maintained; and the professional auditor has furnished us with all the needful explanations. We find that the net result is a certain deterioration in the Society's financial position. As revealed by the statement of receipts and payments this is expressed as a reduction of a balance of £81 16s. 7d. to a sum of £12 4s. 7d. But we would remark that, to arrive at this result, an addition of some hundred pounds in compounded subscriptions to the fore-existing total under this head has been included in annual receipts. The Auditor agrees that, to give a fair account of the position, this should be taken into consideration. We find, therefore, that the position has deteriorated to the extent of some £200. (Signed) R. E. Enthoven and Richard Burn, 31st March, 1936.”

Under Rule 81 the professional Auditors, Messrs. Price, Waterhouse and Co., retire, but being eligible offer themselves for re-election. A recommendation as to the election of the Auditors for the ensuing session will be submitted to you at the Anniversary Meeting on 14th May.

The grateful thanks of the Society are due to our Honorary Solicitor, Mr. D. H. Bramall, of Messrs. T. L. Wilson and Co., for so kindly looking after our legal affairs during the year.

Two Resident Members have obtained permission under the new Rule 18b for a reduction of subscription from £3 3s. to £2 2s.

During the first fortnight of January each year a “School-boys' Own Exhibition” is held at the Imperial Institute.

Late in December the Society was invited to send any exhibits which might interest schoolboys and their friends in Oriental research. The time available for preparation being very short, only a few exhibits could be collected. They were chosen to represent Writing and Printing from most ancient times. A large number of boys were interested in the Society's stall, and the Organizing Director expressed his thanks for the exhibit and sent an invitation to the Society to be represented again in January, 1937. He has asked for a display to represent "Oriental Research as the Result of Exploration". The Council has accepted the invitation.

The President then called upon the Hon. Treasurer for his annual statement of accounts.

The Treasurer: Mr. President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, Two years ago when giving my Report on your Society's accounts I was living on Faith. Last year, my Faith not having lessened the mountain of leeway we had to make up, I relied on Hope, but Hope told a flattering tale, and as a result I fear that this year I may be reduced to living on the Charity of the members.

Let us see how the position stands.

The actual total receipts for 1935 are £2,779 15s. 4d. (excluding balance brought forward) while the total payments are £2,873 16s. 6d. Out of our receipts, however, £101 2s., received in respect of compounded subscriptions, has to be credited to capital, thus leaving as available income £2,678 13s. 4d. only, and our expenditure exceeds this by £195 3s. 2d.

As compared with the previous year it is true that the available income shows a slight improvement, but amounting to £17 1s. 2d. only, and this includes the £105 restored grant from the India Office.

On the other hand our ordinary subscriptions including students are some £41 17s. more than the previous year, and our rents £26 more; but the items under the *Journal* Account are, I regret to say, no less than £91 10s. 2d. down; a serious

fall, as the receipts for the three previous years were £523 6s. 11d. (1934), £511 1s. (1933), and £627 2s. 7d. (1932). The additional copies sold have fallen to an almost negligible amount as compared with some years back. We have not sold a set of our proceedings for some years now. There may be some special reason for this which we have not yet been able to discover.

For the rest, I need not take up your time by going into the other items beyond asking you to note that at the beginning of last year we had over-expended during the two previous years on general account £639 16s. 8d., while this year that sum has increased to £834 19s. 10d., that sum being made up of our excess expenditure of £195 3s. 2d. over available income, as I have already mentioned. The Auditors' Report which is set out in the Council's Report refers to this.

As to the payments I am glad to say that the £2,873 16s. 6d., which appears as the total payments on the accounts before you, is £318 8s. 2d. less than the total of £3,192 4s. 8d. expended in the previous year, which included a very heavy account for unexpected repairs. £135 15s. 6d. has been saved by our being compelled to reduce the size of the *Journal* from 900 to 800 pages (as a temporary measure only we hope) as you will have noted from the Report, while £25 7s. 7d. has also been saved by a very unwilling cut in the library expenditure. The only other item on the payment side to which I need refer is the increase of some £36 for rates under the house account. There has been a considerable increase here, owing to a new arrangement come to with one of our tenants, referred to in last year's accounts.

It is, I think, incumbent upon me to say a few words as to the *Journal* and Library, in addition to what has been stated in the Report.

We have always recognized that the *Journal* and Library are the life blood of the Society, and they have always had our first consideration, as you will see if you refer to the expenditure made in recent years and the comments made on the subject at the annual meetings.

But during the last two or three years, since the world crisis in fact, although we tried to keep up our expenditure on these two important items, our income suffered so severely and our over-expenditure was growing at such an alarming rate, that we were compelled to call a temporary halt. It is clear that with an over-expenditure of £835, at the present time, and with a comparatively small sum of capital on which to fall back, our first duty must be, and is, to keep the Society in a proper working condition as a going concern ; and if you realize (as you will do on studying the accounts) that of our present income (now approximately a bare £2,800 per annum), £800 is appropriated to the *Journal*, another £800 approximately to the House Account, and another £800 to the necessary salaries and wages, leaving only some £400 for all the other general upkeep of the Society, including repairs, library expenditure, and all the other incidental expenses natural to an Institution such as ours, you will surely appreciate that there is no room at present for any increase such as we should wish to make in once again expanding the *Journal* and feeding the Library with a more generous hand. I stress this point because some of our members would like a more liberal grant to be made to the Library as well as to the *Journal* on the ground that it would induce a better membership. My reply is simply that I tried it through the crisis in that very thought and belief. But alas ! the fact remains that at the end of 1935 our accounts showed an over-expenditure of £835, which must be recouped before we can get back to our old position. We are not justified in continuing our over-expenditure indefinitely, and our annual payments are now reduced to a minimum.

The real remedy is to bring our membership up again. It has been falling steadily for several years past. I have gone back to the year 1929, when we received for Resident and non-Resident members £1,298, since when there has been a continuous shrinking till the end of 1934 when the subscriptions were £1,003 7s. only, while in 1935 there was a recovery to £1,035. It is true that some of this falling off is due to

the fact that many members have compounded, but, as the accounts before you show, no less than £471 13s. 3d. of the sums so received are capital moneys to be accounted for and recouped out of income as soon as income is available for the purpose.

We hope that the efforts of our local Representatives recently (and to be), established as well as our Library and Student Associates may bring forth fruit in due season. The reading room, as you have heard in the Report, is increasingly used and a certain amount of expenditure is clearly necessary as this evidently supplies a felt want.

As regards the prospects for the current year I may say that we have recently let the last of our available rooms at £45 per annum so that all our rooms are now let. Our income is coming in slowly but we hope it may at least equal last year's, though at present it does not look much as if we shall increase it, unless our Members will aid our efforts in that direction, which we earnestly ask them to do. This is a reminder of which I seem to have made a hardy annual, but a necessary one.

As to the special and Trust funds accounts, you will notice that they are all in a flourishing condition though most of the balances there mentioned are earmarked for publications shortly expected.

The Leasehold redemption fund to which I called attention last year is slowly and automatically increasing.

As to the Forlong fund, you will note that its Administrators, the S.O.S., are full of activity and utilize its income in a variety of useful ways which have been approved by your Society's Council and are within the terms of the trust deed.

I will add my usual grateful thanks to Mrs. Davis, our Assistant Secretary, for all her kind and willing help given to the exacting Treasurer during the past year; and my thanks to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, for listening to me so patiently.

Mr. Enthoven, in proposing the adoption of the Report, referred to the fact that, though by precedent a speech was

not required from him, there was one comment on the Report that must already be in the minds of many of those present, after hearing the Hon. Treasurer's remarks. It seemed that the distinguished scholars who formed the Council of the Society shared a little weakness with most of the Great Powers, and not a few private individuals, at the present day, namely, a difficulty in reconciling income and expenditure. He would therefore appeal to all members to do what they could to secure recruits for membership in order that the valuable work of the Society should not be unduly restricted owing to want of the necessary funds.

Sir R. O. Winstedt: Gentlemen, I rise to second the resolution. Of recent years the Society has suffered from the consequences of the world slump, but careful economy has kept in order its house, or, should I say, the old banyan tree. And in spite of difficulties, it has continued to deserve the success it has so long enjoyed. As one who has recently come from the out-field, may I venture the opinion that one of the most valuable functions of this present Society is to set an example and a standard for the many young branches that flourish beneath its dignified shade and protection?

Perhaps this is no place to make suggestions for the conduct of our *Journal*. But, if I may be allowed to say so, I think economy in space might be effected by printing reviews of books and accounts of meetings and addresses in a smaller type, thus leaving more room for original articles.¹

The Report was then adopted, and the recommendations for the re-election of officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council, and the appointment of Auditors were accepted.

The Chairman: Our Annual Meeting this year is still overshadowed by the loss of our Patron, King George V. In the Report submitted to you we have put on record the gracious replies received to the letters of condolence which the Council authorized to be addressed to Their

¹ The Council has appointed an Editorial Committee to deal with this matter.

Majesties. We hope that at next year's meeting we may be able to announce that our right to call ourselves a Royal Society has been renewed through our being honoured by the patronage of King Edward VIII.

The Report further records the losses of membership which the Society has sustained during the year. First we must deplore the loss of our Extraordinary Foreign Member, His Majesty King Fuad of Egypt. Long before his accession to the throne he took a deep interest in the establishment of the University of Cairo, and throughout his reign encouraged the advance of learning. The Council has just approved a message of condolence to his heir and successor with good wishes for a long, prosperous, and glorious reign.

Like other analogous societies, we endeavour to show our appreciation of foreign merit by offering honorary membership to a limited number of persons of other nationalities, who have rendered exceptional service to the studies which we pursue. The list before you contains the names of two whom during the year we have lost by death: Professor Breasted, of the University of Chicago, a famous Egyptologist, of whose work our number for January of this year contains an appreciative account from the pen of Mr. Dawson. The other is Leone Caetani, Duke of Sermoneta, author of an exhaustive and monumental *History of Islam*, planned indeed on too great a scale to be completed in a single lifetime, yet the long row of stately volumes which he lived to publish has profoundly affected all subsequent study of the periods with which they deal.

In trying to supply such vacancies the Society looks out for persons of the same nationality and workers in the same fields as the deceased. This is somewhat like a case of serving two masters, and it is not always possible to satisfy both these requirements. In that of Professor Breasted we have been fortunate in finding a successor who is both a citizen of the United States and an Egyptologist, Professor Winloch, of New York. But the place occupied by the late Prince Caetani

has been offered to, and accepted, by Professor Wensinck, of Leiden, Holland, also the author of a monumental work, which will assuredly be what Thucydides calls a possession for ever. This is his great Concordance of Islamic Tradition, of which the fasciculi are eagerly awaited. Considering how proud the inhabitants of Islamic countries are of this study and the enthusiasm with which they have from a very early period pursued it, it is rather surprising that it has fallen to a European to furnish this important aid to it.

I feel that I may also say a few words about one other scholar whose name appears in this list. Mr. R. P. Dewhurst did good service to the Society both as a Councillor and a reviewer of books. He was for a long series of years on the staff of Oxford University, which was able to profit by his exceptionally varied attainments in other subjects besides those which he officially taught, Hindi and Urdu. You are likely to have read in *The Times* tributes from various friends to his linguistic knowledge, and his remarkable gifts as a teacher.

We gratefully acknowledge the help which we have received from their Excellencies the Ministers of Oriental States in taking our part in the celebrations of famous men who have attained the rank of national heroes in literary fields. Great assistance was given us in the previous year by the Iranian Minister in the Firdausi celebrations; and the Egyptian Minister very kindly occupied the Chair at the first of the Lectures devoted to the career of the great Israelite Maimonides. There was, and may still be, a prospect of our collaborating with the representatives of Arabic speaking countries in paying a tribute to the memory of the great Syrian poet, Mutanabbi, a household word in those countries, but little known in others, he having had no Fitzgerald to interpret him.

A fact which is worthy of attention is a recent development of the institution known by its German name *Festschrift*, which is not quite easy to explain. Previously the age which qualified for a *Festschrift* was seventy; Count Landberg,

believing that he had only forfeited the honour by not being a professor, gave himself one on his seventieth birthday. But in three recent cases the qualifying age has been reduced to sixty. One can but guess that the actuaries have certified some serious diminution in professorial longevity. Possibly that is because they form the hardest worked class in the community, whose general average of longevity is known to have been increasing. Whether these conjectures be felicitous or not, the Society has had great pleasure in adding its signature to addresses sent on these occasions to Professors Kahle, Littmann, and Rhodokanakis, and has been gratified by the award to the last of these, who for many years has been one of its Honorary Members, of the first Medal conferred by the Lidzbarski Trustees on an Orientalist of conspicuous merit. Lidzbarski's activities having been largely concerned with Semitic Epigraphy, the choice would certainly have had his approval.

It will be seen from the varied character of the Lecture list that we endeavour to deal fairly with the very numerous departments of study which come within the range of an Asiatic Society, and we owe much gratitude to those who have accepted our invitations to initiate our audiences into the results of their researches or explorations. Although the area covered by the Central Asian Society's Journal is in the main quite different from ours, and calculated to interest a far larger public, we have been able on several occasions to share a lecture with that Society and hope that this friendly co-operation may continue. On the other hand to the complaint which sometimes reaches us, that our *Journal* is too rigidly technical for the ordinary reader we have hitherto turned a deaf ear. We should indeed welcome a larger membership; but we are unwilling *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*, and it is as much our duty to be technical and in the interest of earnest students, as it is the duty and the practice of journals which are occupied with mathematics, astronomy, or chemistry.

The recruits to our Council whose names are mentioned in the Report represent a great accession of strength, and the Society is grateful to them all for accepting nomination. Of these Professor Yetts is a veteran Councillor, and the Society owes much to his energy and initiative. The retirement, which our Rules necessitate, of Dr. Bailey, will perhaps, though unwelcome to us, be welcome to him in starting on the important post to which he has recently been elected, the Professorship of Sanskrit at Cambridge. One of his predecessors, E. B. Cowell, was the first recipient of our Triennial Gold Medal. I take this opportunity of offering Professor Bailey the Society's congratulations and good wishes.

I understand that the maximum of stability is given by three supports and such we possess in our three Honorary Officers, Messrs. Oldham, Perowne, and Ellis, of whose wisdom, energy, and helpfulness I cannot speak too highly. I might say the same of the Director, whom, however, I prefer to think of as an *alter ego*. The absence of our Secretary is due to his having been called to Australia on a short visit to a relation whom he had not seen for many years; but this occasion should not pass without some reference to his services and our appreciation of them. Our Assistant Secretary has for the time taken his place, and we are grateful for her willingness and efficiency. Nor should we omit to pay some tribute to our Assistant Librarian, whose work is increasingly arduous owing to the compilation and printing of the Catalogue and to the growing popularity of the Library.

Although the speechifying on this occasion is not, as at public dinners, diluted with other forms of refreshment, I think I may conclude with the words which furnish the theme for a final toast at some such gatherings, *stet fortuna domus*. We are conscious that we have shared in the depression which has affected our fellow workers in many countries, but one of my correspondents seemed to me unduly pessimistic when he described our Society as moribund, and our cautious

Honorary Treasurer has found our prospects somewhat brighter in the present year than in the preceding. It will, I think, be found that we have welcomed and will always welcome suggestions for the improvement of our activities, the remedying of defects, and the introduction of new ideas. And by adopting such of these as seem at all likely to compass these purposes we hope that the Society in the future may be graced by association with names as illustrious as those which have graced it in the past.

Notices

On account of the summer vacation it would be greatly appreciated if correspondence could be reduced to a minimum during the months of August and September. Books sent to India by V.P.P. (Value Payable Post) may not be sent at Book Post] Rates on account of the Customs Regulations. Consequently it is cheaper in most cases when speed is imperative, to send payment in advance.

Lantern Slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

PINCHES BEQUEST

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions, such as the Victoria Institute. There are nearly 400 slides, which have been catalogued by Professor S. H. Langdon. Requests from Orientalists

should be sent to the Secretary with necessary references for the consideration of the Council.

Dr. Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself, for the same purpose. These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides.

Members and subscribing Libraries are reminded that by Rule 24 the annual subscriptions for the coming year are due on 1st January, without application from the Society. A great saving would be effected if all members would kindly comply with this rule.

Dr. B. C. Law Trust Series

As we go to press, a letter has been received from Dr. Bimala Churn Law, conveying his approval of the draft Trust Deed prepared by our Solicitors to give effect to the intentions of the Trust, and of the draft Rules and Regulations governing the submission of literary contributions on the subjects specified in the Deed. Steps will now be taken without avoidable delay to have these documents formally approved by the Society, when the Rules and Regulations will be published in the JOURNAL for the information of intending contributors.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Acta Orientalia. Vol. xiv. Pars. iv. 1936.

Bailey, H. W. An itinerary in Khotanese Saka.

Stutterheim, W. F. A Malay sha'ir in Old-Sumatran characters of A.D. 1380.

Jørgensen, H. Linguistic remarks on the Verb in Nēwari.

Christensen, A. La princesse sur la feuille de myrte et la princesse sur le pois.

Al-Andalus. Vol. iv. Fasc. i. 1936.

Gómez, E. G. Polémica religiosa entre Ibn Hazm e Ibn al-Nagrila.

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Yours truly,

Wigram

Keeper of the Privy Purse.

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Royal Asiatic Society,
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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1936

PART IV.—OCTOBER

An Unpublished Bît Rimki Duplicate

By CECIL J. MULLO WEIR

THE text K. 2612, cited by me in my *Lexicon of Accadian Prayers* as a duplicate of Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 40 f., and K. 2373 and Sm. 690, has now been joined to Rm. 2, ii, 269, enabling a more accurate restoration to be made of several of the lines. The text shows several notable variant readings.

It is important as belonging, like the other three Nineveh variants, to the *bît rimki* series, of which it is the Fifth Tablet. Of the two Aššur variants Ebeling, *KAR.* 272, may have belonged to *bît rimki* (cf. rev. 13 whose traces as given by Ebeling would favour the restoration [*inim-inim-ma šarru izakka-a*]r). No named *bît rimki* texts have yet been identified outside the Nineveh collections, but the series is mentioned in the Catalogue from Aššur (*ZA.* 30, 206, 11). The other Aššur variant, *KAR.* 246, has the colophon [*inim-inim-ma nam*]-*erim bûr-ru-da-kám* and therefore is probably an Aššur version of the relevant *bît rimki* tablet, for not only is it directed against *māmîtu* but its ceremony appears to be the same as that of the Nineveh tablets described a little more fully. The ceremony of the Fifth Tablet of *bît rimki* is known also from a Babylonian tablet of uncertain provenance, viz. Myhrman, *PBS.* i, 1, No. 15, obv. 20, rev. 1 (cf. *JRAS.* 1931, 259, note 1; Kunstmann, *LSS.*, NF. ii, 74 ff.), where the directions follow closely those on the Nineveh tablets.

K. 2612 appears to have contained only one prayer (Semitic), thus resembling *KAR.* 246, while Sm. 690 and King, *BMS.* 60, contained also a preceding Sumerian prayer (designated *ki d. Babbar-kam*). Whether or not it is correct to restore *V-kam*, in K. 2612, rev. 13, there would thus seem to be two different methods of arranging the *bît rimki* series—one in tablets containing a Sumerian followed by a Semitic prayer (cf. Langdon, *OECT.* vi, 49, 32 = Tablet IV; K. 9830, probably = Tablet II, cf. *JRAS.* 1931, 259, and Kunstmann, loc. cit., 76 f.), and the other in tablets containing the Semitic prayer without the Sumerian, the ceremonial directions being followed in both cases by the first line of the Sumerian prayer that begins the next tablet. It is probable, however, that we should regard the latter of these two classes of tablet as mere excerpts from the complete tablet.

But the case is even more complicated. K. 3392 (= Kunstmann, loc. cit., 81 f.), which is designated Tablet III of *bît rimki*, contains the end of a Semitic prayer, but in this case the catchline following the ceremonial directions is the first line of another Semitic prayer. Similarly, in King, *BMS.* No. 1, we have an unnumbered *bît rimki* tablet containing in its present fragmentary form three, but originally four, Semitic prayers, the catchline being the beginning of another Semitic prayer. These two tablets do not in any case belong to the earlier group, which is occupied exclusively with Sumerian and Semitic prayers to the sun-god (Babbar-Shamash). The prayers in this group are all in Semitic and are addressed to a succession of gods and goddesses who are enumerated in their appropriate order in Zimmern, *BBR.* No. 26, col. iii, 35 ff.

This latter tablet, *BBR.* No. 26, which is styled Tablet I of *bît rimki*, represents perhaps yet another method of cataloguing. It is a long six-column tablet occupied exclusively with ceremonial directions and has for its catchline the beginning of a Sumerian incantation.

It is further to be noted that in Sm. 690 (and duplicate

K. 2373) K. 9830 and *OECT.* vi, 49, the colophon has the form *inim-inim-ma bît rim-ki x-kam* and precedes the ceremonial directions and catchline. In K. 2612 it likewise precedes the ceremony but takes the form [*tuppu (?)*] *inim-inim-ma bît rim-ki x-kam* ; in *BBR.* No. 26, and *BMS.* No. 1, on the other hand, it follows the catchline and reads *tuppu x-kam bît rim-ki* ; in K. 3392 it likewise follows the catchline and runs *tuppu x-kam-me (!) bît rim-ki*.

As it is impossible, owing to the fragmentary nature of *BBR.* No. 26, which describes the ceremony, to decide to which part of the ceremony K. 3392 belongs, one cannot definitely say whether *BBR.* No. 26, K. 3392, and *BMS.* No. 1 all belong to the same system of cataloguing. If they do, I suggest the following arrangement :—

Tablet I (*BBR.* No. 26) is a six-column tablet describing the ceremony.

Tablet II began with a Sumerian incantation of the “ Evil Spirits ” type, possibly the same as that cited in *BBR.* No. 26, ii, 22.¹ This tablet may be Haupt, *ASKT.* No. 12.²

Tablet III ends with a Semitic prayer to the grain-goddess Nisaba. This tablet (K. 3392) contained three or more columns according to Bezold (*Cat.*), but what preceded the Semitic prayer is not known.

Tablet IV began with a Semitic prayer commencing *šiptu ga-aš-ru šu-pu-u e-til. . .* Since the prayer to Nisaba on Tablet III is styled *dingir šag-dib-ba* this prayer is doubtless to be identified with the *šag-dib-ba* prayer cited in King, *BMS.* p. xix, l. 7, beginning *šiptu gašru šúpû etil* “ Igigi, which occurs also as the catchline of King, *BMS.* No. 18, and was probably addressed to Marduk (though perhaps to Shamash who is called *etil* “ Igigi in Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 43, 19). Alternatively this prayer may be that mentioned in

¹ The catchline of VR. 50, 51 (which is perhaps a *bît rimki* tablet) is also the beginning of an incantation of this type = *Šurpu* ix, 1.

² Cf. *ASKT.* No. 12, rev. 1 and 16. The *bît rimki* is mentioned also in *Šurpu*, v, 36-7.

King, *BMS.*, p. xix, l. 11, beginning *šiptu gašru šūpū ešil Eridu*, which occurs in full in Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 8 ff., where it is addressed to Marduk. It may be noted also that a tablet (probably Tablet I) of the series *bīt me-si-ri* begins *šiptu gašru šūpū . . .* (cf. *ZA.* 36, 216), and that a prayer commencing *šiptu gašru šūpū . . .* is cited in *BBR.* No. 53, l. 6.

The number in the series assigned to *BMS.* No. 1 is unknown, but it was evidently preceded by two tablets similarly arranged and was immediately followed by a succession of three other tablets, of which the first two were probably similarly arranged (i.e. each with four Semitic prayers), while the third probably contained only three Semitic prayers.¹

Later tablets in the series contained further prayers, at least eighteen in number,² mostly Semitic, some of which occur also in the *Maqlā* series.³

The position in the series of the Babbar-Shamash group of prayers is unknown. In the text VR. 50-51 (ed. Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, pp. 187 ff. ; Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, 29 ff.), which is probably a *bīt rimki* tablet, col. iii, ll. 20 f. and 54 f. appear to show that this text was used in connection with the entrance of the king into the *bīt rimki*. There is no indication however, of any such prayer in the ceremony preserved in *BBR.* No. 26. In that text, col. i, ll. 1-19a, take place within the king's bed-chamber ; ll. 19b-23a take place within the palace ; ll. 23b-32 are enacted in the palace-yard, after which a break of about 40 lines occurs.

At the beginning of col. ii the ceremony is resumed in the palace and at l. 10 the scene is again in the palace-yard. After l. 31 another lacuna, of about 30 lines, occurs.

In col. iii, ll. 19-21, the priest is at the outer gate of the palace, and from ll. 22 onwards the scene is in the desert

¹ Cf. *BBR.*, No. 26, iii, 35-iv, 12.

² Cf. *BBR.*, No. 26, iv, 73, 74, 75, 78 ; v, 32, 33, 44, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78 f., 81 ; vi, 23, 25, 50.

³ Cf. *BBR.*, No. 26, v, 73-9. Line 73 is to be restored *ana[šš] šipara palmanēšunu ašallā* = *Maqlā* i, 135.

around the newly-constructed *bût rimki*, while at col. iv, l. 36, the king enters the *bût rimki*, it being then sunrise.

We may conjecture, then, that the Babbar-Shamash group of prayers was recited immediately before this point, and perhaps col. iv, 16–34a, describes this part of the ceremony. Line 22 does, indeed, mention *ki d. Babbar-kam*, which is the technical name of the Babbar-prayers, together with *nam-búr-bi gúl-dū-a-bi*, which may denote the Shamash prayers. Several sets of ritual-apparatus are also set up, for Ea, Shamash, Marduk, Šarpānītu, *ilu amēli*, and Shamash (ll. 16–21), and afterwards others are set up for Ea, the Anunnaki and other deities (ll. 24–9). It must be admitted, however, that the non-citation of the first lines of the Babbar-Shamash group is against their inclusion either here or in the following section (ll. 34b to the end of col. iv), which describes the events immediately after sunrise. If so, it must be supposed that the sunrise scene was rehearsed in a different form on some subsequent day or days and that this ceremony was described with the appropriate citations on another *bût rimki* tablet now lost. Kunstmann (*LSS.*, NF. ii, 76 f.) assumes that the series of Babbar-Shamash prayers is to be assigned to a succession of several days, but for this there is no evidence. We should in fact expect the contrary since the series of twenty-three prayers cited in col. iii, 35 ff., was certainly recited as a whole.

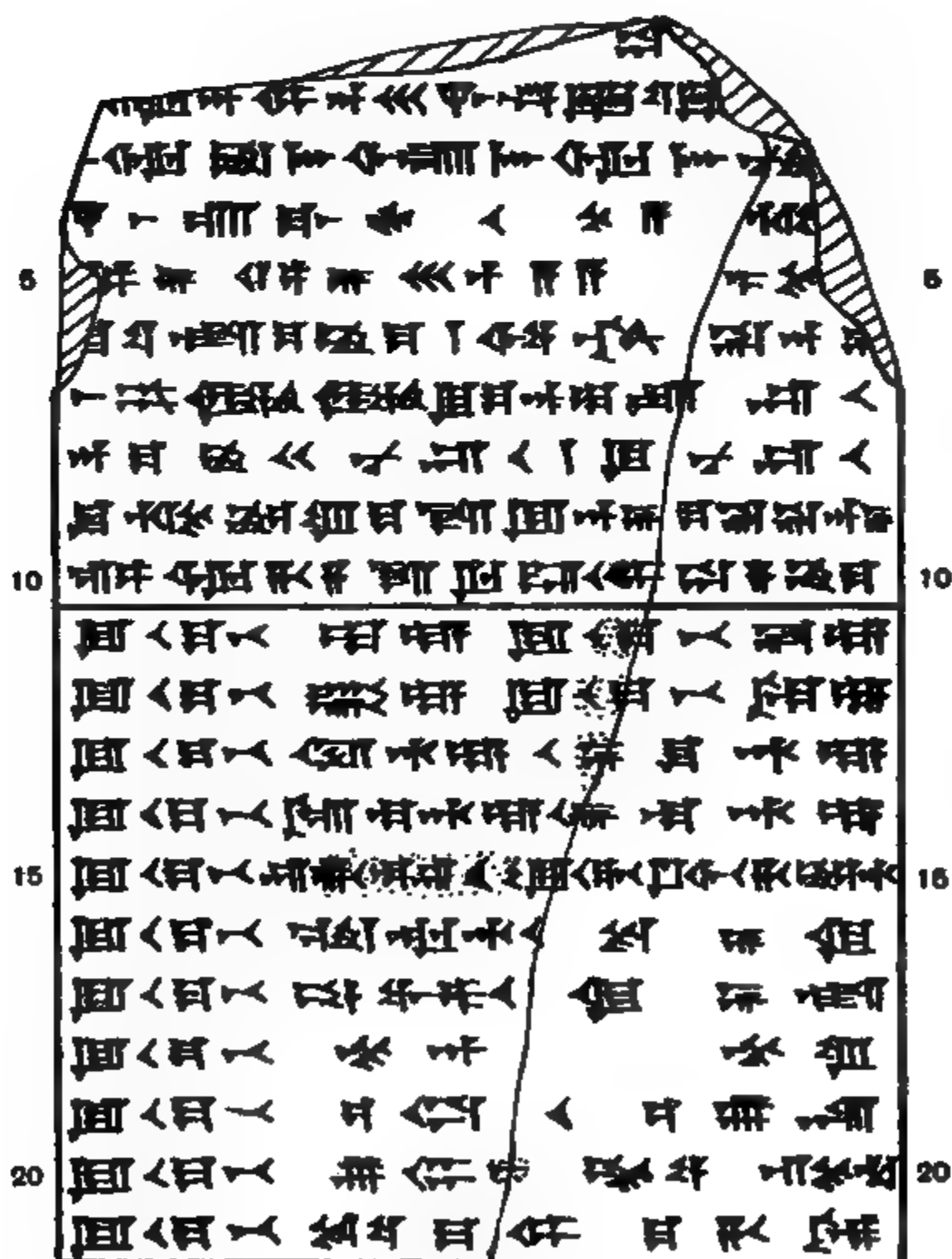
It should be noticed that the images (*šalam nakri*, *šalam kaššapti*, *šalam māmūt*, etc.), which are characteristic of the Babbar-Shamash group, are nowhere mentioned in *BBR.* No. 26, nor are the *bīnu*, *maštakal*, *ukūru*, and *samūt dūri* (except col. iv, 51, . . . *īšu bīni ana kāt šarri*). On the other hand, more characteristic of *BBR.* No. 26 is the slaughter of a lamb (col. ii, 1 ; iii, 19 f. ; iv, 38 f. ; etc.). Nowhere is the king instructed to wash his hands, but twice (col. iii, 17 ; iv, 35) a bath is prescribed.

In the edition of K. 2612 (+ Rm. 2, ii, 269), which follows, it will be noticed that obv. 11–rev. 2 consists of excerpts

chosen, apparently at random, from *Šurpu*, Tablet III. That tablet, like other portions of *Šurpu*, e.g. Tablet II, 5-104, 105-129, 130-183; Tablet IV, 1-34, 35-64, 67-87; Tablet V, 60-143, 173-199; Tablet VIII, 1-30, 31-60, 62-5,

K. 2612 + Rm. 2, ii, 269

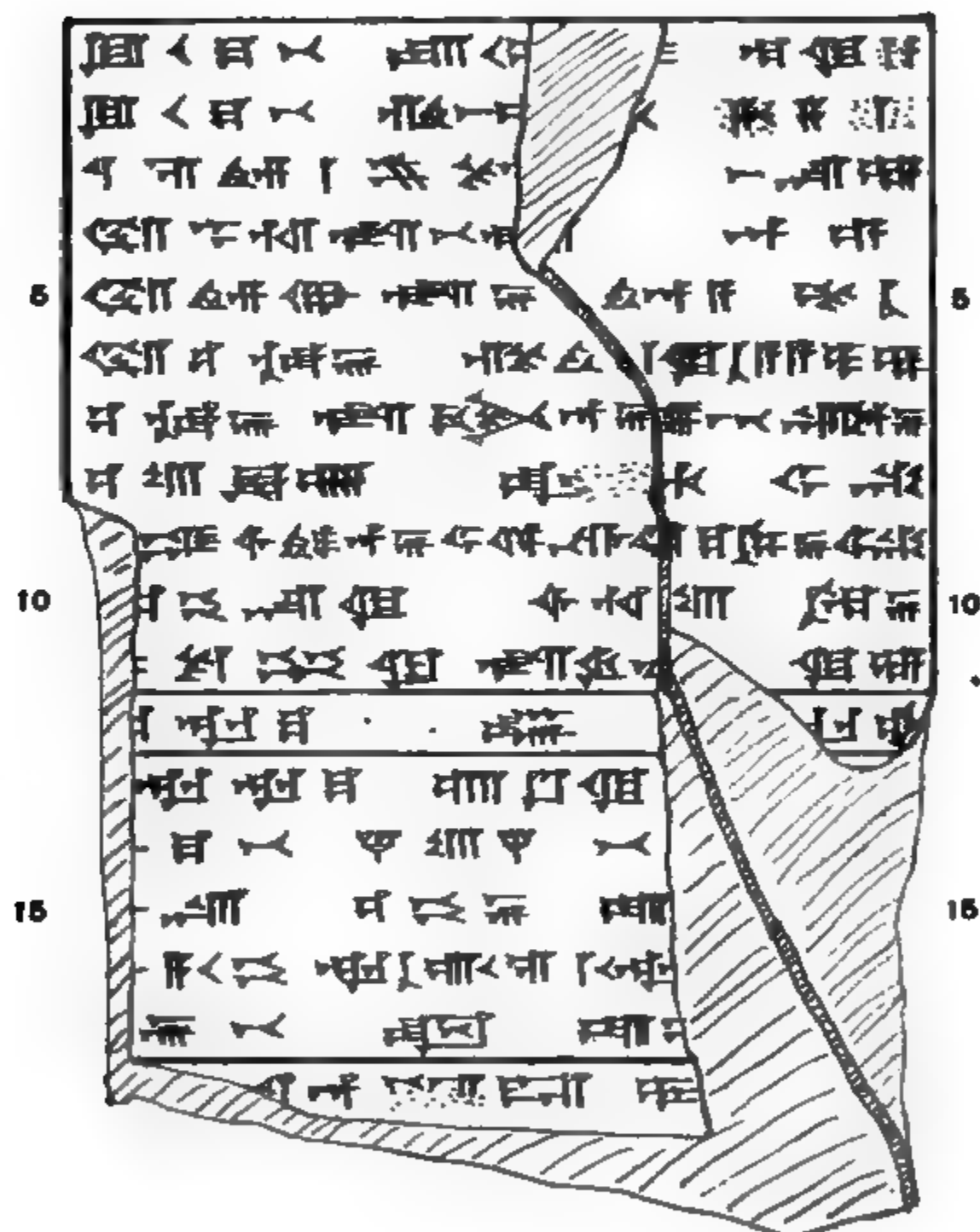
Obverse



66-73; Tablet IX, 1-119, is in effect a compendium of authorized phrases suitable for the use of priestly composers and, as such, it was probably used by generations of the Accadian clergy. This use of older material explains the monotonous similarity of phraseology in the numerous Semitic prayers in Accadian rituals.

K. 2612 + Rm. 2, ii, 269

Reverse



My thanks are due to the British Museum authorities and to Mr. Sidney Smith for permission to publish this text, and I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Gadd for the collation of a few of the lines. I have also to thank Professor Langdon for some valuable suggestions.

Restorations in roman characters are conjectural. The variants are as follows :—

A = King, *BMS.* No. 60, 18-22 = obv. 1-6.

B = K. 2373 (Langdon, *OECT.* vi, pl. i) = rev. 7-18.

C = Sm. 690 rev. (Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, p. 104) = rev. 6-18.

D = Ebeling, *KAR.* 246, obv. 15-rev. 19. (Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 41, 21-46) = obv. 1-rev. 12.

E = Ebeling, *KAR.* 272 = obv. 11-20, rev. 2-13.

K. 2612 + Rm. 2, ii, 269

Obverse

1. ¹[*bēlu a-di sur-riš nu-ḫa-am-ma ar-ḫi-iš*] *iziz*²-[*za-am-ma*]
2. ³[*ina*] *lumun attalē* ⁴*ilu Sin šá ina arḫi annanni ūmi*
anna[*nni šak-na*]
3. *ina*⁵ *lumun idāti ittāti limnēti lā táb[āt]*
4. *ša ina ekalli-ja u mātī-a* (!) ⁶*bašā-[a]*
5. ⁷[*d*]*i-ni di-ni* ⁸*purussā-jā puru-us*
- * 6. *šu-ut-li-ma-am-ma* ⁹*ana* ¹⁰*damik-tim ritad-an-n[i]* ¹¹
7. *aš-šum* ¹²*muruš maršā-ku-ma* ¹³*ilu at-ta tîdû-u*

¹ Restored from A, l. 18; D, l. 15.

² D *i-ziz-za-am-ma*.

³ ll. 3-5 are omitted in D.

⁴ The usual formula omits *ina*. A has . . . *ittāti limnēti lā táb[āt]*.

⁵ The usual formula has *mātī-jā*. So A.

⁶ ll. 5 and 6 form one line in A.

⁷ D *-in*.

⁸ D *šu-tam-ša-am-ma*.

⁹ So also A.

¹⁰ *UŠ-an-ni*. D *ri-[ta]-da-[an]-ni*.

¹¹ D *-tû*.

¹² D *mar-ša-ku*.

8. *ilu ma-am-man* ¹³ *lā idû-u* ¹⁴ *ana-ku lā idû-u* ¹⁴
 9. *šu-nam-erim-ma* ¹⁵ *ša iṣbat-an-ni-[ma* ¹⁶ *irted-an-ni]* ¹⁷
 10. *sag-ḫúl-ḫa-za* ¹⁸ *ša ur-ra u mūša* ¹⁹ *iziz-za-am-ma*
-
11. ²⁰ *lu-u* ²¹ *ma-mit abi-ia* ²² *lu-u* ²³ *ma-mit ummi-ia*
 12. *lu-u* ²³ *ma-mit aḫi-ia* ²² *lu-u* ²¹ *ma-mit aḫati-ia* ²²
 13. *lu-u* ²³ *ma-mit kim-ti-ia u ni-šu* ²⁴ *-ti-ia*
 14. ²⁵ *lu-u ma-mit el-la-ti-ia u sa-la-ti-ia*
 15. ²⁶ *lu-u ma-mit mûdû-ú u la* ²⁷ *mûdû-ú lu-u ma-mit*
 ḫab-lim ²⁸ *u ḫa-bil* ²⁹ *-ti*
 16. ³⁰ *lu-u* ²¹ *ma-mit dar-ka-ti u te-ni-ki*
 17. *lu-u ma-mit kip-pi-i* ³¹ *u ki-sal-li*
 18. ³² *lu-u ma-mit nîš ili zakā-ru*
 19. ³³ *lu-u ma-mit* ^{isu} *balti u* ^{isu} *ašāgi*
 20. *lu-u ma-mit šam-mi* ³⁴ *ina* ³⁵ *šêri nasā-ḫu*
 21. *lu-u ma-mit lêt ú-ma-mi ma-ḫa-ṣu*

¹³ D *ilu man-ma*.

¹⁴ D *-ú*.

¹⁵ D *šu-nam-erim-ma-ku*.

¹⁶ D *iṣbatan-ni-ma*.

¹⁷ *irtedan-[ni]*.

¹⁸ D *sag-ḫúl-ḫa-za-ku*.

¹⁹ D *ša mu-ša u ur-ra*.

²⁰ D omits the line drawn across the tablet after l. 10.

²¹ D *lu*.

²² E *-iḫ*.

²³ DE *lu*.

²⁴ D *-šû-*.

²⁵ D omits this line but adds to the preceding line *u [sa-la-ti-ia]*. E reads *[el-l]a-ti-ia sa-la-ti-ia*.

²⁶ In D, l. 15 occupies two lines. E omits l. 15b.

²⁷ D *lā*.

²⁸ D *-li*.

²⁹ D *-bil-*.

³⁰ DE transpose ll. 16, 17.

³¹ D *-e*. E *u kip-pi-e*.

³² D *lu ma-mit ili u nîš ili*. E omits this line.

³³ DE *lu ma-mit šêri u ú-ma-mi, lu [ma-] mit [tuppi (?)]* *u* ^{isu} *ú-il-[ti]*.

³⁴ D *šammé*.

³⁵ D *i-na*.

Reverse

1. ³⁶ lu-u ma-mit ta-m[i (?) ³⁷tu]m (?) la-ki-e (?)
2. ³⁸ lu-u ma-mit kané ina i (?)-[šik³⁹-t]i (?) ha-ša-pi (?)
3. ⁴⁰ lis-si šáru išēn bēram ina zumri-ja
4. kīma kut-ri li-tul-li šamē-e
5. kīma imbari li-ni'-a irta-bù
6. kīma ⁴¹ bīni nas-ši ana abri-bù aš i-tūr
7. ⁴² bīnu ⁴³ li-lil-an-ni ⁴⁴ maštakaš ⁴⁵ lipšur-an-ni
8. ⁴⁶ ukūru šir-ti lit-bal ⁴⁷
9. [irši]-tum ⁴⁸ lim-šur⁴⁹-an-ni lid-di-na ⁵⁰ me-lam-ma ⁵¹
lum-ni lit-bal
10. [k]a (?) -bi ⁵² -su iršiti (?) ⁵³ lim-šu-ru-nin⁵⁴-ni
11. [p]a (?) -te-ku iršiti (?) ⁵⁵ li-ten-nu-[u] ⁵⁶ itti-ja ⁵⁷

³⁶ This line seems to have no parallel in *Šurpu*, Tablet III. l. 127 is not parallel. But cf. perhaps K. 14719, l. 5 = *Šurpu*, iii, 31a (King, *Cat. Kouy. Coll. Suppl.*, No. 1270) ma-mit ta(?) -hi(?) - D reads [lu ma-mit ma-an]-pi-e u li-[li-si], [lu ma-mit] . . . u a-ša- . . ; cf. *Šurpu*, iii, 84.

³⁷ Or -[im]-; or -[šik]-.

³⁸ D [lu ma-mit] kané [ina išikti] ha-ša-[pi]. Cf. *Šurpu*, iii, 28, ma-mit kané (GI-HI-A) ina išikti (ZUK) ha-ša-pu.

³⁹ So probably restore, cf. note ³⁶. In Deimel, *Šum. Lexikon*, 522, 4, ZUK (= a-a) = išiktum ša šu auklum. išikku = "marsh", cf. Thompson, *Reports*, No. 207, rev. 3 f. ("the empty marshes will be full"). Cf. also IM-KALAG-GA = išikku, a kind of mud (Deimel, *Šum. Lex.*, 399, 155b).

⁴⁰ Not a new line in D. DE šáru bēram lis-si i-na zumri-ja. After this line E has a line drawn across the tablet.

⁴¹ B [šū] bi-nu.

⁴² šam DIL-BAT. BDE šam IN-NU-UŠ. This begins a new line in B and perhaps in C.

⁴³ Perhaps BC omitted this line.

⁴⁴ DE lit-bu-uk.

⁴⁵ B -tim. Restored from KAR. 267, rev. 21.

⁴⁶ E -šu-ra.

⁴⁷ A new line begins here in E.

⁴⁸ C me-lám-šá-ma. D mi-lam-ma-šá-ma.

⁴⁹ Or -kas-.

⁵⁰ Or -ki. B . . . BI-SU-KI / C . . . -KI / DE . . . -[S]U-KI.

⁵¹ E -ni.

⁵² KI.

⁵³ D . . . -ú. E li-te-nu-ú.

⁵⁴ DE add a line . . . lim-šu-ru-nin-ni. D adds after this TÙ-EN.

12. ⁵⁵ [ini]m-inim-ma šarru izakka-ár
-
13. ⁵⁶ [tuppu (?)] inim-inim-ma bît rim-ki [V-kam]
 14. [ša]am ma-mit tašakkan libbi-ša tupat (?) ⁵⁷-[ti]
 15. [in]a paṭar ⁵⁸ bi-ni ta-[pat-taḥ]
 16. ⁵⁸ [in]a mē ⁵⁹ u šikari pî-šù imis-si ⁶⁰ ana mu[h-ḥi u-
 rak-ma]
 17. ⁶¹ [ina] sa-mit dūri ta-ki[b-bir]
-
18. [én] ^{dingir} Babbar an-ùr-ra ġe-[ni-sir] ⁶²

Translation

Obverse

1. O Lord ! Mayest thou be soon at rest ; stand by (me) speedily.
2. On account of an eclipse of the moon which in such a month and on such a day took place,

⁵⁵ So also C. B has [inim]-inim-ma IN-NU-UŠ (= maštakal)-[kam]. D has [inim-inim-ma nam]-erim bûr-ru-da-kám. E . . . [izakka-a]r (?).

⁵⁶ From rev. 14 onwards D diverges from the Nineveh texts ; see note ⁶³ below.

⁵⁷ BAD probably = pitû, cf. D libbi-ša tu-ĦAL-ĦAL where ĦAL probably = pitû. Cf. Deimel, *Šum. Lex.* 69, 54, and 2, 4.

⁵⁸ Not a new line in B. C runs together ll. 15, 16 into one line.

⁵⁹ A. B A-meš.

⁶⁰ B begins a new line here.

⁶¹ So also B !

⁶² = bît rimki, Tablet VI, l. 1 (= OECT. vi, 52, 2). But PBS. i, 1, No. 15, rev. 2, quotes instead in this place the prayer beginning [én] d. Babbar an-šag-ta-è which in the Nineveh recension of bît rimki = Tablet V, l. 1, being the opening line on the obverse of our variant C (i.e. Sm. 690, obv. 1 = OECT. vi, 50, 1). The differences between the Nineveh and the Southern recensions are noted and discussed in Kunstmann, *LSS.*, NF. ii, 76 ff.

⁶³ The ceremony in D is as follows :—

obv. 20. [kikitta-šu šalam ma-mit teppu]-uš libbi-ša tu-ĦAL-ĦAL

21. GI-[GAB (?)] limmalû (?) amēlu marṣu i-na pān ilu
 Šamaš

22. [karpatu pur]šita i-na kâti-šù inašši-ma

23. [ina paṭar ¹⁵⁰ b]i (?) -ni (?) libba-ša i-pat-taḥ III-šù mē

24. [u šikara pî-šù imis-s]i (?) muḥḥi-ša ú-rak

25. [kiām iḥ]abbî [šu (?)]-ṣi ta-di-ra-ti-ja

26. [lu-ba (?)]-di-ja u ta-ni-ḥi-ja ana muḥḥi-ki ú-rak.

3. On account of the misfortune of signs and omens evil
and not good
4. Which are in my palace and my land,¹
5. Judge my cause, decide my verdict.
6. Grant (me)² and lead me to welfare.³
7. With respect to the disease from which I suffer, thou,
O God, knowest (it),
8. No other god knoweth (it), I know (it) not.
9. The "hand of the curse"⁴ which has seized me and
pursued me,
10. The "uplifter of an evil head"⁴ which daily and nightly
stands by (me),—
11. Whether it be the curse of my father, or the curse of
my mother,
12. Or the curse of my brother, or the curse of my sister,
13. Or the curse of my family, or the curse of my paternal
relations,
14. Or the curse of my maternal relations, or the curse of
my clan,
15. Or the curse of something known or unknown, or the
curse of a male or female unfortunate,
16. Or the curse of offspring or suckling,
17. Or the curse of music-room or courtyard,
18. Or the curse of swearing on oath by a god,⁵
19. Or the curse of caper (?)⁶ or thorn,⁷
20. Or the curse of tearing up plants in a field,
21. Or the curse of striking the cheek⁸ of a (wild) beast,

¹ Probably supply: "I am afraid, distressed, and cast into gloom";
cf. the full formula in *JRAS.* 1929, 5, 39-42.

² Var. "Cause (me) to find."

³ Practically = "restore me to health."

⁴ = "the disease," viewed as a curse (l. 9) and as a demon (l. 10).

⁵ Var. "Or the curse of a god or of an oath by a god".

⁶ Some thorny plant.

⁷ Var. "Or the curse of field or beast, or the curse of tablet or contract."

⁸ Or perhaps "rump".

Reverse

1. Or the curse of receiving (?) an oracle,¹
2. Or the curse of cutting reeds in a marsh,
3. May the wind remove it a league ² from my body,
4. Like smoke may it rise up to heaven,
5. Like a hurricane may it flee away,³
6. Like an uprooted tamarisk may it return to its own place.
7. May the tamarisk purify me ; may the mandrake (?) release me ;
8. May the palm-pith (?) carry away my guilt.
9. May the earth receive me ; may it give (me) its reflection and take away my misfortune.
10. May *those who tread the earth* ⁴ receive me.
11. May *those who fashion the earth* ⁴ be (favourably) inclined (?) toward ⁵ me.⁶

12. The king shall recite the incantation.⁷

13. It is the fifth incantation-tablet of "The House of Washing" (*bît rimki*).
14. Thou shalt set up an image of the "Curse" ⁸ and *open up* (?) ⁹ its heart
15. With a sword of tamarisk-wood thou shalt pierce (it) ¹⁰

¹ Or "a sacrificial offering" (*tarîmtu*). Scarcely "offspring" (*talittu*). Var. "Or the curse of tambourine (?) or kettledrum"

² Literally "A double-hour's journey". Or, perhaps, "3,600 double-hours' journeys." Cf. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben*, p. 142, note *b*.

³ Literally "turn backward its breast".

⁴ Very doubtful.

⁵ Literally "with".

⁶ Var. adds "may receive me. Incantation. Spell".

⁷ Var. "It is an incantation for the mandrake (?) (plant)".

⁸ i.e. an image representing the general idea of "curse" or violated tabu, probably in female form.

⁹ Very doubtful. We should expect "its heart" (*libbi-šá*) to be construed with the following line.

¹⁰ Or perhaps "hollow (it) out".



16. With water and beer he¹ shall wash his mouth. He shall spit upon it² and

17. Thou shalt bury (it) in the angle (?) of the wall.³

18. Incantation. Shamash in the foundation of heaven has shone forth.

¹ i.e. the king.

² i.e. the image.

³ Presumably the wall of the *bit rimki*. No wall is mentioned in *BBR*. No. 26. The ceremony on D reads as follows: "(This is) its ritual. Thou shalt make an image of the 'Curse'. Its heart thou shalt open up (?) . . . Let . . . be filled with The sick man shall lift up a *parasite-vessel* in his hand before Shamash" (or "before the sun"), "and with a sword of tamarisk wood he shall pierce its heart. Thrice (with ?) water and beer he shall wash his mouth, upon it he shall spit. Thus shall he speak: 'Remove my gloom, my disease and my weariness. Upon thee I spit.'"

Adh-Dhahabī's "*Ta'rikh al-islām*" as an Authority on the Mongol Invasion of the Caliphate

By JOSEPH DE SOMOGYI

SCARCELY ever has Islām experienced more tragical times and more hardships than during the Mongol invasion in the course of the thirteenth century A.D. With the despite of the nomads, practitioners of the open-air life, for sedentary occupations, the people of Jengis Khān turned against and mercilessly destroyed the towns and works of civilization everywhere. Their disastrous campaign was only facilitated by the decomposition of the political unity of Islām at that time. In Baghdād the 'Abbāsīd caliphate still subsisted, but its splendour was on the wane; to the west of Baghdād, in Egypt, Palestine, and a part of Syria, the Ayyūbids reigned, and in Asia Minor the Seljūqs, while to the east of Baghdād the Turkish princes from Khiva had a rather insecure hold on the vast stretch of the Khwārizmian empire from the Ganges to the Tigris and from Turkestān to the Indian Ocean. This state of affairs was inviting to an enterprising invader of the sort of Jengis Khān who, in 1218, crushed the Khwārizmian empire, while his grandson, Hūlāghū Khān, put an end to the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in 1258. The western provinces of Islām, including Egypt, were, however, spared from the devastating fury of the Mongols by the Mamlūk Sultān's victory over Ketbogha, Hūlāghū's general, at 'Ayn Jālūt, Palestine, in 1260. When in 1299–1301 his grandson Qāzān failed in conquering Syria Islām was definitely safe from further Mongol attacks.

Small wonder that the terrified Muslims regarded the Mongol invasion as a veritable scourge. In writing of the Mongols or Tatars as their primitive name was, they hardly ever omit the apposition *al-malā'īnu* (the accursed), and,

referring to Jengis Khān, they usually affix the phrase *la'anahu 'llāhu* ("may God curse him") to his name.

No doubt this great horror of the Muslims alone accounts for the astonishing fact that in the hitherto edited texts of the vast Arabic historical and geographical literature, not excluding the very well-informed Yāqūt, we find practically no reference to their original home, tribal organization, and customs. Much better are we informed about their campaigns against Islām, though, as a matter of course, scores of works, both Arabic and Persian, are to be consulted to sketch a detailed narrative of them. There is, however, one work containing a rather detailed record of the principal events of the Mongol invasion, and this is the hitherto unedited *Ta'rīkh al-islām* of adh-Dhahabī (673/1274 to 748/1348). He needs no introduction to Arabic scholars, so well-known and much used are his works on *ḥadīth* and his historical compendium *Kitāb duwal al-islām*.¹ His principal work, the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*,² combining both general and biographical history, finishes in 700/1300-1 and, therefore, includes the whole history of the Mongol invasion. The value of his narrative is enhanced by his careful gathering of all sorts of information pertaining to his subject, and by himself being an eye-witness to the last phase of the Mongol invasion, Qāzān's attack on Damascus.

It is owing to adh-Dhahabī's conscientious quotation of his authorities that we possess in his *Ta'rīkh al-islām* the only report on Jengis Khān's Tatars that is extant in the hitherto known works of Arabic literature. Adh-Dhahabī begins his record of the appearance of Jengis Khān's people in 605/1208-9 with a reference to the "*Khabar al-tatār*" of "al-Muwaffaq 'Abdallaṭīf ibn Yūsuf". We meet with the same name in the narrative of the year 617/1220-1. From this curtailed name it clearly appears that we have to do with the

¹ See my paper, "Ein arabisches Kompendium der Weltgeschichte. Das *Kitāb duwal al-islām* des adh-Dhahabī," *Islamica*, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 334-353.

² See my paper, "The *Ta'rīkh al-islām* of adh-Dhahabī," *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 815-855.

celebrated Egyptian physician and naturalist, Muwaffaqaddīn abū Muḥammad 'Abdallaṭīf ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn abī Sa'd al-Baghdādī, commonly known as Ibn al-Labbād, who lived from 555/1160 to 629/1231-2. He is noted for his description of Egypt entitled *Kitāb al-ifāda wal-i'tibār fil-umūr al-mushāhada wal-ḥawādith al-mu'āyana bi ard Miṣr*.¹ We have a list of his 166 works, which is appended to the biography of him by Ibn abi Uṣaybi'a (died in 668/1269-70) in his lexicon of Arabian physicians and naturalists, *Uyūn al-anbā fī Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*.² These are works, mostly lost, on geography, natural history, and medicine, and include a history (*Ta'rīkh*)³; there is, however, no indication of any separate report by him on the Tatars as given by adh-Dhahabī.⁴ Perhaps this account formed part of one of his works lost which was luckily discovered by adh-Dhahabī and inserted into his *Ta'rīkh al-islām*. We have, notwithstanding, some indications in 'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī's autobiography included in Ibn abi Uṣaybi'a's biography of him, from which we may gather that on his travels he had met people from Central Asia and had even actually been among the Tatars. Thus we read in his autobiography that he had had an intercourse with famous shaykhs from Baghdād, Khorāsān, Syria, and Egypt⁵; that he travelled from Ḥalab into the Byzantine Empire and spent several years there⁶; that after making journeys in Egypt, Syria, and Maghrib he went on the 7th Dhul-Qa'da 625/8th October, 1228, to Erzerum, then in Rabī' al-awwal 626/28th January-26th

¹ Edited by J. White, *Abdollaṭīphī Historiae Aegypti compendium*, Oxford, 1800, and by S. de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abdallaṭīf*, Paris, 1810.

² Edited separately by J. Mousley, *Abdollaṭīf Bagdadensis Vita, auctore Ibn abi Osaiba*, Oxford, 1808. See pp. 50-64 for the list of his works.

³ Ibid., p. 56.

⁴ We have no reference to such a report in the biography of him in al-Kutubī's *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, vol. ii, pp. 7-8, and none even in adh-Dhahabī's biography of him in the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat. i, 654, fols. 76-77b.

⁵ In Mousley, p. 6.

⁶ Ibid., p. 34.

February, 1229, to Kimākh, in Jumādā l-Ūlā/28th March–26th April, to Dairki.¹ Concerning Kimākh we read in Yāqūt (ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. iv, p. 334) that it is a wide province on the frontier of China and its inhabitants are Turks living in tents; it is also the name of the Turkish people from which the tribe of the Qypchāq had sprung.² This indication furnishes evidence of his travel in Mongolia, and it is doubtless owing to his observations and experiences made on this and other journeys that we have his report which adh-Dhahabī inserted into his great work and saved from perishing.

The report of 'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī consists of, or was divided by adh-Dhahabī into, two parts, which are included in the records of the years A.H. 605 and 617. The possible date of its composition must be put after 625/1227–8 because he repeatedly refers to the ravage of Iṣfahān by the Tatars which occurred in 625/1227–8.

The general panic called forth by the rumours about the advance of Jengis Khān's Tatars in Central Asia is excellently characterized by adh-Dhahabī's introductory remark to the first part of 'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī's report.³ He says that "this is a report that eats up all (similar) reports, an item of news that rolls up other news, a story that makes other stories to be forgotten, an accident in comparison to which other accidents appear slight, and a misfortune that extends over the whole surface of the earth". This remark which is certainly apt to rouse the reader's interest, is followed by a short description of the Tatars. First 'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī states that the language of the Tatars is similar to that of the Hindus because they live in their vicinity. Incorrect as this

¹ Ibid., p. 36. Dairki is given as Déberki by S. de Sacy, op. cit., p. 470. Thus also in *Ibn abi Useibia*, ed. A. Müller, Königsberg, 1884, vol. ii, p. 207.

² See W. Barthold in *Enc. Isl.*, vol. ii, p. 1009, and also the description of Kimākh in S. H. Manger, *La vie de Tamerlan par Ibn Arabšāh*, Leeuwarden, 1767–1772, vol. ii, p. 202.

³ The first part of the report is in the MS. of the British Museum, No. 1640, from fol. 173, l. 21, to fol. 173b, l. 18.

statement is, it is significative of the popular theory prevalent at that time which denoted all sorts of Northern and Central Asiatic nomadic races with the common name of Tatars.¹ They live at a distance of four months from Tangut.² Anthropologically they are described as having broad faces, wide breasts, light buttocks, small members, brown complexion ; they are agile and intelligent.

People know very little about them before meeting them, first because "they receive intelligence of foreign peoples but the latter receive no intelligence of them", that is why it is very difficult for any foreigner to spy out their conditions, and secondly because they always conceal their intentions and surprise the foreign peoples with their attacks. "The inhabitants of no town know of them before they enter it, and no army before they meet it." Their women fight like their men, sometimes carrying even their babies round their necks. First a small troop would appear in a foreign town, then, all of a sudden, the mass of the Tatars break in upon them unexpectedly and mercilessly murder all the women and children, but spare the lives of the artisans and able-bodied men, whom they take into their service. Most of their arms are arrows made by all of them. The points of the arrows are made of horn, iron, or bone. Swords are used for stabbing rather than for beating. For defence they use shields made of mole-skins and shins. Their horses eat fresh and dry fodder and even foliage and wood that they find. They use small and light saddles. Their nourishment is the roasted flesh of any kind of animals.

'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī finishes the first part of his report stating that they kill without an exception and mercilessly,

¹ For the similar Chinese conception of the Tatars see C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2nd ed., La Haye et Amsterdam, 1837-52, vol. i, p. 93.

² Tangut is, according to Yāqūt (ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. v, p. 880), "a town in Shāsh beyond (the river) Sayhūn"; according to Ḥamdallāh Qazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, Persian text, p. 257, it is also "a country comprising many countries of the Fifth Zone, and called Qāshīn by the Mongols."

and it seems that they tend not so much to possession and wealth as to destruction.

The second part of his report¹ treats of the invasion of the Tatars into the West in A.H. 617 and subsequent years. Though this is no continuous narrative of the campaign of Jengis Khān—as a matter of course such a record can hardly be expected during the campaign—it is very important for all that because he refers to his stay at Erzerum in 618/1221–2, i.e. during the Tatar advance in the Caucasus. Hence it appears that what he relates in the second part was either experienced by him or told to him by eye-witnesses, which is, in all probability, responsible for the many episodes his narrative includes.

'Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī introduces the second part of his report with a characteristic remark: "Two groups were separated from the Tatars just as two tongues are separated (from each other) in Hell." We know from other authors also² that the northern group advanced on Ādharbayjān and Arrān, then invaded Georgia; the southern group marched against Hamadān and Isfahān, and finally both groups united and advanced on Baghdād. The first group attacked Georgia by surprise, then, retreating on Sharwān, passed Derbend, and ravaged the territories of Qypchāq and Alān. At this juncture the report remembers the marriage of the Georgian king's sister to the son of the Seljūq of Erzerum, who embraced Christianity.³ After praising the country of Qypchāq for its temperate climate, abundance in water, good soil, and many sheep, 'Abdallatīf al-Baghdādī proceeds to the march of the southern group against Baghdād. The Kurds were induced

¹ See the MS. of the British Museum, No. 1640, from fol. 190b, l. 6, to fol. 192, l. 16.

² See Ibn al-Athīr, vol. xii, pp. 251 and 327–8, and also d'Ohezon, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 216–352.

³ For a detailed record of this event see Ibn al-Athīr, vol. xii, pp. 270–1, under the significant title *Hāditha gharība lam yūjad mithlūhā*, and F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Pétersbourg, 1849–1857, vol. i, p. 495; it is also related by adh-Dhahabī in the narrative of the year A.H. 621: see the MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat., vol. i, No. 654, fols. 1b–2.

to attack Derbend while the Caliph concentrated all his troops on Baghdād. The 'Abbāsīd capital was, however, spared from the Tatar invasion because the Muslims received the Tatar legate, who was probably sent to spy out the enemy's camp, with such a military parade and ceremony in Arbīl, in the wilāyat of Daqūqā, and last in Baghdād that his visit discouraged and frightened the Tatars who, this time, desisted from attacking Baghdād. This record of the Tatar legate's reception is not known to us from other authorities in print. The invaders also failed to take Iṣfahān.

Then 'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī relates some cases illustrative of the cruelty and devastation of the Tatars, which he heard from eye-witnesses in Armenia. Such records terrorized the civilized world so much that the mere name of Tatar has become odious in East and West alike. The particular cases 'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī relates were evidently all collected by him during his stay in Armenia. Al-Malik al-Ashraf, the eldest of the Ayyūbids (reigned from 578/1182-3 to 635/1237-8), when asked about the Tatars, said: "What shall I say of a people of which no prisoner has ever been taken, since they fight as long as they are either killed or save themselves?" And the king of Georgia stated that people never used to tell how many were killed by them in a country, but rather how many were left safe. Nisābūr was also burnt down and completely destroyed, and 550,000 people were mercilessly massacred by them. The country of *al-malāḥida*¹ and Farghāna were also visited by them. They found a special pleasure in the gradual truncating of their victims, and are told to have even drunk the blood of two children of a woman. The Tatars' success was mainly due to the circumstance that their enemy, the Sultān Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad ibn Tukush (reigned from 589/1193 to 596/1200) was "a thief and a burglar, his army was a rabble without care and organization: most of them were infidel Turks or ignorant Muslims.

¹ *Al-malāḥida* being a name of the Dahris, this passage refers to the environs of Alamūt and other fortresses of the Assassins in Irān.

He does not know even the best soldiers in the ranks, and his officers are accustomed to brutality only." They were attacked by the Tatars, "the sons of one father, one word, and one heart, with one chief whom they obey." After referring to their visit in Iṣfahān, 'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī concludes his report remarking that no enemy could ever have been more hostile than the Tatars, who had no religion and no reason. Even their animals are of a bad sort.

The report of 'Abdallaṭīf al-Baghdādī is no connected account of the Tatars, yet it fully deserves our attention as the narrative of a trustworthy author and the only literary record in Arabic descriptive of the Tatars. His authority is also referred to by adh-Dhahabī in recording the defeat of the Khwārizmians at Khilāt in A.H. 627.¹ The other authorities of adh-Dhahabī for Jengis Khān's campaign are Ibn al-Athīr, Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, Ibn Wāṣil, an-Nasawī, and a certain al-Mu'ayyad 'Imādaddīn, who wrote his *Ta'rīkh* supplementing an-Nasawī's work.²

In the further record of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām* we can follow the Tatar advance into Central Asia, Irān, and the Caucasus until the fatal year of Muslim history, 656/1258, when Baghdād was captured and plundered by Hūlāghū Khān.³ Into his narrative, based partly on the authority of a certain Ibn al-Kāzarūnī,⁴ adh-Dhahabī inserted a *qaṣīda* by Taqīaddīn Ismā'īl ibn abil-Yusr on the destruction of Baghdād.⁵ More or less detailed reports inform us also of the subsequent campaigns of the Tatars, thus of Hūlāghū Khān's invasion of Syria in 658/1260,⁶ of their battle on the Euphrates in

¹ See the MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat. i, 654, fols. 7b-8b.

² See the MS. of the British Museum, No. 1640, fol. 182, l. 14.

³ See the MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat. i, 654, fols. 248-250, under the title *Kā'inat Baghdād*.

⁴ Ibid., fol. 249b, l. 3.

⁵ For its text and English translation see my paper "A *qaṣīda* on the Destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols," *BSOS.*, 1933, pp. 41-8.

⁶ See the MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat. i, 654, fols. 252-5, and also the narrative of Šārimaddīn Ūzbek ibn 'Abdallāh edited and translated by G. Levi della Vida in his paper "L'invasione dei Tartari in Siria nel 1260 nei ricordi di un testimone oculare," *Orientalia*, nova series, vol. iv (Roma, 1935), pp. 353-376.

671/1272-3,¹ of their fight with Badraddīn al-Atābakī in Palestine in 675/1276-7, and their defeat at Derbend in the same year,² until we come to the end of the *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, where we find a continuous and very detailed description of the Tatars' second invasion of Syria and destruction of Damascus in 699-700/1299-1301.³ This concluding narrative is particularly interesting because, well-known as this event is from the *Khitaṭ* of al-Maqrizī and other sources,⁴ it is related by adh-Dhahabī with the vivacity of an eye-witness who himself experienced the whole campaign against his city. With the exception of the testimony of a certain Dhau ibn Ṣabāḥ az-Zubaydī, who witnessed the battle of Ḥims,⁵ we find no references to other sources in this narrative, which is all the more remarkable as otherwise he regularly quotes his authorities throughout his work. For the general historian this concluding narrative is important for three reasons. First, it clearly appears from it that but for the rivalry between the Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt and his governor in Damascus the Tatars would have never ventured upon such an attack on the most important city of Islām after the fall of Baghdād. Then, it is evident from this report that the failure of the Tatar attempt was due to the heroic defence of the commander of the citadel, Arjawāsh, and not to the military power of the Mamlūks, which proved entirely inefficient after their defeat in the Wādī al-Khaznadār on the 28th Rabī' al-awwal 699/23rd December, 1299. Last, adh-Dhahabī emphasizes the circumstance that, though the Tatars favoured the non-Muslims, they were not hostile to the Muslims for all that. They proclaimed that their ruler was a Muslim, and there can be no doubt that but for their atrocities they would have easily gained possession of Syria.

¹ See the MS. of the Bodleian Library, Cat. i, 656, fol. 57b.

² Ibid., fols. 60b-61.

³ See the MS. of the British Museum Or. 1540, fols. 123-134.

⁴ See Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamloucks*, Paris, 1837-1841, vol. ii, part ii, from p. 147 onwards; d'Ohsson, op. cit., vol. iv, from p. 212 onwards; Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London, 1876, vol. iii, from p. 429 onwards, where also Persian authors are quoted.

⁵ See the MS. of the British Museum Or. 1540, fol. 124, l. 13.

Moreover, adh-Dhahabī's narrative is a very good sketch of the life of Damascus during the Tatar siege. It is of good use to anybody who is interested in the eventful past of this old city. We learn from it the names of the persons filling the posts at that time. In very lively tones our author depicts the general panic called forth by the cruelties of the Tatars, and the relief felt at their withdrawal. He regularly records also on the rise in the prices of victuals and saddle-horses occasioned by the stringency during the assault.

Thus the *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* contains valuable material for the history of the Mongol invasion of the caliphate. The fact that adh-Dhahabī's narrative, as a whole, corroborates and, in details, supplements our information obtained from other sources, testifies to his trustworthiness in gathering and quoting his references. For this reason his great work can justly be considered as an important authority on this tragical period of the history of Islām.

The Poems of Surâqah b. Mirdâs al-Bâriqî— An Umayyad Poet

By S. M. HUSAIN, M.A., D.Phil.(Oxon.)

(Concluded from p. 490).

١١ وقال سراقه

[كامل]

١
 إِنَّ الْأَحِبَّةَ آذَنُوا بِتَرْحُلِ
 وَ أَرَنَ حَادِيهِمْ عَلَى أَخْرَاهُمْ
 ذُلًّا حُمُولَتَهَا بِبَيْنِ عَاجِلِ
 يَمْشِي وَيُوجِفُ خِذْرَهَا بِغَمَامَةٍ
 رَابٍ رَوَادِفُهَا يَنُوءُ بِخَصْرِهَا
 أَيَّامَ تَبَسُّمٍ عَنْ نَقْيٍ لَنُونِهِ
 مُعَلَّقُ الْحَلِيِّ الْبَهِيِّ بِمُشْرِقِ
 ذَهَبَتْ بِقَلْبِكَ فِي الْأَنَامِ وَمِثْلُهَا
 وَكَأَنَّهَا فِي الدَّارِ يَوْمَ رَأَيْتَهَا
 تُعْشِي الْبَصِيرَ إِذَا تَأَمَّلَ وَجْهَهَا
 ٢
 وَ بِصُرْمٍ حَبْلِكَ بَاكِراً قَتَحَمَلِ
 بِصِلَاصِلِ خَلْفَ الرِّكَابِ وَأَزْمَلِ
 خَضْعًا سَوَالِفَهَا تَعُومُ وَتَعْتَلِي
 صَيْفِيَّةٍ فِي عَارِضٍ مُتَهَلِّلِ
 كَفَلَتْ لَهَا مِثْلُ النِّقَا الْمُتَهَيِّلِ
 صَافٍ يُزِينُهُ سِوَاكَ الْأَسْجَلِ
 رُوْدٍ كَسَالِفَةِ الْغَزَالِ الْأَكْحَلِ
 شَغَفَ الْفُؤَادَ وَ سَرَّعَيْنَ الْمُجْتَلِي
 شَمْسٌ يَظَلُّ شُعَاعُهَا فِي أَفْكَلِ
 ٣
 مِنْ حُسْنِهَا وَتُقِيمُ عَيْنَ الْأَحْوَلِ
 ٤
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 ٦
 ٧

١ بالاصل كذا كان بخط السُّكْرِي "فتحمل بالحاء" وكذا بخط ابن الأعرابي

٢ رَنَ وَأَرَنَ تَعُومُ وَتَعْتَلِي فِي سِيرِهَا

٣ كذا بخط السُّكْرِي "ذُلًّا" وبالاصل ذُلُّ

٤ عَارِضٌ: سَحَابٌ يَعْتَرِضُ فِي السَّمَاءِ ٥ الرَّابِي: الْعَظِيمُ ٦ لَعْلُهُ وَمَعْدَقُ

٧ يَقُولُ إِذَا أَدَارَ الْأَحْوَلُ عَيْنَهُ فِي وَجْهِهَا لِحْسِنَهَا ٨ وَيُرْوَى: "طَرَفَ الْأَحْوَلِ"

أَوْ دُرَّةٌ مِمَّا تَنْقَى غَائِصٌ^١ فَأَسَرَّهَا لِلتَّاجِرِ الْمُتَنَخِّلِ
 فَأَصَابَ حَاجَتَهُ وَقَالَ لِنَفْسِهِ أَوْ بَكَرُ^٢ أَذْحِي بِجَانِبِ رَمْلَةٍ
 تِلْكَ الَّتِي شَقَّتْ عَلَيَّ فَلَا أَرَى وَاعْلَمْ بِأَنَّكَ لَا تَنَاسَى ذِكْرَهَا
 لَوْ كُنْتَ مُنْتَهِكًا يَمِينًا بَرَّةً إِنْ نِيَّ بِهَا عَفٌّ وَلَسْتُ بِآثِمٍ
 مَا زَادَ مِنْ وَجْدٍ عَلَى وَجْدِي بِهَا عَقَرُ الْمَطِيَّةِ إِذْ عَرَضَنِي لِعَقْرِهَا
 وَافْتَرَّ يَضْحَكُ مُعْجَبًا مِنْ عَقْرِهَا وَرَكِبَنِي أَفْوَاجًا وَقُلْنِي فُكَاةً^٣
 قَتَوِي مَعَ ابْنَةِ خَيْرِهِمْ فِي خِدْرِهَا جَارُوا بَيْنَ وَلَوْ يَشَاءُ أَقَامَهُ^٤
 فَأَسَرَّهَا لِلتَّاجِرِ الْمُتَنَخِّلِ هَلْ يَخْفَيْنَ يَبَاضُهَا فِي مَدْخَلِ
 عَرَضَتْ لَهُ دَوِيَّةٌ لَمْ تُحْلَلِ أَمْثَالَهَا فَارْحَلْ^٥ وَلَا تَسْتَقْتِلِ
 وَتَذَكَّرْ^٦ اللَّذَاتِ إِنْ لَمْ تَدْخَلِ لَحَلَفْتَ حَلْفَةً صَادِقٍ مُتَبَهِّلِ^٧
 وَإِذَا حَلَفْتَ تَنْجُدًا فَتَحْلَلِ إِلَّا ابْنُ عَمِّي يَوْمَ دَارَةِ جُلْجُلِ^٨
 إِنْ الْكَرِيمِ إِذَا يُهَيِّجُ يَخْتَلِ وَتَعَجُّبًا مِنْ رَحْلِهَا^٩ الْمُتَحَمِّلِ
 مَا كُنْتَ مُحْتَالًا لِنَفْسِكَ فَاحْمَلِ^{١٠} وَاشْتَقَّ عَنْ مَلِكِ الطَّرِيقِ الْمُعْمَلِ
 قَلْبٌ يَعْرِزُ قَطَا الْفَلَاةِ الْمَجْهَلِ^{١١}

^١ يريد بيضة والرملة: ناحية لم ينزلها أحد

^٢ وبيروى: "فانحل"

^٣ مُتَهَكَّأً أَيْ لَا أَبَالِي، مُتَبَهِّلٌ: دَائِعٌ وَمُتَبَهِّلٌ أَيْ لَمْ اسْتَتِرْ

^٤ يعني امرء القيس

^٥ وبيروى: "مِنْ رَحْلِهِ"

^٦ الْفُكَاةُ: الْمَزَاحُ - قَالَ أَبُو عَمْرٍو خَرَجَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ (أ) عَلَى الْحَسَنِ

وَالْحُسَيْنِ وَقَبِرَ وَهُوَ يُمَازِحُهُمَا فَقَالَ دَعُوا عَنْكُمُ الْفُكَاةَ فَإِنَّهَا تُورِثُ الضَّغَائِنَ

^٧ لَعَلَّهُ فَاحْتَلَّ

^٨ وبيروى: "الْمُحْلِلِ"

وَتَقُولُ لِمَا مَالَ جَانِبُ خِذْ رَهَا
 أَنْزِلْ لَكَ الْوَيْلَاتُ إِنَّكَ مُرْجِلِي
 وَأَرَى مِنْ الرَّأْيِ الْمُصِيبِ ثَبَاتَهُ¹ أَلَا تَصِلُ حَبَلًا إِذَا لَمْ تُوصِلِ
 وَاسْتَبَقِ وَدَّكَ لِلصَّدِيقِ وَلَا تَقُلْ أَبَدًا لِذِي ضِغْنٍ مُبِينٍ أَقْبِلِ
 وَدَعْ الْفَوَاحِشَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتَ لِأَهْلِهَا
 وَإِذَا هَمَمْتَ بِأَمْرِ صِدْقٍ فَافْعَلِ
 وَإِذَا غَضِبْتَ فَلَا تَكُنْ أَنْشُوطَةً² مُسْتَعْدِدًا³ لِفَاحَةٍ⁴ وَتَبَسَّلِ
 وَإِذَا افْتَقَرْتَ فَلَا تَكُنْ مُتَخَشِّعًا⁵
 تَرْجُو الْفَوَاضِلَ عِنْدَ غَيْرِ الْمُفْضِلِ
 وَإِذَا كُفِنْتَ فَكُنْ لِعِرْضِكَ صَانِيًا
 وَإِذَا أُجِيتَ لِبِذْلَةٍ فَتَبَدَّلِ
 وَامْنَعْ هَضِيمَتَكَ الذَّلِيلَ وَلَا يَرَى مَوْلَاكَ مُهْتَضِيمًا وَأَنْتَ بِمَعَزِلِ
 وَإِذَا تَنَوَّزْتَ الْأُمُورُ فَلَا تَكُنْ مِمَّا يُطَاطِئُ خَدَّهُ لِيْلًا سَفَلِ
 وَاعْمُدْ لِأَعْلَاهَا فَإِنَّكَ وَاجِدُ
 أَحْسَابَ قَوْمِكَ بِالْيَفَاعِ الْأَطْوَلِ

¹ ويروى: "ثباته"² في الأصل: بخط السكري: مُسْتَعِدًّا، ويروى: مُسْتَوْفِرًا وبالأصل: "لفحاشة" محرفًا عن: "لفاحة"³ مُتَخَشِّعًا: مستوفرًا⁴ لعله صائنا

قَوْمِي شَنْوَةٌ إِنْ سَأَلْتَ بِمَجْدِهِمْ فِي صَالِحِ الْأَقْوَامِ أَوْلَمْ تَسْأَلِ
 أَخْبَرْتَ عَنْ قَوْمِي بِعِزِّ حَاضِرٍ وَقِيَامِ مَجْدٍ فِي الزَّمَانِ الْأَوَّلِ
 وَمَا ثَرِي كَانَتْ لَهُمْ مَعْلُومَةٌ فِي الصَّالِحِينَ وَسُودِدِ لَمْ يُنْحَلِ
 الَّذِ افْعِينِ الدَّمَ عَنْ أَحْسَابِهِمْ وَالْمُكْرِمِينَ ثَوِيَّهُمْ فِي الْمَنْزِلِ
 وَالْمُطْعِمِينَ إِذَا الرِّيحُ تَنَاحَتْ^١ بِقَتَامِهَا فِي كُلِّ عَامٍ مُنْحَلِ
 وَتَغَيَّرَتْ آفَاقُهَا مِنْ بَرْدِهَا^٢ وَغَدَتْ بِصُرَادٍ يَزِيفُ وَاشْمَلِ^٣
 الْمَانِعِينَ^٤ مِنَ الظُّلَامَةِ جَارَهُمْ حَتَّى يَبِينَ كَسَيْدٍ لَمْ يُتَبَلِ^٥
 وَالْخَالِطِينَ دَخِيلَهُمْ بِنُفُوسِهِمْ وَذَوِي بَقِيَّةٍ مَالِهِمْ فِي الْعِيَلِ
 وَتَرَى غَنِيَّهُمْ غَزِيرًا رَفْدَهُ^٦ وَفَقِيرَهُمْ مِثْلَ الْغَنِيِّ الْمُفْضِلِ
 وَتَرَى لَهُمْ سِيمًا مُبِينًا مَجْدُهَا غَلَبُوا عَلَيْهَا النَّاسَ عِنْدَ الْمَحْفَلِ
 وَتَرَاهُمْ يَمْشُونَ تَحْتَ لَوَائِهِمْ بِالسَّمَرِيَّاتِ الطَّوَالِ الذُّبُلِ
 فِي سَاطِعٍ يَسْقِي الْكُمَاةَ^٦ بِحَتْفِهِ صَعْبٍ مَذَاقَتُهُ رَزِينِ الْكَلْكَلِ
 كَمْ فِي شَنْوَةٍ مِنْ خَطِيبٍ مِصْقَعِ وَسَطِ النَّدَى إِذَا تَكَلَّمَ مِفْضَلِ

١ تَنَاحَتْ: استقبل بعضها بعضاً

٢ آفَاقُ السَّمَاءِ مِنْ بَرْدِ الدُّنْيَا

٣ أَشْمَلُ جَمْعُ شَمَلٍ وَهِيَ لَفَةٌ فِي الشَّمَالِ

٤ بِالْأَصْلِ: الْمَانِعُونَ

٥ لَمْ يُتَبَلِ: لَمْ يُؤْخَذْ مِنْهُ التَّبَلُ

٦ الْكُمَى: الشَّدِيدُ الَّذِي يَكْمَى شَجَاعَتُهُ يُظْهِرُهَا

جَزَلَ الْمَوَاهِبِ يُسْتَضَاءُ بِوَجْهِهِ

كَالْبَذْرِ لَاحَ مِنْ السَّحَابِ الْمُنْجَلِي

نَابَ بِكُلِّ عَظِيمَةٍ تَغْشَاهُمْ
فَمَتَى تُحْمِلُهُ الْمَشِيرَةُ يُحْمِلُ
مِنْ خُطَّةٍ لَا يُسْتَطَاعُ كِفَاؤُهَا
أَوْ غُرْمٍ عَانَ مِنْ صَدِيقٍ مُثْقَلٍ
إِنِّي مِنَ الْأَسَدِ الَّذِينَ أُنُوفُهُمْ
عِنْدَ السَّمَاءِ وَجَارُهُمْ فِي مَعْقِلٍ
رَأَمْتُ تَمِيمٌ أَنْ تَنَاوَلَ مَجْدَنَا
وَرَمَوْا بِسَهْمٍ فِي النِّضَالِ مُعْضِلٍ
وَسَطُوا بِكَفٍّ مَا تَنَوُّ إِلَى الْعُلَى
مَقْبُوضَةٌ¹ فَتَذَبَّدَتْ فِي الْمَهْلِ
حَسَدًا عَلَى الْمَجْدِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَأْخُذُوا

فِيمَا مَضَى مِنْهُ بِحَبَّةٍ خَرَدَلٍ²

وَأَنَا الَّذِي نَبَحْتُ مَعَدَّ كُلِّهَا
أَسَدٌ لَدَى الْغَايَاتِ³ غَيْرُ مُخَذَّلٍ
قُلْ لِلشَّعَالِ هَلْ يَضُرُّ ضَبَاحُهَا
أَسَدًا تَفَرَّسَهَا بِنَابٍ مِقْصَلٍ
وَلَقَدْ أَصَبْتُ مِنَ الْقَرِيضِ طَرِيقَةً⁴
أَعَمْتُ مَصَادِرُهَا قَرِيضَ مُهْلَلٍ⁵
بَعْدَ أَمْرِي الْقَيْسِ الْمُنَوَّهِ بِأَسْمِهِ
أَيَّامَ يَهْدِي بِالذَّخُولِ فَحَوْملٍ⁶
وَأَبُو ذُوَادٍ كَانَ شَاعِرَ أُمَّةٍ
أَفَلَتَ نَجُومُهُمْ وَلَمَّا يَأْفِلِ
وَأَبُو ذُوَيْبٍ قَدْ أَذَلَ صِعَابَهُ
لَا يُنْصِبَنَّكَ⁷ رَائِضٌ لَمْ يُذَلِّلِ

¹ مَقْبُوضَةٌ أَي لَا تَنْهَضُ إِلَى الْعُلَى يَقُولُ قَصِيرُ الْبَاعِ

² يَقُولُ لَيْسَ لَهُمْ قَدِيمٌ مِنَ الْمَجْدِ ³ وَيُرْوَى: "الْغَايَاتِ"

⁴ وَيُرْوَى: "قَرَيْنَ مُهْلَلٍ يَعْنِي شِبْطَانَهُ"

⁵ وَيُرْوَى: "وَحَوْملٍ" ⁶ وَيُرْوَى: "لَا يُرْصِيَنَّكَ"

وَأَرَادَهَا^١ حَسَّانُ يَوْمَ تَعَرَّضْتَ

بَرَدَى يُصَفِّقُ بِالرَّحِيقِ^٢ السَّلْسَلِ
ثُمَّ أَبْنَاهُ^٣ مِنْ بَمْدِهِ فَتَمَنَّتْ
وَبَنُو أَبِي سُلَمَى يَقْصُرُ سَعِيهِمْ
وَإِخَالُ^٤ أَنْ قَرِينَهُ لَمْ يَخْذُلِ
عَنَّا كَمَا قَصُرْتَ ذِرَاعَا جَرَوَلِ
وَأَبُو بَصِيرٍ ثُمَّ لَمْ يُبْصِرْ بِهَا
إِذْ حَلَّ مِنْ وَادِي الْقَرِيضِ بِمَحْفَلِ
وَإِذْ كُرِّ لَبِيدًا فِي الْفُحُولِ وَحَاتِمًا
سَيَلُومُكَ الشُّعْرَاءُ^٥ إِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلِ
وَمُعَقِّرًا فَادْ كُرِّ وَإِنْ أَلَوَى بِهِ
رَيْبُ الْمُنُونِ وَطَائِرُ^٦ بِالْأَخِيلِ
وَأُمِّيَّةَ الْبَحْرِ الَّذِي فِي شِعْرِهِ

حِكْمٌ كَوَحْيٍ فِي الزَّبُورِ الْمُفْصَلِ

وَالْيَذْمَرِيُّ عَلَى تَقَادِمِ عَهْدِهِ
مِمَّنْ قَضَيْتُ لَهُ قَضَاءَ الْفَيْصَلِ
وَاقْدِفْ أَبَا طَهْمَانَ وَسَطَ خَوَانِهِمْ
وَأَبْنُ الطَّرَامَةِ^٧ شَاعِرٌ لَمْ يُجْهَلِ
لَوْ شِئْتُ إِذْ حَدَّثْتُكُمْ لَمْ آتِلِ
لَوْ شِئْتُ إِذْ حَدَّثْتُكُمْ لَمْ آتِلِ
لَا وَالَّذِي حَجَّتْ قُرَيْشُ بَيْتَهُ
مِمَّنْ سَمِعْتَ بِهِ وَلَا مُسْتَعْجِلِ
مَا نَالَ بَحْرِي مِنْهُمْ مِنْ شَاعِرٍ
وَعَرَفْتُ مِنْ بَحْرٍ وَلَيْسَ بِجَدْوَلِ
إِنِّي فَتَى أَذْرَكْتُ أَقْصَى شِعْرِهِمْ
أَرْبَى عَلَى كَمْبٍ^٨ وَبَحْرًا لَا خَطْلِ
وَعَرَفْتُ بَحْرًا مَا تُسَدُّ عِيُونُهُ

^١ ويروى: "أَدَارَهَا" ^٢ بالأصل: بالرحيل ^٣ هو عبد الرحمان بن حسان

^٤ هو الحطبة ^٥ الأخيل: الشقراق وهم يتشامون به ^٦ هو ابن الطرامة الكلبى

^٧ ويروى "لَمْ يَخْطَلْ" و "يُجْهَلُ" أى يذهب شعره

^٨ بالأصل: "لَمْ آتِلِ" كذا ^٩ كعب بن جعيل أم كعب بن زهير

وَعَلَى ابْنِ مَخْكَانَ الَّذِي أَحْكَمْتُهُ

فَتَرَكَتُهُ مِثْلَ الْخَصِيِّ الْمُرْسَلِ
وَحَلِيفُ ابْلِيسَ الَّذِي هُوَ جَارُهُ
وَهْدْيَةُ الْعُذْرَى زَيْنَ شِعْرَهُ
فَإِذَا تَقَبَّلَ رَبُّنَا مِنْ شَاعِرٍ
عَمْدًا جَعَلْتُ ابْنَ الزُّبَيْرِ لِدَنْبِهِ
ذَهَبَ السَّوَابِقُ غُدُوءَةً وَتَرَكَتُهُ
مَنْ شَاءَ عَاقِبَنِي فَلَمْ أَغْفِرْ لَهُ
فَتَرَكَتُهُ مِثْلَ الْخَصِيِّ الْمُرْسَلِ
وَبِهِ يُغَيَّرُ كُلُّ أَمْرٍ مُغْضِلٍ
مَا قَالَ^١ فِي سِجْنٍ وَقَيْدٍ مُثْقِلٍ
لَقِيَ الْفَرَزْدَقَ لَعْنَةً الْمُبْهَلِ^٢
يَعْدُو وَرَاءَهُمْ كَعْدُو الشَّيْتَلِ
إِنِّي كَذَلِكَ مَنْ أُنَاضِلُ يُنْضَلُ
أَوْ صَدَّ عَنِّي بَعْدَ جَذَعٍ مُوْضِلِ

١٢ وقال سراقه*

* ذكروا أن المختار لما ظفر بالكوفة غدر به أشرافها فثار عبد الرحمان بن مخنف في جبانة الصائدين وثار عبد الرحمان بن الأشعث في جبانة كندة وثار سعيد بن قيس الهمداني في جبانة السبيع وثار محمد بن عمير التميمي وشبث بن ربعي في المضرية و الربيع في الكناسة - فأصبح المختار وقد غدر به أهل الكوفة فخرج حتى وقف في الرحبة طويلاً يؤامر نفسه إلى أي الفريقين يسير إلى اليمانية أم إلى المضرية ثم دعا ابراهيم بن الأشتر وأمره بالمسير إلى المضرية فقال ابراهيم بعثني إلى أهون الشوكتين فدعني أسير إلى أصحابي وقف أنت مكانك فإننا إن ظفرنا بهاؤلاً انهزم الآخرون من غير قتال - فسار إليهم ابراهيم بن الأشتر فقتل يومئذ

^١ ويروى: "ما نال من سجن"

^٢ ويروى: "فلى الفرزدق لعنة المتبهل"

أشراف أهل الكوفة وقتل سعيد بن قيس وارثت عبد الرحمان بن مخنف
بجراحة وحمل إلى بيت امرأته من همدان وانهزم الناس وأسیر منهم سبعون
من معروفی أهل الكوفة فيهم من الشعراء ثمانية سراقه بارق وأعشى
همدان وابن همام السلولى وابن الزبير الأسدى وكان المختار لا يؤتى
بأسير إلا قتله فلما أدخلوا المسجد الأعظم وهو قاعد ينتظر محيئهم بهم، فلما
كانوا في وسط المسجد أمر بهم فصرّفوا إلى السجن . فقال سراقه : يا هاؤلاً،
هذه أول العافية - ثم نادى بأعلى صوته : امنن على الأقوام يا خير معذ
وخير من لبى وحيى وسجد

وخير من حل بشحر وجند

فقال المختار : من هذا المنادى ؟ قالوا : سراقه بارق . فقال : على بالفاسق .
فلما أتى به قال المختار : كيف رأيت صنع الله بمن غدر وفجر ؟ قال سراقه :
امنن على . قال : أما والله لأقتلك قتلة ما قتلها أحداً قبلك من العرب .
قال سراقه : ومتى تقتلنى ؟ قال : اليوم . فقال سراقه : ما جعلك الله على ذلك
قادراً اليوم، ولتقتلنى ولتقتلنى . قال : متى ؟ قال : تمنن على ثم اغدر
الثانية فتظفر بالعراق ثم تاتى الشام فتظفر بها إلا دمشق تحاصر أهلها ثم
تفتحها فتذبح على درج دمشق تسعة وتسعين من كباش العرب ثم تبتهم بى
مائة ووالله ما أصحابك هزمونا . قال : فمن هزمكم ؟ قال هزمنا قوم على الخيول
البلق والبراذين الشهب عليهم العائم . فقال المختار لأصحابه : اسمعوا يا شرطة
الله ، تلكم الملائكة . ثم أمر سراقه فصعد المنبر فأخبر بمن هزمه ، فأمره ان
يحلف لهم . فقال سراقه : فوالله ما حلفت يمين قط أنا فيها صادق كت أشد
اجتهاداً منى فى يمينى تلك وأنا كاذب فيها رجاء أن افلت من المختار ثم أمر به
الى السجن فبات فيه سراقه ليلته ثم بعث اليه بأبيات وهى :¹

¹ راجع تاريخ الطبرى ٢ : ٦٦٤

[وافر]

أَلَا أُبْلِغُ أَبَا إِسْحَاقَ أَنَا نَزَوْنَا نَزْوَةً كَانَتْ عَلَيْنَا
 خَرَجْنَا لَا نَرَى الضُّعْفَاءُ شَيْئًا وَكَانَ خُرُوجُنَا بَطْرًا وَحَيْنًا
 نَرَاهُمْ فِي مَصَفِّهِمْ قَلِيلًا وَهُمْ مِثْلُ الدَّبَابِ حِينَ التَّقِينَا¹
 بَرَزْنَا إِذْ رَأَيْنَاهُمْ فَلَمَّا رَأَيْنَا الْقَوْمَ قَدْ بَرَزُوا إِلَيْنَا
 لَقِينَا مِنْهُمْ ضَرْبًا طَلَخْنَا وَطَعْنَا صَائِبًا حَتَّى انْثَنَيْنَا
 نُصِرْتُ عَلَى عَدُوِّكَ كُلِّ يَوْمٍ بِكُلِّ كَتِيبَةٍ تَنْعَى حُسَيْنًا
 كَنَصْرِ مُحَمَّدٍ فِي يَوْمِ بَدْرٍ وَيَوْمِ الشَّعْبِ إِذْ لَاقَى حُسَيْنًا
 فَأَسْجِخُ إِذْ مَلَكَتْ فَلَوْ مَلَكَتْ

لَجَرْنَا فِي الْحُكُومَةِ وَاعْتَدَيْنَا
 تَقَبَّلْ تَوْبَةً مِنِّي فَإِنِّي سَأَشْكُرُ إِنْ جَعَلْتَ النِّقْدَ دِينًا
 كَذَاكَ تَرَى سُرَاقَةً فَاصْطَنِعْهُ فَذَاكَ يَزِيدُ مَنْ عَادَاكَ شَيْنًا

١٣ وقال سراقه *

* فلما انتهوا به إلى المختار فقالوا هذا سراقه بن مرداس يحلف بالله الذي لا إله إلا هو لقد رأى الملائكة تُقاتل معكم على الخيل البلق بين السماء والأرض . فقال له المختار : اضعدِ المنبر فأعلم ذلك المسلمين . فصعد فأعلمهم ذلك ثم نزل فخلى به المختار فقال له : إني قد علمت أنك لم تر الملائكة ولكن أردت ما عرفت إلا اقتلك ، فاذهب عني حيث أحببت ، لا تُفسد على

¹ ويروى : وحسبناهم لنا عسلا مشوبا وكانوا كالدباب لما التقينا

أصحابي - فخلّي سبيله وقال له : تهباً لدخول دمشق . قال ابو مخنف فحدثني
الحجاج بن علي البارقي قال قال سراقه : ما كنت في أيمانٍ حلفت بها قط
أشد مني اجتهاداً ولا مبالغة في الكذب مني في أيماني هذه التي حلفت بها
أنني رأيت الملائكة تُقاتل معهم . فخلوا سبيله فلحق بعبد الرحمان بن مخنف
عند المُصعب بالبصرة وخرج أشراف أهل الكوفة وخرج سراقه والوجوه
فلحقوا بالبصرة فقال سراقه في ذلك :

[وافر]
أَلَا أبلغُ أبا إسحاق أني رأيتُ البلقَ دُهناً مُصنّعاتِ
كفرتُ بوحيكُم وجعلتُ نذراً على قِتالِكُم حتى المماتِ
أرى عيني ما لم ترأياه^١ كلانا عالمٌ بالثرهاتِ
إذا قالوا أقول لهم كذبتُم وإن خرجوا لبستُ لهم أداتي

١٤ وقال سراقه *

* حدث عمر بن شبة قال حدثني عبد الله بن محمد بن حكيم عن خالد
ابن سعيد عن أبيه قال قحط الناس في زمان بشر بن مروان فخرجوا فاستسقوا
وبشر معهم فرجعوا وقد مُطِروا ووافق ذلك سيلاً جاء من الليل ففرقت ناحية
بارق وبنى سليم فخرج بشر من الغد ينظر إلى آثار المطر حتى انتهى إلى بارق

^١ في شرح شواهد المغني ص ٢٣٢ روى العجز: بأن البلق دهم مصنعات

^٢ في شرح شواهد المغني: "بدينكم" بدل: "بوحيكُم"

ويروى: كفرت بوحيكُم وبرئت منكم * ومن أشباعكم حتى الممات

^٣ كذا أنشد في شرح شواهد المغني

ويروى: "ما لم تبصراه" موضع: "ما لم ترأياه"

^٤ روى لما بلغ المختار ذهاب سراقه إلى البصرة وشعره هذا هدم داره فبناها مصعب
حيث قتل المختار

فاذا الماء في دار سراقه بن مرداس البارقي وسراقه قائم في الماء، فقال: أصلح
الله الأمير، إنك دعوت أمس ولم ترفع يدك فجاء ما ترى ولو كنت رفعت
يدك لجاء الطوفان - فضحك بشر فأنشأ سراقه يقول:

[وافر]

دَعَا الرَّحْمَانُ بِشَرٍّ فَاسْتَجَابَا لِدَعْوَتِهِ فَأَسْقَانَا السَّحَابَا
وَكَانَ دُعَاؤُ بِشَرِّ صَوْبٍ غَيْثٍ يُعَاشُ بِهِ يُحْيِي مَا أَصَابَا
أَغْرَبَ بَوَاجِهِهِ يُسْقَى وَيُحْيَى وَنَسْتَجَلِي بِغُرَّتِهِ الضَّبَابَا

١٥ وقال سُرَاقَةُ يرثي محمد بن مخنف

يوم جَبَانَةِ السَّبَّيعِ

[طويل]

لَمْ أَرْ مِثْلَ الْخَيْلِ خَيْلِ ابْنِ مِخْنَفٍ
غَدَاةَ أُحْتَدَى بِالشَّاكِرِيِّ ابْنِ كَامِلٍ
أَشَدَّ وَلَا أَمْضَى عَلَى الْهَوْلِ مُقَدَّمًا

وَأَقْتَلَ لِلْمُقِرِّنِ الْمُشِيحِ الْمُنَازِلِ

شَدَّذَنَا وَشَدُّوا وَاضْطَرَبْنَا فَلَمْ نَحِمِ

وَوَلَّوْا سِرَاعًا كَالنَّعَامِ الْجَوَافِلِ

فَمَا لَبِثَ الْمُخْتَارُ أَنْ كَرَّخَيْلَهُ عَلَيْنَا فَأَلَوْتَ بِالْكَرَامِ الْأُمَاطِلِ
وَصَكَّتْ عَلَيْنَا قَوْمُنَا مِنْ وَرَائِنَا فَكَمْ مِنْ قَتِيلٍ بَيْنَنَا وَمُقَاتِلِ

فَمَا بَرَحَ الْقَرْمُ الرَّئِيسُ ابْنُ مِخْنَفٍ
يُقَاتِلُ حَتَّى خَرَّ غَيْرَ مُوَأْتِلٍ
وَنَجَّاهُ ضَرْبُ الْأَزْدِ تَزَجْرُ حَوْلَهُ
وَتَضْرِبُ عَنْهُ بِالسُّيُوفِ الْقَوَاصِلِ
وَمِنْ دُونِهِ حَامِي أَخٌ ذُو حَفِظَةٍ
كَرِيمُ النَّشَا وَالْخَيْمِ حُلُوُ الشَّمَائِلِ
أَغْرُ كَقَرْنِ الشَّمْسِ أَرْوَعُ مَا جِدُّ
نَجِيبٌ عَنِ الْأَعْدَاءِ لَيْسَ بِنَاكِيلٍ
وَصَارَبَ حَتَّى أَقْصَدَتْهُ رِمَاحُهُمْ فَبُورِكَتْ مِنْ وَرَادِ مَوْتٍ حُلَاحِلِ
سَخَوَتْ بِنَفْسٍ عِنْدَ ذَاكَ عَزِيزَةٍ عَلَيْنَا وَاجْلَى كُلِّ وَانٍ وَخَاذِلِ
فَيَا عُمَرَ الْخَيْرِ الْكَرِيمِ ابْنَ مِخْنَفٍ
عَلَيْكَ اسْتَفَاضَتْ عِبْرَتِي غَيْرَ ذَاهِلِ
سَاءَ بَنِيكَ مَا لَمْ تَنْزَحِ الْعَيْنُ مَاءَهَا

وَمَا ثَبَّتَ فِي رَاحَتِي أَنَا مِلِي

١٦ وقال سُراقَةُ يمدح ابراهيمَ بن الأَشتر

وأصحابه في قتل ابن مَرْجَانة

و هو عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بن زياد¹

¹ راجع تاريخ الطبري ٧١٦: ٢

[طويل]

تَاكَ غُلَامٌ مِنْ عَرَانِينَ مَذْحِجٍ جَرَيْ عَلَى الْأَعْدَاءِ غَيْرُ نَكُولٍ
فِيكَ ابْنُ زِيَادٍ بُوٌّ بِأَعْظَمِ مَا بِي¹ وَذُقْ حَدَّ مَا ضَى الشَّفَرَتَيْنِ صَقِيلٍ
ضَرَبْنَاكَ بِالْعَضْبِ الْحُسَامِ فَلَمْ يَجْزْ

إِذَا مَا أَبَانَا قَاتِلًا بِقَتِيلٍ
جَزَى اللَّهُ خَيْرًا شُرْطَةً اللَّهُ إِنَّهُمْ شَفَوْا مِنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ أَمْسَ غَلِيلِي
وَأَجْدَزَ بِهِنْدٍ أَنْ تُسَاقَ سَيِّئَةً لَهَا مِنْ بَنِي اسْحَاقَ شَرْحَلِيلِ

١٧ وقال سُراقَةُ أيضاً حين بلغه أن ربيعة

تهدد ابن الأشتر في قتل إياس بن مضارب

[وافر]

أَتُوْعِدُنَا رَبِيعَةَ فِي إِيَّاسٍ وَأَيَّ الدَّهْرِ أُوْعِدُنَا قَبِيلُ
حَرُورِي تَكْنِفُهُ الْمَوَالِي وَعَضَّ بِرَأْسِهِ سَيْفٌ ثَقِيلُ
وَإِبْرَاهِيمُ مُعْتَزٌّ هِزْبُهُ لَهُ فِئَةٌ تَقُولُ كَمَا يَقُولُ
يَمَانِيَةٌ تَذُودُ النَّاسَ عَنْهُ وَتَخْطِرُ فِي جَوَانِبِهَا الْفُحُولُ
حَمَى الضِّيْفَانِ إِذْ جَالَتْ نِزَارٌ كَمَا جَالَتْ مِنَ الْبَقَرِ الْوُعُولُ
فَلَوْ لَا كَفَّهُ عَنْكُمْ لَكُنْتُمْ كَمَنْ غَالَتْ مِنَ الْأَقْوَامِ غُولُ
لَأَسْرَتَ حَمِيرٌ وَبَنُو أَبِيهَا قُضَاعَةٌ وَالْفُرَاتُ لَهُمْ دَلِيلُ

¹ عند الطبري "مالك" مكان "ماي"

أَوْ دُرَّةً مِمَّا تَنْقَى غَائِصٌ فَاسَرَّهَا لِلتَّاجِرِ الْمَتَّخِلِ
فَأَصَابَ حَاجَتَهُ وَقَالَ لِنَفْسِهِ هَلْ يَخْفَيْنُ يَبَاضُهَا فِي مَذْخَلِ
أَوْ بَكَرُ^١ أَذْجَتِي بِجَانِبِ رَمْلَةٍ عَرَضَتْ لَهُ دَوِيَّةٌ لَمْ تُحْلِلِ
تِلْكَ الَّتِي شَقَّتْ عَلَيَّ فَلَا أَرَى أُمَثَالَهَا فَارْحَلْ^٢ وَلَا تَسْتَقْبِلِ
وَاعْلَمْ بِأَنَّكَ لَا تَنَاسَى ذِكْرَهَا وَتَذَكَّرُ اللَّذَاتِ إِنْ لَمْ تَدْخَلِ
لَوْ كُنْتَ مُنْتَبِهَاً يَمِينًا بَرَّةً لَحَلَفْتَ حَلْفَةً صَادِقٍ مُتَبَهِّلِ^٣
إِنِّي بِهَا عَفٌّ وَلَسْتُ بِأَسِيمِ وَإِذَا حَلَفْتَ تَجَدُّدًا فَتَحْلِلِ
مَا زَادَ مِنْ وَجْدٍ عَلَيَّ وَجْدِي بِهَا إِلَّا ابْنُ عَمِّي يَوْمَ دَارَةِ جُلْجُلِ
عَقَرَ الْمَطِيَّةِ إِذْ عَرَضَنَ لِعَقْرِهَا إِنْ الْكَرِيمَ إِذَا يُهَيِّجُ يَخْتَلِ
وَافْتَرَّ يَضْحَكُ مُعْجِبًا مِنْ عَقْرِهَا وَتَعَجُّبًا مِنْ رَحْلِهَا^٤ الْمُتَحَمِّلِ
وَرَكِبَنَ أَفْوَاجًا وَقُلْنَ فُكَاةً^٥ مَا كُنْتَ مُخْتَالًا لِنَفْسِكَ فَاحْمِلِ
فَقَوَى مَعَ ابْنَةِ خَيْرِهِمْ فِي خِدْرِهَا وَاشْتَقَّ عَنْ مَلِكِ الطَّرِيقِ الْمُعْمَلِ
جَارُوا بَيْنَ وَلَوْ يَشَأُ أَقَامَهُ قَلْبٌ يَمُرُّ قَطَا الْفَلَاةِ الْمَجْهَلِ^٦

^١ يريد يضة والرَّمْلَة : ناحة لم ينزلها أحد ^٢ و يروى : " فامحل "

^٣ مُتَبَهِّلٌ أَي لَا أَبَالِي، مُتَبَهِّلٌ : دَائِعٌ وَمُتَبَهِّلٌ أَي لَمْ اسْتَقَرَّ

^٤ بِعَنَى امْرَأَةِ الْقَبَسِ

^٥ و يروى : " مِنْ رَحْلِهِ "

^٦ الْفُكَاةُ : الْمَزَاحُ - قَالَ أَبُو عَمْرٍو خَرَجَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ (١) عَلَى الْحَسَنِ

وَالْحُسَيْنِ وَفَنَبِرَ وَهُوَ يُبَازِحُهُمَا فَقَالَ دَعُوا عَنْكُمُ الْفُكَاةَ فَإِنَّهَا تُورِثُ الضَّغَائِنَ

^٧ لَعَلَهُ فَاحْمَلْ ^٨ و يروى : " الْمُتَحَمِّلِ "

وَتَقُولُ لَمَّا مَالَ جَانِبُ خِذِ رَهَا
 انْزِلْ لَكَ الْوَيْلَاتُ إِنَّكَ مُرْجِلِي
 وَأُرَى مِنْ الرَّأْيِ الْمُصِيبِ ثَبَاتَهُ¹ أَلَا تَصِلُ حَبَلًا إِذَا لَمْ تُوصِلِ
 وَاسْتَبَقِ وَدَّكَ لِلصَّدِيقِ وَلَا تَقُلْ أَبَدًا لِذِي ضِغْنٍ مُبِينٍ أَقْبِلِ
 وَدَعْ الْفَوَاحِشَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتَ لِأَهْلِهَا
 وَإِذَا هَمَمْتَ بِأَمْرِ صِدْقٍ فَافْعَلِ
 وَإِذَا غَضِبْتَ فَلَا تَكُنْ أَنْشُوطَةً² مُسْتَعِدِدًا³ لِفَاحَةٍ⁴ وَتَبَسَّلِ
 وَإِذَا افْتَقَرْتَ فَلَا تَكُنْ مُتَخَشِّعًا⁵
 تَرْجُو الْفَوَاضِلَ عِنْدَ غَيْرِ الْمُفْضِلِ
 وَإِذَا كُنْتَ فَكُنْ لِعِرْضِكَ صَانِيًا
 وَإِذَا أُجِيتَ لِبِذْلَةٍ فَتَبَدَّلِ
 وَامْنَعْ هَضِيمَتِكَ الذَّلِيلَ وَلَا يَرَى مَوْلَاكَ مُهْتَضِمًا وَأَنْتَ بِمَعْزِلِ
 وَإِذَا تَنَوَّزْتَ الْأُمُورُ فَلَا تَكُنْ مِمَّا يُطَاطَى خَدَّهُ لِيْلًا سَفَلِ
 وَاعْمُدْ لِأَعْلَاهَا فَإِنَّكَ وَاجِدُ
 أَحْسَابَ قَوْمِكَ بِالْيَفَاعِ الْأَطْوَلِ

¹ ويروى: "بقاته"² في الأصل: بخط السكري: مُسْتَعِدِدًا؛ ويروى: مُسْتَوْفِرًا وبالأصل: "لفحاشة"

محرفاً عن: "لفاحة"

⁴ لعله صائناً⁵ مُتَخَشِّعًا: مستوفراً

قَوْمِي شَنْوَةٌ إِنْ سَأَلْتَ بِمَجْدِهِمْ فِي صَالِحِ الْأَقْوَامِ أَوْ لَمْ تَسْأَلِ
 أَخْبَرْتُ عَنْ قَوْمِي بِعِزِّ حَاضِرِهِ وَ قِيَامِ مَجْدِهِ فِي الزَّمَانِ الْأَوَّلِ
 وَمَا نِيرٌ كَانَتْ لَهُمْ مَحْلُومَةٌ فِي الصَّالِحِينَ وَسُودَدٍ لَمْ يَنْحَلِ
 أَلَدَ أَفْعِينَ الدَّمِ عَنْ أَحْسَابِهِمْ وَالْمُكْرِمِينَ ثَوْبَهُمْ فِي الْمَنْزِلِ
 وَالْمُطْعِمِينَ إِذَا الرِّيحُ تَنَاوَحَتْ^١ بِقَتَامِهَا فِي كُلِّ عَامٍ مُنْجَلِ
 وَتَغَيَّرَتْ آفَاقُهَا مِنْ بَرْدِهَا^٢ وَغَدَتْ بِصِرَادٍ يَزِيْفُ وَاشْتُلِ^٣
 الْمَانِعِينَ^٤ مِنَ الظَّلَامَةِ جَارَهُمْ حَتَّى يَبِينَ كَسَيْدٍ لَمْ يُشْبَلِ^٥
 وَالْخَالِطِينَ دَخِيلَهُمْ بِنُفُوسِهِمْ وَذَوَى بَقِيَّةِ مَالِهِمْ فِي الْمَيْلِ
 وَتَرَى غَنِيَّتَهُمْ غَزِيرًا رَفْدُهُ^٦ وَفَقِيرَهُمْ مِثْلَ الْغَنِيِّ الْمُفْضِلِ
 وَتَرَى لَهُمْ سِيمًا مُبِينًا مَجْدُهَا غَلَبُوا عَلَيْهَا النَّاسَ عِنْدَ الْمَحْفَلِ
 وَتَرَاهُمْ يَمْشُونَ تَحْتَ لَوَائِهِمْ بِالسَّمَرِيَّاتِ الطَّوَالِ الذُّبُلِ
 فِي سَاطِعٍ يَسْقِي الْكُمَاةَ^٧ بِحَتْفِهِ صَغْبٍ مَذَاقُهُ رَزِينِ الْكَلْكَلِ
 كَمْ فِي شَنْوَةٍ مِنْ خَطِيبٍ مِصْقَعِ وَسَطِ النَّدَى إِذَا تَكَلَّمَ مِفْضَلِ

١ تَنَاوَحَتْ: استقبل بعضها بعضاً

٢ آفَاقُ السَّمَاءِ مِنْ بَرْدِ الدُّنْيَا

٣ أُشْتُلَ جَمْعُ سَتْلٍ وَهِيَ لَفَةٌ فِي الشَّمَالِ

٤ بِالْأَصْلِ: الْمَانِعُونَ

٥ لَمْ يُشْبَلِ: لَمْ يُؤْخَذْ مِنْهُ الْقَبْلُ

٦ الْكُمَى: الشَّدِيدُ الَّذِي يَكْمِي شَجَاعَتَهُ يُظَاهِرُهَا

جَزَلَ الْمَوَاهِبِ يُسْتَضَاءُ بِوَجْهِهِ

كَالْبَذْرِ لَاحَ مِنْ السَّحَابِ الْمُنْجَلِي

نَابَ بِكُلِّ عَظِيمَةٍ تَغْشَاهُمْ
فَتَى تُحْمِلُهُ الْعَشِيرَةُ يَحْمِلُ
مِنْ خُطَّةٍ لَا يُسْتَطَاعُ كِفَاؤُهَا
أَوْ غُرْمٍ عَانَ مِنْ صَدِيقٍ مُثْقَلٍ
إِنِّي مِنَ الْأَسَدِ الَّذِينَ أُنُوفُهُمْ
عِنْدَ السَّمَاءِ وَجَارُهُمْ فِي مَعْقِلٍ
رَأَمْتُ تَمِيمٌ أَنْ تَنَاولَ مَجْدَنَا
وَرَمَوْا بِسَهْمٍ فِي النِّضَالِ مُعْضِلٍ
وَسَطُوا بِكَفٍّ مَا تَنَوُّ إِلَى الْعُلَى
مَقْبُوضَةٌ¹ فَتَذْبَذَبَتْ فِي الْمَهْلِ
حَسَدًا عَلَى الْمَجْدِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَأْخُذُوا

فِيمَا مَضَى مِنْهُ بِحَبَّةٍ خَرَدَلٍ²

وَأَنَا الَّذِي نَبَحْتُ مَعَدَّ كُلِّهَا
أَسَدٌ لَدَى الْغَايَاتِ غَيْرُ مُخَذَّلٍ
قُلْ لِلْمَعَالِبِ هَلْ يَضُرُّ ضُبَاحُهَا
أَسَدًا تَفَرَّسَهَا بِنَابٍ مِقْصَلٍ
وَلَقَدْ أَصَبْتُ مِنَ الْقَرِيضِ طَرِيقَةً³
أُغَمْتُ مَصَادِرُهَا قَرِيضَ مُهْلَلٍ⁴
بَعْدَ أَمْرِي الْقَيْسِ الْمُنَوِّهِ بِأَسْمِهِ
أَيَّامَ يَهْدِي بِالذَّخُولِ فَحَوْمَلٍ⁵
وَ أَبُو دُوَادٍ كَانَ شَاعِرَ أُمَّةٍ
أَفْلَتَ نَجُومُهُمْ وَلَمَّا يَأْفِلِ
وَ أَبُو ذُوَيْبٍ قَدْ أَذَلَ صِعَابَهُ
لَا يُنْصِبَنَّكَ رَائِضٌ لَمْ يُذَلِّلِ

¹ مَقْبُوضَةٌ أَي لَا تَنْهَضُ إِلَى الْعُلَى يَقُولُ قَصِيرُ الْبَاعِ

² يَقُولُ لَيْسَ لَهُمْ قَدِيمٌ مِنَ الْمَجْدِ ³ وَيُرْوَى: "الْغَابَاتِ"

⁴ وَيُرْوَى: "قَرَيْنَ مُهْلَلٍ يَعْنِي شَيْطَانَهُ"

⁵ وَيُرْوَى: "وَحَوْمَلٍ" ⁶ وَيُرْوَى: "لَا يُرْصِبَنَّكَ"

وَأَرَادَهَا حَسَّانُ يَوْمَ تَمَرَّضْتَ

بَرَدَى يُصَفِّقُ بِالرَّحِيقِ السَّلْسَلِ
ثُمَّ أَبْنَاهُ مِنْ بَيْتِهِ فَتَمَنَّتْ
وَبَنُو أَبِي سَلَمَى يَقْصُرُ سَعِيَهُمْ
وَإِخَالُ أَنْ قَرِينَهُ لَمْ يَخْذُلْ
عَنَّا كَمَا قَصُرَتْ ذِرَاعَا جَرَّوَلٍ
وَأَبُو بَصِيرٍ ثُمَّ لَمْ يُنْصِرْ بِهَا
وَإِذْ كُنَّا لَيْسِنًا فِي الْفُحُولِ وَحَاتِمًا
إِذْ حَلَّ مِنْ وَادِي الْقَرِيضِ بِمَحْفِلٍ
وَمُعَقِّرًا فَادْكُرْ وَإِنْ أَلَوَى بِهِ
سَيَلُومُكَ الشُّعْرَاءُ إِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ
وَأُمِّيَّةَ الْبَحْرِ الَّذِي فِي شِعْرِهِ
رَيْبُ الْمَنُونِ وَمَطَائِرُ الْأَخِيلِ

حِكْمٌ كَوَحْيٍ فِي الزَّبُورِ الْمُفْصَلِ
وَالْيَذْمَرِيُّ عَلَى تَقَادُمِ عَهْدِهِ
مِمَّنْ قَضَيْتُ لَهُ قَضَاءَ الْفَيْصَلِ
وَأَقْدِفْ أَبَا طَهْمَانَ وَسَطَ خَوَانِهِمْ
وَأَبْنُ الطَّرَامَةِ شَاعِرٌ لَمْ يُجْهَلْ
لَا وَالَّذِي حَجَّتْ قُرَيْشُ بَيْتَهُ
مَا نَالَ بَخْرِي مِنْهُمْ مِنْ شَاعِرٍ
إِنِّي فَتَى أَذْرَكْتُ أَقْصَى شِعْرِهِمْ
وَعَرَفْتُ بَحْرًا مَا تُسَدُّ عِيُونُهُ
أَزْبَى عَلَى كَنْبٍ وَبَحْرًا الْأَخْطَلِ
مِمَّنْ سَمِيتَ بِهِ وَلَا مُسْتَعْجِلِ
وَعَرَفْتُ مِنْ بَخْرٍ وَلَيْسَ بِجَدْوَلٍ
أَزْبَى عَلَى كَنْبٍ وَبَحْرًا الْأَخْطَلِ

¹ وروى: "أَدَارَهَا" * بالأصل: بالرحيل * هو عبد الرحمان بن حسان

² هو الحطبة * الأخيل: الشفراق وهم ينشامون به * هو ابن الطرامة الكلبي

³ وروى "لَمْ يَخْذُلْ" و "يُجْهَلْ" أي يذهب شعره

⁴ بالأصل: "لَمْ يَأْتَلِ" كذا * كعب بن جليل أم كعب بن ذهير

وَعَلَى ابْنِ مَحْكَانَ الَّذِي أَحْكَمْتُهُ

فَتَرَكَتُهُ مِثْلَ الْخَصِيِّ الْمُرْسَلِ
وَحَلِيفُ ابْلِيسَ الَّذِي هُوَ جَارُهُ
وَهْدْيَبَةُ الْعُذْرَى زَيْنَ شِعْرَهُ
مَا قَالَ فِي سِجْنٍ وَقَيْدٍ مُثْقِلِ
فَإِذَا تَقَبَّلَ رَبُّنَا مِنْ شَاعِرٍ
لَقِيَ الْفَرَزْدَقَ لَعْنَةَ الْمُتَبَهِّلِ
عَمْدًا جَعَلْتُ ابْنَ الزُّبَيْرِ لِذَنْبِهِ
يَعْدُو وَرَاءَهُمْ كَعْدُو الشَّيْتَلِ
ذَهَبَ السَّوَابِقُ غُدُوَّةً وَتَرَكَتُهُ
إِنِّي كَذَلِكَ مَنْ أَنْصِلُ يُنْصَلِ
مَنْ شَاءَ عَاقِبَنِي فَلَمْ أَغْفِرْ لَهُ
أَوْ صَدَّ عَنِّي بَعْدَ جَذَعٍ مُوْصِلِ

١٢ وقال سراقه*

* ذكروا أن المختار لما ظفر بالكوفة غدر به أشرافها فثار عبد الرحمان بن مخنف في جبانة الصائدين وثار عبد الرحمان بن الأشعث في جبانة كندة وثار سعيد بن قيس الهمداني في جبانة السبيع وثار محمد بن عمير التميمي وشبث بن ربعي في المضرية و الربيع في الكناسة - فأصبح المختار وقد غدر به أهل الكوفة فخرج حتى وقف في الرحبة طويلاً يُؤامر نفسه إلى أي الفريقين يسير إلى اليمانية أم إلى المضرية ثم دعا ابراهيم بن الأشتر وأمره بالمسير إلى المضرية فقال ابراهيم بعثني إلى أهون الشوكتين فدعني أسير إلى أصحابي وقف أنت مكانك فإننا إن ظفرنا بهاؤلاً انهزم الآخرون من غير قتال - فسار إليهم ابراهيم بن الأشتر فقتل يومئذ

¹ ويروى: "مَا نَالَ مِنْ سِجْنٍ"

² ويروى: "فَلَى الْفَرَزْدَقِ لَعْنَةُ الْمُتَبَهِّلِ"

أشرف أهل الكوفة وقُتِلَ سعيد بن قيس وارثتُ عبد الرحمان بن مخنف
 بجراحة وحيل إلى بيت امرأته من همدان وانهزم الناس وأسير منهم سبعون
 من معروف أهل الكوفة فيهم من الشعراء ثمانية سراقه بارق وأعشى
 همدان وابن همام السلولى وابن الزبير الأسدى وكان المختار لا يؤتى
 بأسيراً إلا قتله فلما أدخلوا المسجد الأعظم وهو قاعد ينتظر محيئهم بهم، فلما
 كانوا في وسط المسجد أمر بهم فصرخوا إلى السجن . فقال سراقه : يا هاؤلاً،
 هذه أول العافية - ثم نادى بأعلى صوته : امنن على الأقوام يا خير معذ
 وخير من لبى وحى وسجد

وخير من حل بشعر وجند

فقال المختار : من هذا المنادى ؟ قالوا : سراقه بارق . فقال : على بالفاسق .
 فلما أتى به قال المختار : كيف رأيت صنح الله بمن غدر وفجر ؟ قال سراقه :
 امنن على . قال : أما والله لأقتلك قتلة ما قتلها أحداً قبلك من العرب .
 قال سراقه : ومتى تقتلنى ؟ قال : اليوم . فقال سراقه : ما جعلك الله على ذلك
 قادراً اليوم، ولتقتلنى ولتقتلنى . قال : فتى ؟ قال : تمن على ثم اغدر
 الثانية فتظفر بالعراق ثم تاتى الشام فتظفر بها إلا دمشق تحاصر أهلها ثم
 تفتحها فتذبح على درج دمشق تسعة وتسعين من كباش العرب ثم تقيمهم بى
 مائة^١ ووالله ما أصحابك هزمونا . قال : فمن هزمكم ؟ قال هزمنا قوم على الخيول
 البلق والبراذين الشهب عليهم العائم . فقال المختار لأصحابه : اسمعوا يا شرطة
 الله ، تلکم الملائكة . ثم أمر سراقه فصعد المنبر فأخبر بمن هزمه ، فأمره ان
 يحلف لهم . فقال سراقه : فوالله ما حلفت يمين قط أنا فيها صادق كنت أشد
 اجتهداً منى فى يمينى تلك وأنا كاذب فيها رجاء أن افلت من المختار ثم أمر به
 الى السجن فبات فيه سراقه ليلته ثم بعث اليه بأبيات وهى :^١

^١ راجع تاريخ الطبرى ٢ : ٦٦٤

[وافر]

أَلَا أُبْلِغُ أَبَا إِسْحَاقَ أَنَّا نَزَوْنَا نَزْوَةً كَانَتْ عَلَيْنَا
 خَرَجْنَا لَا نَرَى الضُّعْفَاءُ شَيْئًا وَكَانَ خُرُوجُنَا بَطْرًا وَحَيْنًا
 نَرَاهُمْ فِي مَصَفِيهِمْ قَلِيلًا وَهُمْ مِثْلُ الدَّبَابِ حِينَ التَّقِينَا¹
 بَرَزْنَا إِذْ رَأَيْنَاهُمْ فَلَمَّا رَأَيْنَا الْقَوْمَ قَدْ بَرَزُوا إِلَيْنَا
 لَقِينَا مِنْهُمْ ضَرْبًا طَلَخْنَا وَطَعْنَا صَائِبًا حَتَّى انْثَنَيْنَا
 نُصِرْتَ عَلَى عَدُوِّكَ كُلِّ يَوْمٍ بِكُلِّ كَتِيبَةٍ تَنْعَى حُسَيْنًا
 كَنَصْرِ مُحَمَّدٍ فِي يَوْمِ بَدْرٍ وَيَوْمِ الشَّيْبِ إِذْ لَاقَى حُسَيْنًا
 فَأَسْجِخْ إِذْ مَلَكَتْ فَلَوْ مَلَكَتْ

لَجَرُّنَا فِي الْحُكُومَةِ وَاعْتَدَيْنَا

تَقَبَّلْ تَوْبَةَ مِنِّي فَإِنِّي سَأَشْكُرُ إِن جَعَلْتَ النِّقْدَ دِينًا
 كَذَاكَ تَرَى سُرَاقَةً فَاصْطَنِعْهُ فَذَاكَ يَزِيدُ مَنْ عَادَاكَ شَيْنًا

١٣ وقال سُرَاقَةُ *

* فلما اتهموا به إلى المختار فقالوا هذا سُرَاقَةُ بن مرداس يحلف بالله الذي لا إله إلا هو لقد رأى الملائكة تُقاتل معكم على الخيل البلق بين السماء والأرض . فقال له المختار : اضْعِدِ المنبر فأَعْلِمِ ذلك المسلمين . فصعد فأعلمهم ذلك ثم نزل فحلى به المختار فقال له : إني قد علمت أنك لم تر الملائكة ولكن أردت ما عرفت إلا اقتلك ، فاذهب عني حيث أحببت ، لا تُفْسِدَ على

¹ ويروى : وحسبناهم لنا عسلا مشوبا وكانوا كالدباب لما التقينا

أصحابي - فخلّى سبيله وقال له : تبياً لدخول دمشق . قال أبوهم مخنف فحدثني
الحجاج بن علي البارق قال قال سراق : ما كنت في أيمانٍ حلفتُ بها قط
أشدّ مني اجتهاداً ولا مبالغةً في الكذب مني في أيمانٍ هذه التي حلفتُ بها
أنّي رأيتُ الملائكة تُقاتل معهم . فخلّوا سبيله فلحق بعبد الرحمان بن مخنف
عند المُصعب بالبصرة وخرج أشرافُ أهل الكوفة وخرج سراق والوُجوهُ
فلحقوا بالبصرة فقال سراق في ذلك :

[واقرأ]

أَلَا أُبْلِغُ أَبَا إِسْحَاقَ أَنِّي رَأَيْتُ الْبُلُقَ دُهْنًا مُصْنَعَاتٍ
كَفَرْتُ بِوَحْيِكُمْ وَجَعَلْتُ نَذْرًا عَلَيَّ قِتَالَكُمْ حَتَّى الْمَمَاتِ
أُرَى عَيْنِي مَا لَمْ تَرَأِيَاهُ كَلَانَا عَالِمٌ بِأَثَرِهَاتِ
إِذَا قَالُوا أَقُولُ لَهُمْ كَذِبْتُمْ وَإِنْ خَرَجُوا لَبِستُ لَهُمْ أَدَاتِي

١٤ وقال سراق *

* حدث عمر بن شبة قال حدثني عبد الله بن محمد بن حكيم عن خالد
ابن سعيد عن أبيه قال قَحِطَ الناس في زمان بشر بن مروان فخرجوا فاستسقوا
وبشر معهم فرجعوا وقد مُطِرُوا ووافق ذلك سيلاً جاء من الليل ففرقت ناحية
بارق وبنى سليم فخرج بشر من الغد ينظر إلى آثار المطر حتى انتهى إلى بارق

¹ في شرح شواهد المغني ص ٢٣٢ روى العجز: بأن البلق دهم مصمتات

² في شرح شواهد المغني: "مدينكم" بدل: "بوحبكم"

ويروى: كفرت بوحبكم وبرئت منكم * ومن أشباعكم حتى الممات

³ كذا أنشد في شرح شواهد المغني

ويروى: "ما لم تبصراه" موضع: "ما لم ترأياه"

⁴ روى لما بلغ المختار ذهاب سراق إلى البصرة وشعره هذا هدم داره فبناها مصعب
حيث قتل المختار

فاذا الماء في دار سراقه بن مرداس البارقي وسراقه قائم في الماء، فقال: أصلح
الله الأمير، إنك دعوت أمس ولم ترفع يدك فجاء ما ترى ولو كنت رفعت
يدك لجاء الطوفان - فضحك بشر فأنشأ سراقه يقول:

[وافر]

دَعَا الرَّحْمَانُ بِشَرٍّ فَاسْتَجَابَا لِدَعْوَتِهِ فَاسْتَقَانَا السَّحَابَا
وَكَانَ دُعَاؤُ بِشَرِّ صَوْبٍ غَيْثٍ يُعَاشُ بِهِ يُحْيِي مَا أَصَابَا
أَغْرَ بِوَجْهِهِ يُسْقَى وَيُحْيَى وَ نَسْتَجْلِي بِغُرَّتِهِ الضَّبَابَا

١٥ وقال سراقه يرثي محمد بن مخنف

يوم جبانة السبيع

[طويل]

لَمْ أَرْ مِثْلَ الْخَيْلِ خَيْلِ ابْنِ مِخْنَفٍ
غَدَاةَ أُحْتَدَى بِالشَّاكِرِيِّ ابْنِ كَامِلٍ
أَشَدَّ وَلَا أَمْنَضَى عَلَى الْهَوْلِ مُقَدَّمًا
وَأَقْتَلَ لِلْمُقِرِّنِ الْمُشِيحِ الْمُنَازِلِ

شَدَدْنَا وَ شَدُّوا وَ اضْطَرَبْنَا فَلَمْ نَحِمِ

وَوَلَّوْا سِرَاعًا كَالنَّعَامِ الْجَوَافِلِ

فَمَا لَبِثَ الْمُخْتَارُ أَنْ كَرَّخَيْلَهُ عَلَيْنَا فَالَوْتُ بِالْكَرِزَامِ الْأُمَاطِلِ
وَصَكَّتْ عَلَيْنَا قَوْمُنَا مِنْ وَرَائِنَا فَكَمْ مِنْ قَتِيلٍ بَيْنَنَا وَمُقَاتِلِ

فَمَا بَرَحَ الْقَرْمُ الرَّئِيسُ ابْنُ مِخْنَفٍ
يُقَاتِلُ حَتَّى خَرَّ غَيْرَ مُوَاتِلٍ
وَنَجَّاهُ صَرْبُ الْأَزْدِ تَزَجُّرُ حَوْلَهُ
وَتَضْرِبُ عَنْهُ بِالسُّيُوفِ الْقَوَاصِلِ
وَمِنْ دُونِهِ حَامِي أَخٌ ذُو حَفِيفَةٍ
كَرِيمُ النَّشَا وَالْغَنِيمِ حُلُوُ الشَّمَائِلِ
أَغْرَى كَقَرْنِ الشَّمْسِ أَرْوَعُ مَا جِدْتُ
نَجِيبٌ عَنِ الْأَعْدَاءِ لَيْسَ بِنَاكِيلٍ
وَصَارَبَ حَتَّى أَقْصَدَتْهُ رِمَاحُهُمْ فَبُورِكَتْ مِنْ وَرَادِ مَوْتٍ حُلَا حِلِ
سَخَوَتْ بِنَفْسٍ عِنْدَ ذَاكَ عَزِيزَةٍ عَلَيْنَا وَاجْلَى كُلِّ وَابٍ وَخَاذِلِ
فِيَا عُمَرَ الْخَيْرِ الْكَرِيمِ ابْنَ مِخْنَفٍ
عَلَيْكَ اسْتَفَاضَتْ عِبْرَتِي غَيْرَ ذَاهِلِ
مَسْأَلُكَ مَا لَمْ تَنْزَحِ الْعَيْنُ مَا هَا

١٦ وقال سُرَاقَةُ يمدح إبراهيم بن الأشر

وأصحابه في قتل ابن مَرْجَانَةَ

و هو عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بن زياد^١

^١ راجع تاريخ الطبري ٧١٦: ٢

[طويل]
 أَتَاكَ غُلَامٌ مِنْ عَرَانِينَ مَذْجِجٍ جَرِيٌّ عَلَى الْأَعْدَاءِ غَيْرُ نَكُولٍ
 فَيَا ابْنَ زِيَادٍ بُوًّا بِأَعْظَمِ مَا بَنَى¹ وَذُقْ حَدًّا مَاضِي الشَّفَرَتَيْنِ صَقِيلٍ
 ضَرَبْنَاكَ بِالْعَضْبِ الْحُسَامِ فَلَمْ يَجْرُ

إِذَا مَا أَبَانَا قَاتِلًا بِقَتِيلٍ
 جَزَى اللَّهُ خَيْرًا شُرْطَةً اللَّهُ إِنْهُمْ شَفَوْا مِنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ أُمْسَ غَلِيلِي
 وَأَجْدِرُ بِهِنْدٍ أَنْ تُسَاقَ سَيِّئَةً لَهَا مِنْ بَنِي اسْحَاقَ شَرُّ حَلِيلٍ

١٧ وقال سُرَاقَةُ أيضاً حين بلغه أن ربيعة
 تُهَدِّدُ ابْنَ الْأَشْتَرِ فِي قَتْلِ إِيَّاسِ بْنِ مُضَارِبٍ

[وافر]
 أَتَوْعِدُنَا رَبِيعَةً فِي إِيَّاسٍ وَآيَ الدَّهْرِ أَوْعَدَنَا قَبِيلُ
 حَرُورِيٍّ تَكْنَفُهُ الْمَوَالِي وَعَضَّ بِرَأْسِهِ سَيْفٌ ثَقِيلُ
 وَابْرَاهِيمُ مُعْتَزُّ هِزْبِرٍ لَهُ فِئَةٌ تَقُولُ كَمَا يَقُولُ
 يَمَانِيَةٌ تَذُودُ النَّاسَ عَنْهُ وَتَخْطِرُ فِي جَوَانِبِهَا الْفُحُولُ
 حَمَى الضِّيْفَانِ إِذْ جَالَتْ نِزَارٌ كَمَا جَالَتْ مِنَ الْبَقْرِ الْوُعُولُ
 فَلَوْ لَا كَفَّهُ عَنْكُمْ لَكُنْتُمْ كَمَنْ غَالَتْ مِنَ الْأَقْوَامِ غُولُ
 لَا سُرَتْ حِمِيرٌ وَبَنُو أَبِيهَا قُضَاعَةٌ وَالْفُرَاتُ لَهُمْ دَلِيلُ

¹ عند الطبري "مالك" مكان "ماي"

١٨ وقال سراقه

[طويل]

أَقَاتِلْ مُهْدِيًا وَتِلْكَ سَفَاهَةٌ وَأَمْرٌ بَدَأَ لِي غِيَّهُ مُتَفَاقِمٌ
 فَلَمَّا أَتَيْنَا شَيْعَةَ اللَّهِ تَدْعِي لَهَا لَهَبٌ تَبِيضٌ مِنْهُ الْقَادِمُ
 فَدَارَتْ رَحَانًا سَاعَةً وَرَحَاهُمْ وَطَاحَتْ أَكْفٌ يَتْنَا وَجَمَاجِمُ
 أَظْفَرُ حَيْطَانِ السَّيْنِجِ وَإِنِّي بِأَبْوَابِ حَيْطَانِ السَّيْنِجِ لَعَالِمُ

* هذا آخر ما وجد بخط الحسين بن علي النعمري يقول هذا آخر ما
 وجدته بخط السكري يقول هذا آخر ما وجدته في كتاب ابن حبيب والحمد
 لله ووجدت بخط الشيخ أبي أحمد بعد ذلك : قابلت بجميع ما مضى وأعلمت
 عليه وكتبت ما لم يكتب فيه في الحواشي ووجدت بخط ابن الأعرابي
 بعد ذلك :

١٩ وقال سراقه^١

[طويل]

عَيْنِي جُودًا بِالْذُّمُّوعِ السَّوَاكِبِ وَكُونَا كَوْهِي شَنَّةٍ خَرَزَرَاعِبِ
 فَإِنْ سُرُورَ الْعَيْشِ قَدْ حِيلَ دُونَهُ وَمَا الشَّرُّ فِي الدُّنْيَا بِضَرْبَةٍ لَا زِبِ
 وَلِلْأَسَدِ قَابِئِكِي إِذْ أُصِيبَتْ سَرَائِهِمْ

فَقُبْحًا لِعَيْشٍ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ خَائِبِ
 أَرْجَتِي خُلُودًا بَعْدَهُمْ وَتَعُولُنَا
 غَوَائِلُ مَوْتٍ أَوْ قِرَاعُ الْكِتَابِ
 وَكُنَّا بِخَيْرٍ قَبْلَ قَتْلِ ابْنِ مِخْنَفٍ
 وَكُلُّ أَمْرٍ يَوْمًا لِبَعْضِ الْمَذَاهِبِ

^١ عند الطبري كواهي شنة مع راك^١ راجع تاريخ الطبري ٢ : ٨٧٩

أَمَارَ دُمُوعِ الشَّيْبِ مِنْ أَهْلِ مِصْرِهِ وَعَجَّلَ فِي الشُّبَّانِ شَيْبَ الذَّوَائِبِ
وَقَاتَلَ حَتَّى مَاتَ أَكْرَمَ مِثْقَةٍ وَخَرَّ عَلَى وَجْهِ كَرِيمٍ وَحَاجِبِ
عَشِيَّةَ جَالِ الصَّفِّ إِلَّا عِصَابَةً

مِنْ الْأَسَدِ تَمْشِي بِالسُّيُوفِ الْقَوَاضِبِ
فِيَا عَيْنُ بَكِيٍّ مِخْنَفًا وَأَبْنِ مِخْنَفِ وَفُرْسَانَ قَوْمِي قُصْرَةً وَأَقَارِبِي
وَبَعْدَ جُبَاةٍ فِي أَرْوَمَةِ [بَارِقِ] وَلَيْسَ الْمَنَايَا مُرَضِيَاتِ الْمُعَاتِبِ
فَعُجْنَا بِهِ لَا وَانِيًا مُتَوَانِيًا وَلَا عَاجِزًا عِنْدَ الْأُمُورِ النُّوَائِبِ
وَلَوْ سُئِلْتُ مِنْهُ شَنْوَةٌ فِدِيَّةٌ

لَأَعْطَوْنَا نَفُوسَ الْقَوْمِ بَعْدَ الْحَرَائِبِ
لَمَنْ لَا يَخَافُ الْقَوْمُ سَقَطَةَ رَأْيِهِ إِذَا زَاغَ أَصْحَابُ الْحُلُومِ الْعَوَازِبِ
وَسَأَلَهُ مُعْطَى الْجَزِيلِ وَلَمْ تَكُنْ تُهَيِّبُهُ قِدْمًا عِظَامُ الْمَوَاهِبِ
وَكَانَ هَيُوبًا لِلْفَوَاهِشِ كُلِّهَا وَلَيْسَ لِبَطَالِ الرِّجَالِ بِهَائِبِ
وَلَمْ يَكْ مُمِّنٌ يَمْلَأُ الرُّوعَ صَدْرَهُ إِذَا رَاغَ أَهْلُ الْخَبِّ رَوْعَ الثَّعَالِبِ
وَإِيَّاسَ فَابِكِيهِ إِذَا اشْتَجَرَ الْقَنَا

لَدَى الرُّوعِ أَوْكَلَّتْ رِقَاقُ الْمَضَارِبِ
وَحَادَ رِجَالٌ عَنْ رِجَالٍ وَأَبْرَزَتْ نَوَاجِذَهَا يَوْمَ الطِّعَانِ مَرَازِبِي
وَإِنْ ذُكِرَ الْحِلْمُ الْمُزَيْنُ أَهْلُهُ فَمَا الْحِلْمُ عَنْهُ يَوْمَ ذَاكَ بِغَائِبِ

وَكَانَ زَعِيمَ الْقَوْمِ فِيمَا يَنْوِبُهُمْ إِذَا عَى مَنْ يَنْبُوا بِهِ^١ بِالْمُخَاطِبِ
 وَكَانَ لَهُ فِي ذُرْوَةِ الْحَيِّ مَتَصِيبٌ وَلَيْسَ كَمَنْ عَصَّ الْغِرَاءَ بِالْمَشَاغِبِ
 وَلَا خَامِلٍ فِيهِمْ إِذَا مَا نَسَبَتْهُ وَلَكِنَّهُ مِنْ بَارِقٍ فِي الذَّوَابِ
 فَلَا وَلَدَتْ أَثْنَى وَلَا آبَ غَائِبٌ إِلَى أَهْلِهِ إِنْ كَانَ لَيْسَ بِآئِبِ
 وَغَرَقْدَةُ الْقَرْمِ الَّذِي بَدَأَ قَوْمَهُ غُلَامًا إِلَى أَنْ شَابَ غَيْرَ الْأَكَاذِبِ
 وَأَخْصَبَهُمْ رَحْلًا وَفِي السَّفَرِ عِصْمَةٌ

إِذَا كَانَ زَادُ الْقَوْمِ مَا فِي الْحَقَائِبِ

وَأَبَاهُمْ لِلضَّيِّمِ حِينَ يَسَامَهُ

إِذَا قِيدَتْ التُّوكَى كَقَوْدِ الْجَنَائِبِ

وَمَا أَلَيْتُ إِذْ يَعْدُو عَلَى أَلْفِ فَارِسٍ

وَتَحْتَ هَوَادِي خَيْلِهِمْ أَلْفُ نَاشِبٍ

مُؤَاوِزٍ وَلَا عِدْلًا لِمُرُوءَةٍ إِذْ غَدَا

عَلَى صَفِّ صَفِينِ الْعَظِيمِ الْمَوَاكِبِ

وَلَا جُنْدُبًا إِذْ صَالَ بِالسَّيْفِ صَوْلَةً

عَلَى سَاحِرٍ فِي حَافَةِ الثُّسُوقِ لَاعِبِ

وَكَانَ أَخَا لَيْلٍ طَوِيلًا قِيَامُهُ إِذَا النَّوْمُ أَلْهَى حُبَّهُ كُلَّ جَانِبِ

وَقَيْسَ ابْنَ عَوْفٍ فَأَنْدُبْنَهُ بِعَبْرَةٍ

إِذَا الْخَيْلُ جَالَتْ بِالرَّجَالِ عَصَائِبُ
وَإِنْ ذَهَلَتْ نَفْسِي وَأَذْهَبَ دَأْهًا
فَمَا دَأُ نَفْسِي مِنْ حَكِيمٍ بِذَاهِبِ
حَتَّى صَقَبْتُ^١ تَحْتَ اللِّوَاءِ ذِمَّارَهُ
بِضَرْبِ كَأْفَوَاهِ اللِّقَاحِ السَّوَارِبِ

٢٠ وقال سراقه*

* روى أن الحجاج بن يوسف كان يقول من أراد أن يبصر الخيل
فليرو قصيدة بارق هذه

[كامل]

زَعَمْتُ رَيْعَةً وَهْنِي غَيْرُ مَلُومَةٍ
وَرَأْتُ عَذَارَى أَذْرَكْتُ فِي بَارِقِ
وَيَشْفُهَا أَنْ لَا تَزَالَ يَرُوعُهَا
وَكَأَنَّهِنَّ إِذَا خَرَجْنَ لِزِينَةٍ
مِنْ كُلِّ غَرَاءِ الْجَبِينِ كَأَنَّهَا
تُجْرِي السَّوَاكَ عَلَى نَقِي لَوْنُهُ
وَتَقُولُ قَدْ أَهْلَكْتَ مَالَكَ كُلَّهُ
لَمْ تَدْرِ فِيمَا قَدْ مَضَى مِنْ عُمْرِهَا
وَالْمَرْءُ بَعْدَ الشَّيْبِ يَغْشَى رَأْسَهُ
أَنْبَى كَبُرْتُ وَأَنْ رَأْسِي أَشْيَبُ
فَتَخَافُ مِنْ هَوْلِ الْجَنَانِ وَتَرْهَبُ
بِكُرْتَعْرِضُ نَفْسَهَا أَوْ ثِيْبُ
وَبَرَزَنَ مِنْ غَمِّ الْحَوَائِطِ رَبْرَبُ
رَشَاءُ أَحْمُ الْمُقْلَتَيْنِ مُرَيَّبُ
مِثْلِ الْمُدَامَةِ رِيحُهُ أَوْ أَطِيبُ
فَلْبِئْسَ مَا تَشْرَى الْأَمَاءَ وَتُحْطَبُ
أَنْ الْجَوَادَ يَصِيدُ وَهُوَ الْمُثْلَبُ
يَلْهُو إِلَى غَزْلِ الشَّبَابِ وَيَطْرَبُ

^١ صقبت هو ابن مخنف أخو عبد الرحمان بن مخنف

وَالْخَيْلُ تَعْدُ لُنِي عَلَى إِمْسَاكِهَا
فَحَلَفْتُ لَا تَفُكُّ عِنْدِي شَطْبَةً
سَهْبُ الْجِرَاءِ إِذَا عَوَيْتُ عِنَانَهُ
أَمَّا إِذَا اسْتَقْبَلْتَهُ فَيَقُودُهُ
مُعَرِّقُ الْخَدَيْنِ رُكِبَ فَوْقَهُ
وَتَرَى اللَّجَامَ يَضِلُّ فِي أَشْدَاقِهِ
وَتَرَى مَكَانَ الرَّبْوِ مِنْهُ وَاسِعًا
وَلَهُ جِرَانٌ كَأَلْقَمِصِ يَزِينُهُ
وَكَأَنَّ فَارِسَهُ عَلَى زُحْلُوفَةٍ
أَمَّا إِذَا اسْتَدْبَرْتَهُ فَتَسُوقُهُ
زَجَاءً عَارِيَةً كَانَ حِمَايَهَا
وَإِذَا تَصَفَّحَهُ الْفَوَارِسُ مُعْرِضًا
وَإِذَا يُقَادُ عَلَى الْجَنِيْبَةِ بَلَاءً
وَتَرَى الْحَصَى يَشْقَى إِذَا مَا قُدَّتْهُ
صُمٌّ حَوَامِيهَا كَانَ نُسُورَهَا
وَكَأَنَّمَا يَسْتَنُّ فَنُوقَ مَتُونَهَا
أَخْلَصَتْهُ حَوْلًا أَمْسِيحُ وَجْهَهُ
وَجَعَلَتْهُ دُونَ الْمِيَالِ شِتَاءَهُ
وَتَقُولُ قَدْ أَهْلَكْتَ مَا لَا يُحْسَبُ
جَرْدًا أَوْ سَبَطُ الْمَشْدَةِ سَلْبُ
سُحُقُ إِذَا هَضِمَ الرَّعِيلُ الْمُطْنِبُ
جِذْعُ عَلَا فَوْقَ النَّخِيلِ مُشْدَبُ
خُصَلٌ وَسَامِعَةٌ تَظَلُّ تَقَلُّبُ
حَتَّى يَكَاذُ الْفَأْسُ فِيهِ يَذْهَبُ
مُتَنَفِّسٌ رَحْبٌ وَجَنْبٌ وَحَوْشَبُ
رَهْلٌ بِهِ أَثَرُ الْجِلَالِ وَمَنْكَبُ
جَرْدَاءٍ لِلْوِلْدَانِ فِيهَا مَلْعَبُ
رَجُلٌ يَقْصِيهَا وَظِيفٌ أَخْدَبُ
لَمَّا سَرَوْتَ الْجُلَّ عَنْهَا أَرْنَبُ
فَيُقَالُ سِرْحَانُ الْغَضَا الْمُتَذَنَّبُ
حَتَّى يَجْمَ مِنْ الْعَيْنَانِ الْمُجْنِبُ
مِنْهُ بِجَنْدَلٍ لَا بَةَ لَا يُقَلِّبُ
مِنْ نَفْسٍ مِصْرٍ عَنْ أَمِيرٍ يُخْجَبُ
بَيْنَ السَّنَابِكِ وَالْأَشَاعِرِ طُحْلَبُ
وَأَخُو الْمَوَاطِنِ مَنْ يَصُونُ وَيَنْدُبُ
حَتَّى أَنْجَلَى وَهُوَ الدَّخِيلُ الْمُقَرَّبُ

وَالْقَيْظَ حِينَ أَصُونُهُ فِي ظِلَّةٍ
 وَلَهُ ثَلَاثُ لَقَائِحٍ فِي يَوْمِهِ
 حَتَّى إِذَا أَثْنَى وَصَارَ كَأَنَّهُ
 رَاهَنْتُ قَوْمِي وَالرَّهَانَ لَجَاجَةً
 فِي سَبْقَةٍ جَادُوا بِهَا أَوْ دَعْوَةٍ
 فَنَقَلْتُهُ نَقْلَ الْبَصِيرِ وَلَمْ أَكُنْ
 الْقِي عَلَيْهِ الْقَرَّتَيْنِ جِلَالَهُ
 وَارْدُ فِيهِ الْمَاءِ بَعْدَ ذُبُولِهِ
 فَبَدَأَ الْحَصِيرُ فِي الْعِظَامِ بَقِيَّةً
 وَتَوَاقَفُوا بِالْخَيْلِ وَهِيَ شَوَازِبُ
 بِنَا بِرَأْسِ الْخَطِّ نَقَسِمُ أَمْرَنَا
 حَتَّى إِذَا طَمَسَ النُّجُومَ وَغَمَّهَا
 صَاحُوا بِهَا لِيَخِفَّ حَشْوُ بَطُونِهَا
 وَسَرَوْا أَجَلَتَهَا وَسُورَى صَفْهَا
 وَجَرَتْ لَهُ طَيْرُ الْأَيَّامِ غُدْوَةً
 صَاحَ ابْنُ آوَى عَنْ شِمَالِ خُدُودِهَا

وَحَشِيئَهَا قَبْلَ [الْفُرُوبِ] مُثَقَّبُ
 وَنَفِيرُهُ مَعَ لَيْلِهِ مُتَأَوَّبُ
 وَحَدُّ بِرَابِيَةٍ مُدِلُّ أَحْقَبُ
 أَحْمِي لِمَهْرِي أَنْ يُسَبَّ وَارْغَبُ
 يَوْمَ الرِّهَانِ وَكُلُّ ذَلِكَ أَطْلَبُ
 مِمَّنْ يُخَادِعُ نَفْسَهُ وَيُكَذِّبُ
 فَيَفِيضُ مِنْهُ كُلُّ قَرْنٍ يَسْكُبُ
 حَتَّى يَعُودَ كَأَنَّهُ مُسْتَضْعَبُ
 مِنْ صَنْعَةٍ قَدَّمْتُهَا لَا تَذْهَبُ
 وَبَلَاؤُهُنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ مُتَغَيِّبُ
 لَيْلًا يَجُولُ بِنَا الْمِرَاءُ وَيَهْضِبُ
 وَرَدُّ يُغَيِّبُ لَوْنَهَا مُتَجَوِّبُ
 وَقُلُوبُهُمْ مِنْ هَوْلِ ذَلِكَ تَضْرِبُ
 وَكَأَنَّمَا يَجْرِي عَلَيْهَا الْمَذْهَبُ
 وَلَهُنَّ طَيْرٌ بِالْأَشَائِمِ تَنْعَبُ

وَجَرَى لَهُ قِبَلَ الْيَمِينِ الثَّغْلَبُ

صَجَلْتُ دَفْعَتَهَا وَقُلْتُ لِفَارِسِي رَاكِضٌ بِهِ إِنَّ الْجَوَادَ الْمُسَهَّبُ
وَأَبَى عَلَى وَقَدْ جَرَى نِصْفَ الْمَدَى

وَالْخَيْلُ تَأْخُذُهَا السَّيَاطُ وَتَكَلَبُ

وَعَلَامُهُ مُتَقَبِّضٌ فِي مَتْنِهِ بِمَكَانِهِ مِنْهُنَّ رَأَى مُعْجِبُ
حَتَّى أَتَى الصَّفِّينِ وَهُوَ مُبَرِّزُ بِمَكَانِهِ رَأَى الْبَصِيرِ مُغْرِبُ
إِسْتَأْنَسَ الشَّرَفَ الْبَعِيدَ بِطَرَفِهِ وَكَأَنَّهُ سِرْحَانُ بِيْدٍ يَلْحَبُ
وَلِكُلِّهِنَّ [عَصَابَةٌ] مِنْ قَوْمِهِ وَلَهُ مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ الْقَبَائِلِ مَوْكِبُ
يَنْشَوْنَهُ وَيَقُولُ هَذَا سَابِقُ مُتَفَرِّسٌ فِي الْخَلْقِ أَوْ مُتَعَجِبُ
وَأَذْبُ عَنْهُ الْمُرْقِصِينَ وَرَأَاهُ حَذَرَ الْفَوَارِسِ وَهُوَ رَاحٌ يُجْنِبُ
هَذَا لِيَتَعَلَّمَ بَارِقٌ أَنِّي أَمْرُو لِي فِي السَّوَابِقِ نَظْرَةٌ لَا تَكْذِبُ
وَبَيِّنَ الْأَقْيَالُ مَا أَخْلَامُهُمْ وَالْحِلْمُ أَرْذَوُهُ الْمُسَامُ الْمُغْرَبُ
وَالنَّاسُ مِنْهُمْ مَنْ يُعَاشُ بِرَأْيِهِ وَمُعَذَّبٌ يُشْنَقَى بِهِ وَيُعَذَّبُ
فَدَعَ الْمِرَاءَ وَوَافٍ يَوْمَ رِهَانِنَا بِطِمِرَةٍ أَوْ ضَامِيرٍ لَمْ يُتَعَبُ*

* قد عزا صاحب الاغانى (٢٩ x ٨) الى سراقه البارقي هذه الايات :

لعمرى لقد جاء العراق كثير بأحدوثه من وحيه المتكذب
ابزعم انى من كنانه اولى و ما لى من أم هناك و لا أب
فان كنت حرا او تخاف معرة فخذ ما أخذت من أميرك و اذهب
والصواب انها للاحوص كما روى أيضا.

٢١ وقال سراقه

[وافر]

أَبَتْ عَيْنُ ابْنِ عَمِّكَ أَنْ تَنَامَا
وَقَالَتْ عَرِسُهُ مَاذَا بَعْشَقِ
صَرَفْتُ الْوَجْهَ مِنْ نَظَرٍ إِلَيْهَا
كِلَانَا خَائِفٌ يَخْشَى أَبَاهَا
بَصَرْتُ بِهَا تَكَلِّمُ جَارَتَيْهَا
رَأَيْتُ غَمَامَةً فِي مُشْكَفٍ
يُضِيءُ دُجَى الظَّلَامِ بَرِيقُ فِيهَا
أَقَاحِي قَدْ تَصَبَّبَ مِنْ نَدَاهُ
كُمَيْتَ اللَّائِنِ عَتَقَهَا عَظِيمُ
تَنَاسَاها عَلَى طَرَبٍ إِلَيْهَا
تُدِلُّ بِحُسْنِهَا وَسَطَ الْعَذَارَى
وَأَزْدَافُ تَنُو بِهَا وَخَصْرُ
بِهَا يَلْهُو الضَّجِيعُ إِذَا تَعَالَى
وَأَغْيَبُ شَانِهَا أَنْبَى هَيُوبُ
وَأَنَّ الرَّأْسَ شَيْبَهُ أَطْلَاعِي
بِجَنِّبِ الطَّفِّ وَأُحْتَمَّ أُحْتِمَا
وَلَكِنْ نَظْرَةٌ كَانَتْ غَرَامَا
وَأَلْقَتْ دُونَ سُنتِهَا قِرَامَا
وَطَعْنَا مِنْ عَشِيرَتِهَا وَذَامَا
فَلَا دَلَالَةً عَتَبْتُ وَلَا قَوَامَا
عَلَّتْ فِي عَارِضٍ كَسِفٍ جَهَامَا
وَتُبْصِرُ حِينَ تَبْتَسِمُ ابْتِسَامَا
كَأَنَّ [أُصُولَهُ] عَلَّتْ مُدَامَا
فَلَمْ يَقْرَبْ لَهَا حِجْبًا خِتَامَا
إِذَا ذُكِرَ الْمَشَارِبُ وَالنَّدَامَا
وَتَسْتَفْنِي فَمَا تَبْغِي لِشَامَا
كَطَى السَّبِّ يَنْهَضِمُ أَنْهَضَامَا
وَعَارَ النَّجْمُ فَاقْتَحَمَ اقْتِحَامَا
إِذَا مَا جِئْتُ أَكْتَمْتُ أَكْتِمَامَا
بِلَادَ الْحَرْبِ مُلْبَسَةً قَتَامَا

أَعَالِجُ صَفْدَةَ أَقْنُودٍ مُهْرًا
وَمَنْ يَلْقَى الْفَوَارِسَ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ
وَكَنتُ إِذَا الْهُنُومُ تَكَنَّفَتْنِي
وَلَسْتُ أُرَشِّحُ الْأَطْفَالَ مِنْهَا
وَلَكِنِّي أَقُولُ لِحَالِبَيْهَا
وَأُقْرِضُهَا ابْنَ عَمِّي إِنْ أَتَانِي
وَخَلَفُ خَلَافٍ أَصْبَحْتُ فِيهِ
وَإِخْوَانِي فُجِعْتُ بِهِمْ فَأَضْحَى
وَقَدْ أَحْبَبِي الْحَقِيقَةَ كُلَّ يَوْمٍ
أُنَاسٌ يَأْمَنُ الْجَيْرَانَ فِيهِمْ
وَمَذْحِجٌ إِذْ تَقَرُّ بِهِمْ جَمِيعًا
وَفِي هَمْدَانٍ ضَرْبٌ حِينَ تَلْقَى
وَإِنْ أَهْتَفَ بِكِنْدَةَ يَأْتِ صَفٌّ
وَمَالِي دُونَ خَشْعَمٍ مِنْ صَدِيقٍ
وَإِنْ تَحْضُرُ بِحِيلَةٍ يَوْمَ بَأْسٍ
وَدَاعِي الْأَشْعَرِينَ إِذَا دَعَاهُمْ

طَوِيلَ الْمَثْنِ يَسْتَوْفِي الْحِزَامَا
أَطَاعِنُ أَوْ الْأَزْمَهُنَّ لِحِزَامَا
لِتُسَهِّرَنِي جَعَلْتُ لَهَا نِظَامَا
لِيُذْرِكَ نَسْلُهَا عَامَا فَعَامَا
أَشِيْعَا إِنْ فِي مَالِي ذِمَامَا
وَأَقْرَى الضَّيْفَ أَعْظَمَهَا سِنَامَا
يُذَكِّرُنِي حَيَاةً أَوْ حُلَامَا
كَمَجْرُوحٍ بِهِ يَشْكُو كِلَامَا
وَيَخْنِي الْأَسَدُ أَنْفِي أَنْ أَرَامَا
كَمَكَّةَ مَا تَمَسُّ بِهَا الْحَمَامَا
رَأَيْتُ قُرُومَ مَذْحِجِنَا عِظَامَا
يُطِيرُ مَعَاصِيًا وَيُبِيرُ هَامَا
تُظِلُّ رِمَاحُهُمْ مَلِكَا هُمَامَا
إِذَا الْفَتَيَاتُ أَخْرَجْنَ الْخِدَامَا
تُكْشِفُ عَنْ مَنِكَبِي الزَّحَامَا
مَنْعَنَاهُ الْجَوَامِعَ أَنْ يُضَامَا

* بالأصل: "خالف" وهو تحريف

1 لعله واقود
* كذا بالأصل

وَحَمِيرُ حَيْنَ يَبْدُوهَا كَرِيبٌ
وَعَسَّانُ الَّتِي مَلَكَتْ مَعْدًا
وَلَا تَتْرُكُ قُضَاعَةً إِنْ فِيهَا
وَلَا قِ بِحَضْرَمَوْتَ غَدَاةَ عِزٍّ
جُذَامٌ لَيْسَ مُخْصِيهَا قَيْلٌ
وَعَامِلَةُ الْحُمَاةِ وَمَنْ يَرَاهُمْ
وَلَوْ أَصْبَحَتْ فِي حَكَمٍ مُقِيمًا
وَحَوْلَانُ الَّتِي لَمْ تُعْطِ إِلَّا
وَحَاءٌ لَوْ رَأَيْتَهُمْ جَمِيعًا
فَعُدًّا مِثْلَ ذَا يَابْنَى زِيَارٍ
وَلَنْ تَجِدَا مُلُوكًا فِي زِيَارٍ
عَلِمْتُمْ أَنْ كَيْدَكُمْ ضَعِيفٌ
وَلَوْ سَأَلْتِ بِلَادَ الْحَرْبِ عَنَّا
كَمَا كَانَتْ جُمُوعُكُمْ تَوَلَّتْ
تَظَلُّ جِيَادُنَا مِنْ كُلِّ وَجْهِ
تَرَى الْجُرْدَ السَّوَاهِمَ حِينَ تُعْطَى
وَكُلُّ مُطَارَةٍ خَفِقَ حَشَاهَا
وَشَاعِرٍ مَعَشْرِفِيهِ طِمَاحٌ
تَكَادُ أَنْوْفُهَا تَجْلُو الْغَمَامَا
شَامِيهَا وَمَنْ يَرَعَى الْبَشَامَا
لَنَا الْحَسَبَ الْمُقَدَّمَ وَالْتِمَامَا
خِيَارَ أَنْاسٍ مَحْضَرَةٍ غِشَامَا
إِذَا دَاعَى الصَّبَاحَ دَعَا جُذَامَا
يَرَى الْجُرْدَ السَّوَاهِمَ وَالْهَجَامَا
وَخَفَّ الزَّحْفُ لَمْ أَزْهَبْ أَثَامَا
نَبِيَّ اللَّهِ إِذْ صَلَّى وَصَامَا
حَسِبْتَ الْغَابَ فَوْقَهُمْ إِيْجَامَا
وَذَاكَ عَلَيْكُمَْا أَمْسَى حَرَامَا
وَآبَاءُ كَا بَائِي كِرَامَا
وَوَلَّى الْجَمْعُ فَا نَهَزَمَ أَنْهَزَامَا
وَعَنْكُمْ إِذْ تَصَادَمْنَا صِدَامَا
إِذَا مَا أَبْصَرْتَ لَجِبًا لِهَامَا
كَفَعِلِ الطَّيْرِ تَخْتَطِفُ اللَّحَامَا
سِجَالِ الْمَاءِ تَقْتَحِمُ اقْتِحَامَا
أَسَرَّتْ فِي غَزَاتِهِمْ وَحَامَا
عَنِ الشُّعْرَاءِ كُنْتُ لَهُ زِمَامَا

يُخَاطِرُ عَنْ عَشِيرَتِهِ خِطَارًا وَيَكْسُو قَوْمَهُ حُلَلًا لِثَامًا
جَنَى حَرْبًا عَلَيْهِ ذَاتَ ضَرٍّ وَتَلْقَحُ نُسَمٌ يَنْتَجِبُهَا تَمَامًا
تَلَمَسَ خَطْوَةً فَأَصَابَ ذِمًّا وَعَرَّدَ وَهْيَ تَضْطَرِمُ اضْطِرَامًا
تَرَكَتُ لِقَوْمِهِ عَيْنًا مُبِينًا يَكُونُ عَلَى أَنْوْفِهِمْ خِطَامًا
وَقَالَ أَنْاسُهُ لَمْ يَفْنِ شَيْئًا عَلَامَ قَذَفْتَ أَنْفُسَنَا عَلَامًا
تَعَرَّضَ بِأَمْرِي فِيهِ أَنْاءُ قَدِيمِ الْعِيصِ يَتَّقِمُ انْتِقَامًا
فَمَاذَا يَبْتَغِي الشُّعْرَاءُ مِنِّي وَقَدْ قَسَمْتُ بِئِهِمْ قَسَامًا
قَضَيْتُ قَضِيَّةً فِيهِمْ فَجَازَتْ بِهَا يَقْضِي إِذَا أَحْكَمُوا أَحْكَامًا

The Question of Gramas

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IN his article on *Gandhara Grama* that appeared in the issue of October, 1935, of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Mr. A. H. Fox Strangways observed that a particular line in Damodara's *Sangitadarpana* regarding *Ga-Grama*, had induced him to visit India thirty years ago. The whole of that article, now under consideration, induces me to revisit the region of the Grama-question.

To begin with, I thank Mr. Fox Strangways for his graceful reference to my¹ edition of *Svaramelakalanidhi* (Annamalai University, 1932). And I agree with him in his view that "Indian musical history is a jungle and will be so, until the thinking minds of India attack it seriously and critically and cease to waste time over pious beliefs and mathematical tricks, to repeat slokas, often out of their proper connection, instead of to examine problems". But when he stated that "the Gramas had been dead" I feared he expressed but a partial truth.

To give the reader a perspective view of my standpoint, a dis-section of a single limb thrown out by Mr. Fox Strangways won't do. I must present the whole "flesh and blood" of the question, so to speak, wherein the position of that "single limb", will be duly perceived. Accordingly, I proceed to give a complete account of the question of Gramas as it occurs to me.

What was *Grama*? Both Bharata and Dattila did not choose to define the term. Matanga it was that dared, perhaps for the first time, to define it and observed: "Thus it is decided—just as all the members of a joint family live together; so, too

¹ I italicized the word "my"; for Mr. Fox Strangways inadvertently attributed the editorship to Mr. Venkatrama Sastri, who was responsible only for his *Foreword* to my edition.

(all the Sudha-Vikrita svaras are brought together under one common, generic name) GRAMA.¹

Later on, Narada and Sharngadev gave us, alike, a laconic definition of the term, viz. "A Grama is a collection of (all the) svaras."² In trying to explain Sharngadev's definition, Kallinath only expanded the observation of Matanga: "Just as, in the world, a group of people is said to belong to a Grama (village); a group of (all the Sudha-Vikrita) svaras is spoken of as belonging to a Grama."³

Other writers, such as, for instance, Pundarika Vittala,⁴ Somanath,⁵ Damodara,⁶ Raghunath,⁷ Venkatamakhi,⁸ Ahobala,⁹ and Bhavabhakta,¹⁰ trod in the footsteps of Sharngadev one after another and merely quoted his definition of Grama, either verbatim or with a little modification, though two¹¹ of them added Kallinath's explanation as well. Hence Sharngadev's definition of Grama, coupled with Kallinath's explanation thereof, forms the only authority for all the future musicians to follow.¹²

A note of warning must be sounded here that the conception of Grama, as such, did not originate either with Sharngadev or even with Narada, the author of *Sangitamakaranda* but long before their respective times. We hear of it

¹ *Brihad Desi*, p. 20.

² *Sangitamakaranda*, p. 5; *Sangitaratnakara*, p. 45.

³ *Sangitaratnakara*, p. 45.

⁴ *Sadragachandrodaya*, p. 6.

⁵ *Ragavibodha* (my edition), p. 5.

⁶ *Sangitadarpana*, p. 24.

⁷ *Sangitasudha*, i, 175.

⁸ *Chaturdandiprakasika*, p. 10.

⁹ *Sangitaparijata*, p. 9.

¹⁰ *Anupasangitaratnakara*, p. 7.

¹¹ *Somanath* and *Venkatamakhi*.

¹² As regards the modern writers on Indian music, both Indian and European, almost all of them, not excluding Mr. J. D. Paterson, have been significantly silent on the interpretation of the word Grama as a whole, though they waxed eloquent in speaking about its divisions. I made a special mention of Mr. Paterson because, in 1809, he contributed to the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 9, an article avowedly on Gramas wherein he was careful to forget defining that term.

even in the *Siksha* of another Narada of the second century B.C.

As between the two following scales :—

S R G M P D N

and—

S R R G G M M P D D N N
 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 2

the first group of seven svaras is a *singable* scale ; while the second group of twelve svarastanas is an *unsingable* scale. We shall agree to call the unsingable group of twelve svarastanas by a special name, say, a *Group Scale*.

A “Group Scale” may then be defined to be a mere collection of notes, preserved as such, for the purpose of selection. What this *Group Scale* is to the modern music, *Grama* was to the ancient music of India. Hence it was that Sharngadev defined *Grama* to be a *Svarasamooha* or a mere collection of notes ; and hence it was that Kallinath compared it to a village.

This comparison may be explained as follows : Just as, in a *Grama* (village), there live all kinds of persons, wanted and unwanted ; in a musical *Grama*, there remain all kinds of svaras, wanted and unwanted. Just, again, as from a collection of village people, only a few that are wanted for the time being are constituted into a working committee for the purpose of daily administration ; from a collection of svaras only a few that are wanted for the time being are constituted into a singable scale for the purpose of daily entertainment.

Closely allied with *Grama* there were prevalent in ancient times two other terms, viz. *Moorchana* and *Jati*. Bharata¹ defined *Moorchana*, though Dattila was, as usual, silent on the point. But Matanga chose to be elaborate ; and his definition ran thus : “ That by which a Raga is modulated

¹ *Natya Sastra*, p. 320.

is Moorchana which consists of seven svaras singable in their natural order of ascent and descent."¹ Narada but copied Matanga, though his wording was a little different.² But Sharngadev,³ Damodara,⁴ Bhavabhatta,⁵ and even Venkata-makhi⁶ copied Narada word for word. While Pundarika Vittala,⁷ Somanath,⁸ Raghunath,⁹ and Abobala¹⁰ differed only in the matter of language.

If, therefore, a Grama was a mere string of all the Sudha-Vikrita svaras and was, as such, *unsingable*; a selection of seven notes, from out of that "string", must necessarily have been made with a starting point, so that the selected scale, technically called Moorchana, might be singable. But in order actually to sing the scale, so selected, something beyond the starting point or Graha was required—something to establish its harmonic individuality, Amsa, Nyasa, Vadi, Samvadi—all of which conjointly converted the Moorchana into Jati.¹¹

To sum up. A Grama was an unsingable Group Scale, so to speak, consisting of all the Sudha-Vikrita svaras, collected together and preserved, as such, for the purpose of selecting, from that Group Scale, any desired set of seven notes with a Graha or a starting-point—which (set), when sung in the natural order of ascent and descent was called *Moorchana* and which, when a harmonic individuality was established with the help of Amsa, Nyasa, Vadi, and Samvadi, etc., took the name of *Jati*.

¹ *Brihad Den*, p. 22.

² *Sangitamakaranda*, p. 7.

³ *Sangitaratnakara*, p. 47.

⁴ *Sangitadarpana*, p. 28.

⁵ *Anuprasangitaratnakara*, p. 8.

⁶ *Chaturdandiprakasika*, p. 11.

⁷ *Sadragachandrodaya*, p. 6.

⁸ *Ragavibodha*, p. 5.

⁹ *Sangitasudha*, i, 183.

¹⁰ *Sangitaparijata*, p. 9.

¹¹ Clements's *Introduction to Indian Music*, p. 3. N.B.—The modern substitutes of the Grama, Moorchana, and Jati are the Group scale of twelve svarastanas, Mela and Raga.

To illustrate my definition, let the following diagram represent the ancient Grama of the $(7 + 12 =)$ 19 Sudha-Vikrita svaras :—

Grama																						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
Kaisiki Ni (1)	Kâkali Ni (2)	Chyuta Sa (3)	Sudha Sa (4)	Achyuta Sa (5)		Sudha Ri (6)	Vikrita Ri (7)		Sudha Ga (8)	Sadharana Ga (9)	Antara Ga (10)	Chyuta Ma (11)	Sudha Ma (12)	Achyuta Ma (13)		Vikrita Pa (14)	Kaisiki Pa (15)	Sudha Pa (16)		Sudha Dha (17)	Vikrita Dha (18)	Sudha Ni (19)

Let the reader, if he can, try to sing all the nineteen Sudha-Vikrita svaras of the above figure successively. Surely he will find it impossible to sing them. Indeed, the Grama, drawn above, was never intended to be sung but only to serve as a mere *svara-samooha* or repository of the then prevailing svaras for the musicians to select their (singable) Moorchanas from.

As a matter of fact, our ancients did select from out of the (unsingable) *Grama*, at first, three *Moorchanas* but only three—one with *Ga* as the starting point ; another, with *Ma* ; and still another, with *Sa*. But, strange to say, they called these three new selections, not by the new name of the “*Moorchanas*”, but by the old name of Gramas. In other words, they created a new thing but retained the old name.

At this stage, Mr. Fox Strangways’s observation in the October, 1935, issue of the said *Journal* may be referred to, viz. “*Ga-Grama* is no Grama at all but is a Moorchama of *Sa-Grama*—Bhairav (the Carnatic *Todi*)”. There are others who opine that *Sa* and *Ma-Gramas* are also each a Moorchana—the former being Bilaval (the Carnatic *Sankarabharanam* and the latter, Yaman (the Carnatic *Kalyani*).

Identifying, thus, the modern Todi, Kalyani, and Sankarabharana respectively with *Ga*, *Ma*, and *Sa*-Gramas is tantamount to make a very easy disposal of the much-vexed question of Gramas.

But why should *Ga*-Grama have gone to Indraloka? "Because," a ready wit tells us, "the Todi was attempted to be sung by our ancients in the Tara-sthayi and upwards; and, finding it to be impracticable, they gave it up." An ingenious answer, indeed—but not convincing. Leaving the other two Gramas conveniently in the Madhya-sthayi, why should *Ga*-Grama alone be shifted to the Tara-sthayi? Again, if, as Mr. Fox Strangways says, *Ga*-Grama is one of the most popular Ragas of the present day, viz. Bhairavi (Todi), how does he reconcile it with the story of its departure to Indraloka?

I said our ancients created a new thing but retained the old name. Thus, the word "Grama" lost its original meaning and acquired another, absolutely unconnected with the original. Instead of the only one, old, and *unsingable* Grama of the nineteen Sudha-Vikrita svaras, there came into existence three new *singable* Gramas of seven selected svaras called *Ga*-Grama, *Ma*-Grama, and *Sa*-Grama.

Just as the European C-scale begins with C, *Ga*-Grama began with *Ga*; *Ma*-Grama, with *Ma*; and *Sa*-Grama with *Sa*. Again, just as the European music has even to-day only two principal scales—major and minor—to proceed with, our ancient music had only three principal scales to proceed with, anything beyond which our ancestors knew not or did not care to know for a long time.

After that *long* time, came the Moorchanas arising out of each of the three Gramas which, as time went on, developed themselves into Jatis and thereby formed the nucleus of the modern Raga system. Let us now enter into the details of the three Gramas and find out their respective characteristics, as set forth by the text-book writers.

The *Sa*-Grama was a scale of seven svaras beginning with

Sa and rising successively to *Ni*; *Sa* consisting of 4 srutis, *Ri* of 3, *Ga* of 2, *Ma* of 4, *Pa* of 4, *Dha* of 3, and *Ni* of 2. It may be tabulated thus :—

<i>Sa</i> -Grama.	S	R	G	M	P	D	N
	4	3	2	4	4	3	2

While the *Ma*-Grama was a scale, again, of seven svaras, beginning with *Ma* and rising successively to *Ga*; *Ma* consisting of 4 srutis, *Pa* of 3, *Dha* of 4, *Ni* of 2, *Sa* of 4, *Ri* of 3, and *Ga* of 2. It may be tabulated thus :—

<i>Ma</i> -Grama.	M	P	D	N	S	R	G
	4	3	4	2	4	3	2

But the theoretical method of arriving at the *Ma*-Grama on which almost all our ancient writers delighted to harp was thus :—

S	R	G	M	P	D	N
4	3	2	4	3	4	2

Which of these two series are we to retain? The former; because the *Ma*-Grama ought to begin with *Ma*, just as the *Sa*-Grama begins with *Sa*. Indeed, the nature of the first Moorchana arising out of each of the two Gramas of *Sa* and *Ma*, strengthens our belief that the *Sa*-Grama must begin with *Sa* and the *Ma*-Grama with *Ma*. Further, as Mr. Fox Strangways rightly asked, in his *Music of Hindostan* (p. 109), why were those two Gramas called *Sa*-Grama and *Ma*-Grama, unless they had some obvious connection with *Sa* and *Ma*? And what could that connection be except that they began there? Furthermore, such a great authority as Ahobala unambiguously wrote: “*Ma* is the svara produced by the open string in the *Ma*-Grama.”¹

As for *Ga*-Grama its working has been pointed out by Mr. Fox Strangways in the last article, now under review.

A comparison of the results of all the three Gramas shows that our ancients had the *Sa*-Grama more or less on a firm basis, but allowed a cloud of vagueness and even obscurity to hover about the other two Gramas.

¹ *Sangitaparijata*, p. 9.

To make the matter worse, Ahobala stormed the music-world with his novel, and even unique, arrangement of the sruti-values of the two Gramas of *Ga* and *Ma*—an arrangement absolutely different from Sharngadev's. Here is Ahobala's arrangement :—

<i>Ma</i> -Grāma.	M	P	D	N	S	R	G
	4	3	3	3	4	3	3
<i>Ga</i> -Grāma.	G	M	P	D	N	S	R
	3	3	3	3	4	3	3

The reader will note that, in respect of the sruti-values of *Ma* and *Ga* Gramas, Ahobala stands severely alone. Hence Mr. P. R. Bhandarkar, of Indore, in his *Contribution to the Study of Ancient Hindu Music*, branded the arrangement of Ahobala as a figment of his imagination.

I put Mr. Bhandarkar a serious question as to what was the intelligible, or otherwise reliable, source from which Bharata himself drew the sruti-values of his *Ma*-Grāma and Sharngadev of his *Ga*-Grāma ?

If I brand the arrangements of Bharata and Sharngadev as figments of their respective imaginations, I know I shall be confronted with overwhelming evidence in their favour. But my answer is that the so-called "overwhelming evidence" is only quantitative but not qualitative. Doubtless, all the music-writers, except Ahobala, followed Bharata and Sharngadev on the point *blindly*, till Venkatamakhi exposed the whole thing to be nonsense : "The *Ga*-Grāma is not found on earth. We are of opinion that even *Ma*-Grāma is *absurd*. Is not *Pa* of *Ma*-Grāma three-srutied ? That three-srutied *Pa* is, in actual practice (Lakshya) the varali (Prathi or sharp) *Ma*. In all the Ragas born of *Ma*-Grāma, the sharp *Ma* is conspicuous by its absence. Hence *Ma*-Grāma is against Lakshya and therefore *absurd*." ¹ Thus *Ma* and *Ga*-Gramas have been, in so many ways, made to appear as the old, useless *curios*. Why, then, should they not be thrown overboard ?

Let us, however, pause here and ask ourselves whether

¹ *Chaturdandiprakasika*, p. 11.

the two Gramas of *Ga* and *Ma* ever lived in any form or were stillborn. Mr. Fox Strangways answers that the theory of Grama has remained barren, just because it was a mere scientific or theoretical tabulation, and did not sufficiently take account of the whole musical fact.¹ In this view I agree with him but partially. The point of agreement is that from the *ancients' point of view*, both the Gramas of *Ga* and *Ma* were stillborn. But the point of disagreement is that from *my own point of view* those two Gramas are even to-day living entities ; and they never went to Indraloka but are content to live on our own earth, though in a particular corner thereof.

This point of difference must specially be noted, because an ignorant man may ask : “ How can the two Gramas of *Ga* and *Ma* be at the same time ‘ stillborn ’ and ‘ living entities ’ ? ” The question of “ at the same time ” cannot arise in the face of the distinct line of difference I drew. Hence I repeat that the point of difference must specially be noted.

I said that, from *my own point of view* (as opposed to the *ancients' point of view*), the Gramas of *Ga* and *Ma* are sung even to-day by the *Saman* chanters. The first downward Saman scale was *Ga-Ri-Sa-(Ni)*. Narada would substitute *Dha* for *Ni*. But when I heard a few typical Saman chants sung, I perceived no difference between *Dha* and the flat *Ni*. I mean to say that I heard the flat *Ni* and not *Dha*. To call, therefore, the last svara of the first Saman tetrachord *Dha* or *Ni* seems to depend on the perceiver's angle of vision. Speaking, however, scientifically, I agree with Mr. Fox Strangways in calling that first tetrachord “ E-B ”,² that is, *Ga-Ri-Sa-Ni*. Since it began with *Ga*, might it not be called *Ga-Grama* ?

Later on *Ma* is said to have preceded *Ga* and brought in a new tetrachord to compete with the old, viz. *Ma-Ga-Ri-Sa*, that is Mr. Fox Strangways's “ F-C ”:² This second tetrachord was subsequently developed into a Sampurna scale,

¹ *Music of Hindostan*, p. 149.

² *Music of Hindostan*, pp. 260-1.

Ma-Ga-Ri-Sa-Ni-Dha-Pa. Narada would change *Ni-Dha-Pa* into *Dha-Ni-Pa*. This change was according to his own angle of vision *re* the Lakshya, not the Lakshana, of his time. Since the second tetrachord began with *Ma*, might it not be called *Ma-Grama*? My contention is that both the *Ga* and *Ma-Gramas* were (and even are) the Saman scales sung downwards.

The same critic may ask "How could the *same* scale be, at the same time, *Ga-scale* and *Ma-scale*?" There is doubtless some confusion in the mind of the questioner. *Ga-scale* and *Ma-scale* can never be the *same* scale. Perhaps, he meant to ask: "How can the *Ga-scale* become a different (*Ma*-) scale by the mere addition of *Ma* over *Ga*?" The secret lies in the shifting of the semitones or, as an able critic would put it, "in the change of the semitonal centre of gravity."

Ga-Grama was the *earliest* Grama that ever entered into the music-field, as evidenced by the first Saman tetrachord "E-B" or *Ga-Ri-Sa-(Ni)*; and *Ma-Grama* was the second to put in its appearance, as evidenced by the second Saman tetrachord "F-C" or *Ma-Ga-Ri-Sa*. It was only when the *secular* music grew more and more popular that the *Sa-Grama* came into being in the ascending order and (mark!) drove the other two Gramas along with the *Samaganam* itself into the temples and marriage houses of South India.

The ancient theory of Grama has been discredited. Narada drove the *Ga-Grama* to Indraloka; Venkatamakhi branded the *Ma-Grama* as *Asat-Prayaha* which literally means "full of falsehood"; Bhandarkar labelled Ahobala's theory as a figment of his imagination. Mr. Fox Strangways's theory that *Ga-Grama* is the modern Bhairav (Todi) leaves the question (why should, then, *Ga-Grama* have gone to Indraloka?) unanswered. The other theory that *Ga-Grama* is Todi sung in the Tara Stayi and upward also leaves the question (why should *Ga-Grama alone* be shifted to the Tara Stayi) unanswered.

Hence I ventured to submit my theory that *Ga* and *Ma*-Gramas have been all along the Saman downward scales ; and that their alleged disappearance must be interpreted as having *gone out of use* from the generality of the people to one small particular set, viz. the Saman-Chanters. At any rate, the Saman Chants (and hence the *Ga*- and *Ma*-Gramas) are not at all sung by the modern musicians in regular concerts.

Is the “ancient” *Sa*-Grama, at least, sung in a regular music party of to-day ? My answer is *No*. Other Ragas have usurped its place and posed themselves each as the old *Sa*-Grama, viz. Kanakangi, Kharaharapriya, and Sankarabharanam. The following diagram will show how each of them differs from the ancient *Sa*-Grama, not to speak of their *inter se* difference.

SRUTIS	Ancient <i>Sa</i> -Grama	Kanakangi	Kharaharapriya	Sankarabharanam
1	—	—	—	—
2	—	—	—	—
3	—	—	—	—
4	Sa	Sa	Sa	Sa
5	—	—	—	—
6	—	Ri	—	—
7	Ri	—	—	—
8	—	Ga	Ri	Ri
9	Ga	—	—	—
10	—	—	Ga	—
11	—	—	—	Ga
12	—	—	—	—
13	Ma	Ma	Ma	Ma
14	—	—	—	—
15	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—
17	Pa	Pa	Pa	Pa
18	—	—	—	—
19	—	Dha	—	—
20	Dha	—	—	—
21	—	Ni	Dha	Dha
22	Ni	—	—	—
1	—	—	Ni	—
2	—	—	—	Ni
3	—	—	—	—
4	(Sa)	(Sa)	(Sa)	(Sa)

It is thus clear that the *ancient* “ theory of Grama ” has been

completely blown up. The theory, I submit, tends to retain all the three Gramas, even to-day, though in a different light. There are others who, like Mr. Clements, consider the *Grāma Theory* as a matter of "pitch", as evidenced by the surviving Adharasruti and madhyama-sruti; *Ga-Grāma* being unaccountably left out.

But a third theory, propounded by the same critic, that the *Ma-Grāma* lingers to-day in Venkatamakhi's classification of the seventy-two melakartas into *Sudha Ma* and *Prati Ma*, is nonsense; for both the theory and the classification have not even a "snana-prapti" relation. Further, a great authority like Mr. T. S. Sabhesa Iyer, Chief Lecturer in Indian Music of the Annamalai University, found fault with Venkatamakhi's classification and gave his own, which throws "the division into two kinds of *Ma*" into the shade.

Rank (*manṣab*) in the Mogul State Service

By W. H. MORELAND

IN this article I propose to examine the position held by the executive officers of the Mogul Empire in the light of some new documentary evidence, and from a standpoint different from that occupied by earlier writers on the subject. It is well known that there was no differentiation between civil and military employment: all officers, from the princes of the blood down to what would now be called sergeants and corporals, formed a single State Service, in which each individual had a definite rank or position (*manṣab*); and ordinarily each of them had to maintain out of his emoluments a contingent of cavalry available for the Emperor's work. Some officers might receive their emoluments in cash, but as a rule payment was made by an assignment of the land-revenue of a specified area (*jāgīr*), which the recipient made his own arrangements to collect. The questions at issue relate mainly to the remuneration of officers and the size and constitution of their contingents.

To begin with, it is necessary to examine the terminology. In the literature of Akbar's reign an officer's rank is, with very few exceptions, described by a single word, a numeral with the suffix *-ī*, the nearest English equivalent for which is the colloquial *-er*: *hazārī*, for instance, may be rendered "1,000-er". I shall speak of this form of description as "single rank".

In the literature of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān the regular method of description is what I shall call "double rank". The "single rank" term is followed by the word *zāt* ("person"), and by a numeral with the word *suwār* ("troopers"); but *zāt* is sometimes omitted. *Hazārī zāt haft ṣad suwār* is an example, which may be rendered "1,000-er personal 700 troopers".

In the same period we find, in a comparatively small number of cases, what I shall call "triple rank"; the "double rank" description is followed by a number of troopers *sih-aspa dū-aspa*, that is to say, troopers possessing two or three horses, and an officer might be described as *hazārī zāt haft šad suwār sih šad suwār sih-aspa dū-aspa*, or "1,000-er personal 700 troopers 300 troopers with two or three horses". To shorten the last expression I shall write "2-3h."

Promotion in the service might take one of three forms, in personal rank, in trooper rank, or in 2-3h. rank; and the subject may be illustrated by a sketch¹ of the career of Raja Jai Singh of Amber, whom we shall meet again. Jai Singh succeeded as Raja in 1621, but he was then too young for service, and was appointed to the comparatively modest rank of 2,000 personal 1,000 troopers, or, as I shall write for brevity, 2000/1000. Two years later he was ready to serve, and started on his active career as 3000/1400. Soon after Shāh Jahān's accession he was promoted to 4000/3000, then 4000/4000, then 5000/4000, and then, in the tenth regnal year, 5000/5000. This was the highest rank to which an officer could ordinarily rise: Akbar had made a rule (*Ain*, i, 179) that ranks above this should be reserved for princes of the blood, and, while exceptions were subsequently made, they were rare. Accordingly, Jai Singh's further promotions were by way of "triple rank"; in the eleventh regnal year he was made 350 2-3h., and rose by successive steps till in the twenty-fourth regnal year he became 5000/5000/4000. His subsequent career lies outside the present inquiry.

In the literature the transition from "single" to "double rank" occurs in the first year of Jahāngīr (*Tūzūk*, i, between p. 60 and p. 71), so suddenly that a reader might be tempted

¹ *Tūzūk*, ii, 219, 257; *Bādshāhnāma*, I, i, 120, 296; I, ii, 86, 248, 294; II, 272, 3 (misprinted) 683, 719; and some documents cited below. The titles of these and other references are given at the end of the article.

to infer that "double rank" was introduced in that year. As a matter of fact it existed under Akbar,¹ and, as I shall show, it was introduced by him in his eleventh year; the change in the literature must mean merely that at this time "double rank" began to be entered regularly in the court journals, on which both the *Tūzuk* and the *Bādshāhnāma* were clearly based. The first mention I have found of "triple rank" is in Jahāngīr's tenth year (*Tūzuk*, i, 299), but it would not be safe to infer that it was then a new creation; I have failed to find any evidence to show the date or circumstances of its introduction.

It is unnecessary to refer in detail to the earlier writers who attempted to explain this cumbrous nomenclature and bring it into relation with facts. Blochmann (i, 239 ff.) was obviously groping; von Noer (i, 267) contributed nothing material; and Horn (pp. 11-21) erected, if I understand him rightly, an unsubstantial structure on some of Blochmann's guesses, accepted as facts. The account which holds the field in England is that which was offered in 1903 in Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, and is contained in two sentences which I will quote. The discussion of personal rank (p. 5) is followed by the words: "As an additional distinction, it was the custom to tack on to a *manṣab* a number of extra horsemen. To distinguish between the two kinds of rank, the original *manṣab*, which governed the personal allowances, was known as the *zāt* rank, and the additional men were designated by the word *suwār*." The description of *suwār* rank (p. 9) begins as follows: "The grant of *suwār* rank in addition to *zāt* rank was an honour. . . . The table of pay in Blochmann, i, 248 and that given above [not reproduced here] are exclusively for the *zāt* rank, from which money the officer had to maintain his transport, his household, and some horsemen. For the *suwār* rank there was a separate table, pay for these horsemen being disbursed under the name of *tābīnān*."

¹ *Akbarnāma*, iii, 1031, 1069, 1077; *Ain.*, i, 179.

The effect of these passages is that an officer holding "double rank" had to maintain two contingents: (a) "some horsemen" paid out of his personal salary; and (b) some "extra" or "additional" horsemen paid from the allowance provided for this purpose. This idea of two contingents prevails in the subsequent literature, but it will suffice to quote one illustration from Vincent Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul* (p. 364): "Another complication was introduced by the grant of *sawār* rank in addition to the personal (*zāt*) class rank, that is to say, an officer was allowed to add and draw extra pay for a supplementary body of *sawārs* or horsemen."

Irvine quoted no authority for his statement that "some horsemen" were paid from an officer's personal salary, and I cannot make the omission good, for I have found no passage to support it. The truth appears to be that, following previous writers, he started with the very natural assumption that personal rank must involve the maintenance of a contingent; and if that assumption is correct, the idea of two contingents for "double rank" follows logically. The question of the strength of these contingents was not examined by Irvine in detail; he rightly rejected (p. 58) Horn's view that under Akbar personal rank denoted the actual strength, but thought that "the figures had possibly some connection with the number of men", a connection which, he suggested, had ceased to exist in the reign of Shāh Jahān.

An alternative account has, I understand, been current in India for some time, but the first place where I have found it in print is an article by Mr. Abdul Aziz in the *Journal of Indian History* for August, 1930 (pp. 138-163). According to this account, the official descriptions mean just what they say: personal rank was purely personal, and by itself involved the maintenance of no troopers, the number of which was denoted, or indicated, by the trooper rank; and an officer with "double rank" had to maintain only one contingent, not two. I do not propose to review the

arguments advanced by Mr. Abdul Aziz ; taking them as a whole, they seem to me to come very near to actual proof, or at the least, make this view definitely more probable than that offered by Irvine. In a later number of the same Journal (August, 1935, pp. 205 ff.) Mr. C. S. K. Rao Saheb arrived independently at the same conclusion regarding trooper rank, and proceeded to argue that personal rank denoted the strength of a contingent of infantry which every officer had to maintain out of his salary. I hope to discuss the latter contention in the journal where it appeared, and here I will say only that in my judgment the case for infantry contingents is not established.

I now turn to examine the general question in the light of some documents of a kind which have not hitherto been available to students—a series of assignment-orders issued by the Revenue Ministry in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The story of these documents is as follows. Some years ago, when I was collecting material for a study of the Mogul agrarian system, I made such search as was possible for records of the kind, but I failed to find a single document earlier than the middle of the eighteenth century, and I was driven to the conclusion that the quest was hopeless. Recently, however, I learned that some documents of the sort I wanted had come to light among the old records of the Jaipur State, and His Highness the Maharaja very kindly allowed me to obtain photostats of them. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. C. U. Wills, C.I.E., who brought the existence of these documents to my notice, obtained the requisite sanction, and made all the arrangements for the supply of photostats.

Among the documents are three assignment-orders issued to Raja Jai Singh, the first in A.H. 1048, when he was promoted to the rank of 5000/5000/350, the second in Rajab, A.H. 1060, when he was 5000/5000/3000 ; and the third in Ramazān of the same year on his promotion to 5000/5000/4000. All three are obviously “ common form ”, and they may reasonably be accepted as samples of the ordinary procedure of

the period : their form agrees generally with that given by Irvine (p. 17) for the period of the later Moguls. The text of the orders is short, and (omitting compliments) merely recites that the Raja holds a certain rank and that his assignment has been fixed "as below"; then follows a lengthy schedule, which gives (1) the Raja's claim to salary and allowances, (2) a comparison with his former claim, (3) any necessary adjustments, and (4) a list of areas assigned in satisfaction of the claim so calculated. For the present purpose the relevant portion is that in which the claim is set out; the originals are, of course, arranged in the manner of the period, with totals at the top, and details stretching down the page in irregular columns, not ruled off; in the following reproduction of the statement of claim formulated in Ramazān, 1060, which is given as a sample, I have rearranged the items for convenient printing :—

5,000 TROOPERS, viz. 4,000 2-3 h., 1,000 *barāwardī*.

SANCTIONED CLAIM :

<i>Individual</i> : († amount of) salary of 5,000-er	100	laks	of	dāms.
<i>Contingent</i> : 5,000 troopers, sanctioned	720	"	"	"
	<hr/>			
Total	820	"	"	"
	<hr/>			

DETAIL OF CONTINGENT :

4,000 2-3 h., sanctioned	640	laks	of	dāms.
1,000 <i>barāwardī</i>	80	"	"	"
	<hr/>			
Total	720	"	"	"
	<hr/>			

The terminology in the original is as follows. The troopers (*suwār*) are distinguished in two classes, *sih-aspa dū-aspa*, and *barāwardī*; the latter is a technical term, and for the present I do not attempt to translate it. "Sanctioned" throughout represents *muqarrara*, which clearly points to the "sanctioned scale", as we should now say. "Claim" represents *ṭalab*. "Individual" represents *khāṣa*; the correlation of this word with *zāt* (personal) is obvious. "Salary" represents *sālāna*, "yearly pay"; the word just before it is badly written, and I cannot say with confidence whether it is

miqdār (amount) or something else. "Contingent" represents *tābīnān*, the regular word for an officer's troopers regarded as a body.

On the face of it this statement of claim is in accordance with the view that an officer holding "double" or "triple" rank had to provide only one contingent. There is an individual salary determined by the personal rank, and there is provision for the contingent indicated by the other items of the rank: there is nothing more. Irvine's view becomes highly improbable, or almost impossible, when the actual figures are scrutinized. It is true that the salary (Rs. 2,50,000) looks very large when the value of money is taken into account; but necessary expenses were correspondingly heavy. The cost of maintaining the transport obligatory for a 5000-er was reckoned by Blochmann (i, 241) to be over Rs. 10,000 a month, more than one-third of the salary sanctioned by Akbar, and just half of that which was allowed to Raja Jai Singh. The cost of managing and policing the assignment must have been substantial, especially when the land lay at some distance from the officer's station; and any loss resulting from bad seasons necessarily fell on him, for the high pitch of the revenue made it certain that the peasants could not bear the burden. Out of the balance the Raja had to maintain his position as one of the great nobles of the empire at a time when extravagance had reached its highest point, and to offer periodical costly presents to the Emperor: if, as the claim shows, 18 laks of rupees were allowed for a nominal contingent of 5000 (representing at this period from 1200 to 1600 effectives), the number of troopers that could be provided from the balance of personal salary would be at the most trifling.

These documents then seem to me to tell strongly against Irvine's view; I proceed to examine the whole question of officer's rank from a standpoint different from that of previous writers. The tendency has been to regard the State Service as a static organization, so that the facts of Shāh Jahān's reign could be explained directly by those of Akbar's, and

vice versa. I prefer to start by allowing for the possibility that the organization changed with changing times, and to review the recorded facts against the known background of administrative, military, and financial history. So treated, the story of rank presents five successive phases.

In the first phase, numerical rank appears as a military fact; the 1000-er was a man who commanded 1000 troopers, and nothing else. In the second phase, effective strength fell below nominal, and the titular 1000-er might command only a few hundred troopers. In the third phase, this divergence was recognized, and it was regulated by the introduction of "double rank": the 1000-er who commanded 100 was not degraded from his titular rank, but became "1000-er personal 100 troopers"; and the trooper rank was a military fact. The fourth phase was a repetition of the second; effective strength again fell below the nominal, and trooper rank ceased to be a military fact. The fifth phase was the reorganization effected by Shāh Jahān.

The first phase carries us back to Chingiz and Tīmūr. To quote a recent biographer¹ of the former, "In accordance with an immemorial usage, he divided it [his army] into thousands, hundreds, and tens. Experienced leaders, personally known to the Khān, were appointed to be commanders of the thousands and hundreds." This was in the day of comparatively small things; a little later the organization was carried higher, and the thousands "were united into groups of two, three, or five thousands, and into larger units—army corps—myriads", the historic *tūmān* of 10,000 troopers. Tīmūr's organization, as it can be seen in his *Memoirs* (Elliot, iii, 394 ff.), was essentially similar, and under these men—conquerors rather than rulers—there was no need, and no room, for anything in the way of honorary or personal rank as distinguished from command.

The second phase carries us from Tīmūr to the early years

¹ The *Life of Chingis-Khan*, by B. Y. Vladimirtsov, tr. D. S. Mirsky, London, 1930, pp. 58, 69.

of Akbar. The fifteenth century was a time when effective strength might be expected to fall: instead of one great conqueror, there were several kingdoms, some of them quite petty, and nothing is more striking in the early pages of Bābur's *Memoirs* than the smallness of the numbers which might suffice to win a throne. But it is most unlikely that the Tīmūrids, with their pride in their glorious past, should discard the historic titles of the higher commands; it is much more probable that the titles should survive, while the strength of the commands fell.

Bābur brought the Tīmūrid system to northern India,¹ and continuity is established by such facts as the survival of the foreign title *Yūzbāshī* for the 100-er, that of *Amīr-ul-Umarā* for the highest rank, or the conferment of the *tūmān-togh*, the historic standard of the *tūmān*, as a military distinction. In his *Memoirs* Bābur did not give the numerical rank of his officers, but frequent incidental references show that they were members of a regular service with formal appointments and promotions, and a line drawn between "great Begs" and "Begs", corresponding perhaps to the later distinction between Amīrs and Mansabdārs. Two passages in his *Memoirs* establish the fact, which is antecedently probable, that in his time the titular commands had become nominal. On p. 170 we find: "A few days later the Khāns joined to me Ayūb with his *tūmān* and Jān Hasan with the Bārīn *tūmān*—1000 to 2000 men in all." Under Tīmūr, two *tūmāns* would have been 20,000 men, but in Bābur's time effective strength was one-tenth or less of nominal. Again on p. 277: "It is an evil noticeable to-day that effort must be made before the man, dubbed Beg because he has five or six of the bald and blind at his back, can be got into the Gate [*i.e.*, on guard] at all." The sarcastic exaggeration of that sentence shows that Bābur was worried by the conditions

¹ Vincent Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 362 n.) asserted that the system of numerical rank was "borrowed directly from Persia". But there is no evidence of this loan, and the truth is that, while the system prevailed over a large part of Asia, it was brought to northern India by the Tīmūrids.

which were to worry Akbar—the wide divergence between nominal and effective strength ; and the reality of this second phase is proved by the best possible witness.

I can find nothing to show that Humāyūn made any attempt at reform, and the third phase began in Akbar's eleventh year, when he superimposed trooper rank on the existing system. The fact is recorded briefly in the *Akbarnāma* (ii, 270) in a passage which Beveridge (ii, 403) rendered as follows : " As the branding department had not then emerged into being, at this time the number of attendants¹ for all the officers and servants of the threshold was fixed, so that everyone should keep some persons in readiness for service." The technical terms are not used in this passage, but its meaning is obvious, and it may be illustrated by a passage from Badāonī quoted by Blochmann (i, 242) : " It was settled that every Amīr should commence as a commander of twenty . . . and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Sadī*, or commander of 100, or more. . . . When they had brought to the musters their new contingent complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hazārī* " [or higher].

The title of Amīr was reserved for officers of the higher ranks ; the position of the dividing-line is obscure,² but in Akbar's days it seems that all above 500 might be so styled, though under Shāh Jahān it was confined to those of 1000 (personal) or more. Stress must not be laid on Badāonī's numbers, because he was apt to exaggerate for effect, but his language is in accordance with that of the *Akbarnāma*, and it shows that each high officer received a second rank, which might be quite small, but was intended to be a hard fact ; the essential thing was that " some persons " should be ready for service, and the second, or trooper, rank denoted

¹ Text, *Nawabnāma*. This word is used occasionally as a synonym for *amīr*, e.g. by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad, p. 383.

² The authorities are set out by Mr. Abdul Aziz (pp. 157 ff.).

the number which each officer should keep ready. His old high rank was not abolished, but on the introduction of trooper rank it ceased to signify command, and became merely personal.

This change of system affecting the entire State Service ought to have been recorded in the *Ain*, but in fact it does not appear. The silence of the official record is not, however, a matter of much importance: I have shown elsewhere¹ that the *Ain* must be supplemented by the *Akbarnāma* in order to give a full account of Akbar's administrative activities in the revenue department, and we now find that the same thing is true in the military department also. As a matter of fact, however, the text of the *Ain* (i, 175, 176) implies the existence of the regulations which are not formally set out, and shows that the reform effected was gradual. At first Akbar relied on the preparation of descriptive rolls, but dishonest practices were not thereby eliminated, and sham troopers rode to the muster on borrowed horses; then, after seven years, came the branding regulations, which are set out at length in the *Ain* (i, 190 ff.), and which were certainly well adapted to secure the military and financial benefits which the official record claims. This explains the introductory words in the passage quoted from the *Akbarnāma*; when Abul Fazl wrote, the branding system had been in operation for many years, but he had now to describe action taken before its introduction. It is reasonable to infer that from this time on the contingents were kept at or near their nominal strength, so long as these rules were enforced, or in other words, so long as Akbar was there to insist on their enforcement. Thus in this third phase trooper rank must be regarded as a reality, though a certain amount of dishonesty may have survived.

Before passing to the next phase a few words are called for regarding the form of the basic passage in the *Akbarnāma*. In his translation, Beveridge noted a lack of connection with

¹ *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 108.

the earlier portion of the paragraph, and his note is correct in regard to form, though not to substance. The preceding sentences tell us that at this time Akbar took measures to ensure that the assignments given to his officers should be worth their face value, and the paragraph thus shows that in this year he took up the question of service-reorganization as a whole. Contingents and assignments alike were shams; the practice was to offer payment on paper for paper troopers; and the reforms were directed to giving real payment for real men. But the passage regarding rank is brought in clumsily, with a casual "and"; it breaks the even style which Abul Fazl usually maintained; and, in our eyes, it is a very summary treatment of a matter of great importance. The probable explanation of these features is that it was an afterthought. The silence of the *Ain* indicates that this particular regulation was not among Abul Fazl's materials, and it was made long before he came to Akbar's court; probably some critic, quite possibly Akbar himself, hearing the draft read over, pointed out the omission, and this hurried insertion was the result.

The fourth phase, in which the contingents denoted by trooper rank fell below nominal strength, comes with the reign of Jahāngīr, and, differing in this respect from those which have now been reviewed, there is no direct evidence of its reality. Our knowledge of the reign, however, is such as to make it practically certain, or at least to throw the burden of proof on anyone who should assert that one of Akbar's institutions survived in its integrity when the rest were crumbling. We know that Jahāngīr's reign was characterized by progressive administrative inefficiency, lack of financial control, lavish promotion, and instability of tenure; we know that the officers of the service were engaged largely in a struggle to get as much money as possible for themselves. To economize on their contingents was their most obvious course, since the great bulk of their assignments was earmarked for this purpose; Raja Jai Singh, as we have seen,

drew a crore of dāms for himself, and more than seven crores for his contingent, and the proportion was probably not very different in the earlier period ; it seems to me to be reasonable to say that, in these circumstances, only an exceptionally keen soldier, or an exceptionally honest man, would have kept his contingent up to strength, when the Emperor had ceased to trouble himself about such matters. The tradition of making money in this way had been strong in the days of Akbar. We may allow that his fight against it was successful for the time, but we cannot suppose that he had eradicated the tendency, which would again become effective as soon as his restraining influence was removed. A critical and independent chronicler of Jahāngīr's reign would perhaps have told us what actually happened, but we possess no such chronicle, and the *Tūzūk*, our primary source for the period, is the last place in the world where such facts would have found a place. The reality of this phase thus rests, not on contemporary evidence, but on inference from established facts.

The fifth, and last, phase is what I have called Shāh Jahān's reorganization. We know from the statements of various writers, and notably from the *Maasīr-ul Umarā* (ii, 813 ff.), that Shāh Jahān reorganized the finances of the empire, which at his accession were in a most unsatisfactory condition, and this action must have involved changes in the position of the State Service, which was by far the largest head of expenditure ; even after the reorganization it received in assignments more than 85 per cent of the entire land-revenue (*Bādshāhnāma*, ii, 710). The contemporary chronicles do not tell us what was done, but the date of action is fixed by English records, and its nature is apparent in the documents preserved at Jaipur and other sources of the period.

The position which Shāh Jahān had to face was this. As the result of his father's lavish promotions, he had on paper an army larger than he could pay for, and also larger than he needed ; but its effective strength was small, because

the contingents maintained by officers had fallen far below the nominal figures. To have insisted on the contingents being brought up to full strength would have meant bankruptcy, and also widespread disaffection in the service. The alternative of letting things stay as they were would equally have meant bankruptcy, and also military weakness, which would have been fatal to his projects of conquest. The facts on record indicate that he effected a compromise, on the one hand scaling down the contingents, and on the other reducing the emoluments of his officers, so that on balance they were better off than under Akbar, though their clandestine profits may have been less than under Jahāngīr.

First, as to the date of this reorganization. In February, 1628, the English merchants at Agra wrote that Shāh Jahān had taken his seat on the throne on the 4th of that month, and on 17th March they reported as follows: "The present occurrences at Court is a gennerall lessening of former livings and mayntenance of all degrees of the late King's amraws and servants."¹ The subsequent reports from Agra have not survived, but their tenor can be inferred from the letter sent home in April, 1630, by the Council at Surat, which reported that Shāh Jahān's empire was at peace, he "having pollitickly wrought his owne securitie by . . . impovrishing his amrawes or nobles by taking from them all their treasure and livings, allowing noe more then wil maintaine them barely in an ordinary state".² These last words are perhaps too strong, for the new scale of remuneration was still exceedingly liberal when judged by modern standards, but on these records it is safe to say that Shāh Jahān began his reorganization as soon as he was seated firmly on the throne, and that it had become effective by the early months of 1630.

Next, as to the measures adopted. The scaling-down of the contingents appears from a passage in the *Bādshāhnāma*

¹ *The English Factories in India, 1624-29*, pp. 240, 271.

² *Op. cit.*, 1630-33, p. 33.

(ii, 506), which tells us that as a general rule Shāh Jahān's officers were required to muster either one-third or one-fourth of the troopers indicated by their trooper rank ; the higher proportion applied when they were serving in the province where their assignments were situated, and the lower when they were serving elsewhere. This statement is introduced by the words : " Among the regulations of this exalted reign (*daulat-i wālā*) is this." Blochmann (i, 244) took these words to mean that the regulation had been made by Shāh Jahān, and that is a natural reading in such a context ; but the word *daulat* may mean " realm " as well as " reign ", and the scholars whom I have consulted agree with me in thinking that the phrase, standing by itself, cannot safely be taken as furnishing conclusive proof that the regulation was made by Shāh Jahān. The probability that it was his work remains, for it is very hard to conceive of Jahāngīr making such a rule, but it would be a reasonable and natural step for the son to take in order to get the father's army into some sort of order, that he should say to his officers : " I won't require you to maintain all the men you are supposed to pay, but I will insist on a fixed minimum being always at my service." Akbar had done the same thing, though in a different way. It is not then formally proved that Shāh Jahān made the regulation in question, but the probability that he did so is very great.

As to the reduction of emoluments, Irvine (p. 8) and Abdul Aziz (p. 150) have shown from later records that the salaries of officers under Aurangzeb and his successors were on a much lower scale than those recorded in the *Ain* (i, 180 ff.) as having been fixed by Akbar. The reductions in the grades from 7,000 to 500 average 37 per cent all over ; between 7,000 and 1,500 they range from 26 to 42 per cent, and in the lower grades from 32 to 60 per cent ; while their quantitative importance can be judged from the fact that the yearly salary-bill for these grades in Shāh Jahān's twentieth year works out at $2\frac{3}{4}$ crores of rupees on the new scale

as against nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores on the old. The two scales are further differentiated by the fact that while Akbar fixed monthly salaries in rupees, in later times they were stated in dāms per annum. Now among the Jaipur documents is a farmān issued by Shāh Jahān in 1630, which shows that in that year salaries were allowed substantially on the new and lower scale, which can safely be regarded as the result of his "lessening of former livings".

This document is of interest as containing the earliest schedule of emoluments and assignments which has yet come to light. Its main purpose was to inform Raja Jai Singh of the appointments conferred on twenty-one of his adherents who had offered their services to the Emperor; and the schedule on the reverse, which is nearly 8 feet in length, gives the rank and emoluments of each of these officers. It differs from the documents already cited in giving only the totals of emoluments, but these can be distributed precisely between personal salary and allowance for contingent, because by a fortunate accident it contains several pairs of what algebraists call simultaneous equations, the solutions of which furnish rigorous proof, and not merely probabilities. A single example of these equations may be given. One officer received the rank of 80/30, and was allowed 386,100 dāms. Another received the rank of 80/20, and was allowed 298,100 dāms. Both were in Class III of the grade, because trooper rank was less than half of personal (*Ain*, i, 179), and therefore they drew the same salary, but the first had ten troopers more than the second; it requires no elaborate display of formulæ to show that the difference of 88,000 dāms in total emoluments represents the allowance for ten troopers, and it follows by the ordinary algebraic procedure that the salary of the grade and class was 122,100 dāms.

These equations give us the salary allowed to each of the twenty-one officers. Eliminating duplicates, we have thirteen cases, which are compared in the following table with Akbar's scale, and with that for the later period.

OFFICERS' SALARIES

(in thousands of dāms yearly)

<i>Grade and Class.</i>	<i>Akbar's scale.</i>	<i>1630 scale.</i>	<i>Later scale.</i>
600 II . . .	1320	862·5	900
400 II . . .	840	478·5	480
400 III . . .	720	462	460
300 II . . .	600	379·5	380
300 III . . .	576	363	360
200 II . . .	456	313·5	280
200 III . . .	432	280·5	260
150 III . . .	384	254·1	210
100 II . . .	288	198	180
80 III . . .	168	122·1	120
50 III . . .	110·4	75	75

Obviously the salaries of these ranks were substantially on the later scale, and in all cases far below what Akbar had paid. The minor differences between the last two columns may be explained on the hypothesis that the reduced scale was subsequently modified in detail, but it is also possible that some or all of them may be due to individual allowances or deductions, taken into account in the schedule, but not shown separately; the change in level is, however, beyond question.

These figures relate to the lower ranks of the Service. For the higher ranks we have the fact, established by the Jaipur assignment-orders, that from Shāh Jahān's eleventh year onwards Raja Jai Singh drew a crore of dāms yearly, or Rs. 2,50,000; this was the salary he would have drawn under Aurangzeb, while on Akbar's scale he would have been entitled to Rs. 3,60,000. The English reports already cited justify the inference that this reduction also dated from the first or second year of the reign.

The other and larger item in an officer's emoluments, the allowance for his contingent, brings us into an obscure region, which has to be explored step by step. To begin with, it must be understood that the rates of troopers' pay given in official records do not mean that each trooper was paid at the rate stated. They were essentially contract rates :

an officer was allowed so much money to maintain so many men ; what he actually paid to each man was his own affair. In the next place, it must be remembered that the ordinary trooper owned his horse (or horses) and his arms and other equipment ; the pay was more than a personal wage, for it covered a complete fighting unit. In the third place, it is obvious that, in order to secure the mobility which is of the essence of cavalry some sort of remount service was indispensable, and this took the form of a requirement for men with more than one horse of their own ; a *dū-aspa*, or trooper owning two horses, was from the military standpoint worth more than a *yak-aspa* or trooper with a single horse, and a *sih-aspa*, or trooper with two remounts, was worth still more. Akbar's rule (*Ain*, i, 188) was that officers' contingents should be composed of these three classes in the proportion of three, four, and three, giving on the average twenty horses for ten troopers (Blochmann's figure of eighteen horses is a miscalculation). Under Shāh Jahān the rule was, as we shall see, more complicated.

The data for pay of troopers given in the *Ain* (i, 175-187) point to an average allowance of about Rs. 25 monthly, or 12,000 dāms yearly, per head, but they were superseded by a later order (*Akbarnāma*, iii, 672), which introduced a new scale, giving for ordinary troopers an average of Rs. 20, or 9,600 dāms yearly, calculated on the proportion of horses to troopers which has just been stated ; and this rate is mentioned occasionally as prevailing during Jahāngīr's reign, as for instance, by William Hawkins (*Early Travels in India*, ed. W. Foster, p. 114). The farmān of 1630 shows that in Shāh Jahān's third year the rate allowed for ordinary troopers was 8,800 dāms, a reduction of one-twelfth, but the later documents prove that from the eleventh year onwards it was 8,000 dāms, a figure which still prevailed in Aurangzeb's time. An entry in the assignment-order of Shāh Jahān's eleventh year suggests that this second "cut" was made towards the end of the tenth year, but the point is not free

from doubt, and it is enough to say that Shāh Jahān began by a reduction of one-twelfth on Akbar's rate, and that before his eleventh year he had established a reduction of one-sixth in all. In addition to this substantial reduction we have to take into account the operation of what I shall call the Rule of Months, a rule which emerges for the first time in Shāh Jahān's reign.

We do not possess this rule in so many words, and its operation is known to us mainly from the passage in the *Bādshāhnāma* which has already been quoted to establish the fact that contingents had been scaled down. In that passage the standing regulation that officers should bring to muster a third or a quarter of their trooper rank was quoted in order to explain the special concession made to the expeditionary force sent to conquer Balkh. We are told that in view of the distance to be traversed by that force, Shāh Jahān reduced the proportion to one-fifth, so that an officer holding "double rank" as 5,000/5,000 was required to muster only 1,000 troopers; and the kinds of these thousand troopers are then detailed according to the number of months in a year for which the officer received his allowance. Following previous writers, I will set out this passage in tabular form:—

<i>No. of months.</i>	<i>Kind of Troopers.</i>			<i>No. of Horses (calculated).</i>
	3-horse.	2-horse.	1-horse.	
12	300	600	100	2,200
11	250	500	250	2,000
10	—	800	200	1,800
9	—	600	400	1,600
8	—	450	550	1,450
7	—	250	750	1,250
6	—	100	900	1,100
5	—	—	1,000	1,000

There was thus a definite correlation between the amount of the allowance and the proportion of remounts. In order to realize his full claim, an officer had to maintain a reasonably mobile contingent (22 horses for every 10 troopers); if he

had only 16 horses for 10, he lost 25 per cent of the allowance, and so on.

As the text stands, these figures were fixed specially for the Balkh expedition and we must not generalize from the details, but we hear of the Rule of Months incidentally elsewhere, and it must be accepted as a general regulation, the figures of which were perhaps modified for this special occasion; it would have been quite impossible to improvise the rule at this time, for to do so would have involved a complete revision of assignments at the moment when the officers concerned were starting for a distant objective. Its effect was necessarily to reduce the average allowance per trooper below the figure which I have given, unless (what is perhaps improbable) every officer succeeded in qualifying for the full twelve months' allowance.

To resume this portion of the argument, we find that the following changes had occurred between Akbar's later years and Shāh Jahān :—

- (1) Effective strength of contingents scaled down to one-third or one-quarter of nominal;
- (2) Officers' salaries reduced substantially—on the average by more than one-third;
- (3) Allowances for contingents reduced by at least one-sixth with further reductions in case of lack of mobility.

These changes seem to me to hang together and form part of a scheme. It is scarcely possible to conceive an all-round reduction in emoluments being made by itself, whether all at once or by stages: reduction appears reasonable and natural as part of a compromise, in which officers' contingents were reduced simultaneously. They received smaller assignments, but had to spend less on their contingents; on balance, their net income was substantially larger than in Akbar's time, while there was a very definite inducement to maintain their contingents in a reasonably mobile condition. Here we have the main features of Shāh Jahān's reorganization.

Some idea of its financial effect can be obtained by calculating the cost to the empire of a real as opposed to a nominal trooper. Under Akbar this was, as we have seen, eventually Rs. 20 monthly. Under Shāh Jahān, when effective strength was either one-third or a quarter of nominal, the figure was either Rs. 50 or Rs. 67, or on the average practically three times what Akbar paid. I have shown elsewhere (*From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 170 ff.) that no general rise had occurred in silver prices between the two reigns, but it is possible that, with the growth of luxury, serviceable horses had come to cost substantially more, and part of the increase in cost per effective head may perhaps be attributed to this cause.

I have described this reorganization as the last phase in the story, and the description is justified by the fact that the position during and after Aurangzeb's reign, as described by Irvine and Abdul Aziz, was substantially identical with that which existed in the reign of Shāh Jahān: the general procedure, the scale of salaries, the classes¹ and allowances for troopers, all agree. There was, however, an epilogue, which reproduced the second and fourth phases, in that the effective strength of the contingents once again fell. I have not attempted to collect evidence for a change which was inevitable in the circumstances of the time, but I may reproduce Irvine's quotation (p. 59), telling how in Muhammad Shāh's reign a 7000-er "never entertained even seven asses, much less horses or riders on horses". That great noble of the decaying empire may fairly stand beside Babur's beg with "five or six of the bald and blind at his back".

Such is my reading of the story of rank in the Mogul Empire. The first three phases are established by contemporary evidence; the fourth rests at present on inferences from

¹ Irvine's *Tābīnān-i barādarī* (p. 10) must, I think, be a misreading for *barāwardī*. There is nothing like it on f. 144b of *Add.* 6599, the authority he quotes, but on f. 146 (which is part of the same section) the word *barāwardī*, which is discussed below, appears as a sub-heading under *tābīnān*—just as it does in all the Jaipur documents.

recorded facts; the fifth rests partly on direct evidence and partly on inference. The validity of these inferences could probably be determined by the discovery of a series of documents for the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngir, similar to those which I have used for Shāh Jahān.¹ In order to complete the account I have offered, it is necessary to examine the nature of a distinction between two classes of troopers which appears in the Jaipur documents and in the later records.

In the specimen statement of Raja Jai Singh's claim given on an earlier page troopers are classes as either *sik-aspa dū-aspa* or *barāwardī*, the former allowed for at 16,000 dāms, and the latter at 8,000; and the distinction recurs in later documents to the close of the period. The latter class was the commonest, and all that I have written regarding the allowances for ordinary troopers in Shāh Jahān's reign refers to it: troopers of the former class were allowed only to officers who held "triple rank", and the relative importance of the two classes can be seen from the fact that in Shāh Jahān's twentieth year the nominal contingents of all officers from the 7000 to the 500 grade inclusive comprised in round numbers 373,000 *barāwardīs* out of a total nominal strength of 423,000.² The names of both these classes are technical terms, which cannot be interpreted directly from a dictionary. The first ought to mean that in this class every trooper had at least one remount, but, as we shall see, it might denote a contingent without a single remount among 2000 troopers. The second may mean either "enlisted" or "assisted";

¹ At the request of Sir Reginald Glancy, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has most generously sent me photographs of two farmāns which his predecessor Rai Rai Singh received from Akbar, but unfortunately these documents have at some time or other been backed, presumably for preservation, and the schedules written on the reverse are concealed by the backing. I have heard of no other relevant documents of Akbar's reign, and so far there is no trace of any issued by Jahāngir.

² These figures are calculated from the list of officers in *Bādshāhnāma* ii, 717 ff., excluding those who were dead when it was compiled.

but by this time it must have acquired the sense of “ entered on a particular list ”, or else “ assisted in a particular way ”.

The nature of the first class is indicated clearly by the conclusion of the passage in the *Bādshāhnāma* relating to the Balkh expedition. We have seen that this passage details the composition of the contingent to be furnished by an officer ranking as 5000/5000; it then passes to the case of “ triple rank ”, and states that an officer of that rank should bring to brand twice (*zī'f*) as many *barāwardī* troopers as the number of *sih-aspa dū-aspa* troopers of his rank. According to the dictionaries the word *zī'f* may mean “ equal ” as well as “ double ”, but the sense in this passage is fixed by the example which follows: “ for instance an officer of 5000/5000/5000, whose assignment is for twelve months, should bring to brand 600 three-horse, 1200 two-horse, and 200 one-horse troopers, and so in proportion.” A glance at the table given above will show that the composition of his contingent was precisely the same as that of an officer of 5000/5000, but the number was twice as large, 2000 instead of 1000; and it follows that, if an officer's assignment was for five months, his 2000 troopers might not have a single remount between them.

Thus from the military standpoint there were not two classes of troopers but only one, and the distinction was merely a matter of accountancy; for if there had been a real difference in quality, an officer ordered to Balkh would have had to discard his trained 2-3 h. troopers, and hastily recruit twice as many *barāwardīs* in their place, which would be a wholly impossible way of mobilizing an expeditionary force. It follows that the pecuniary advantage of “ triple rank ” lay in the difference between the flat rate per head which an officer received, and the average rate at which he was able to secure his troopers. In the case of the Balkh expedition, when one-fifth of the nominal contingent had to be mustered by officers of “ double rank ”, and two-fifths by officers of “ triple rank ”, the Emperor paid in effect a

flat rate of Rs. 1000 per effective trooper; if the market rate was Rs. 1000 per head, the two officers would be financially in the same position; but if the market rate was Rs. 800, an officer with "double rank", furnishing a contingent of 1000 troopers, would save Rs. 200,000, while one with "triple rank", furnishing 2000 troopers, would save Rs. 400,000. "Triple rank" might therefore be a profitable as well as an honourable distinction; and since it is impossible to believe that troopers cost as much as Rs. 1000 per head, the pecuniary advantage may have been important.

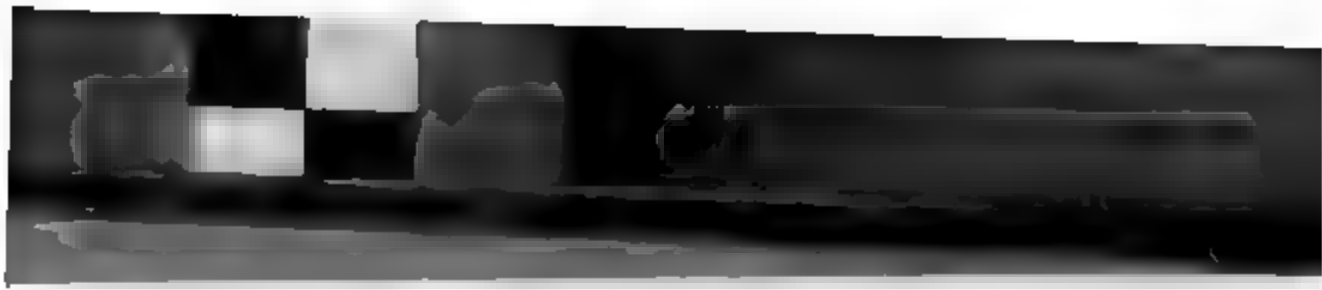
The position in Shāh Jahān's reign is thus clear, but it is difficult to reconcile his nomenclature with that of Akbar's time as disclosed in the *Ain* (i, 175 ff.). The ordinary trooper was then one whose horse (or horses) had been branded in accordance with the rules in force; the *barāwardī* was by definition a poor but suitable man, who received "the requisites for troopership". The last words are not explained in the text, and it is uncertain whether they cover the supply of a horse, or merely arms and equipment, but in any case it is clear that in Akbar's days the *barāwardī* was a man who, unlike the ordinary trooper, required, and received, some sort of financial help.

The label *sih-aspa dū-aspa* has not been found in the literature of Akbar's reign, and one small piece of evidence suggests that it is an abbreviation which came into official use under Shāh Jahān. I have said above that Jai Singh's assignment-orders are obviously "common form", but there is one difference of detail: in the later orders the heading *sih-aspa dū-aspa* is used, just as it appears in the *Bādshāhnāma* and in subsequent records, but in the first order, that of A.H. 1048, it appears in three places as *sih-aspa dū-aspa yak-aspa*, and in one of them the words *ba zabīta*, or "according to the regulation of" are prefixed. In Akbar's time contingents had, as we have seen, to be composed in a specified proportion of troopers owning one, two, and three horses, and that class might well be described by such a heading; but it is too cumbrous for

use in tabular matter, and the abbreviation *sih-aspa du-aspa* would suffice. There may then be substantial continuity of terminology between the two periods, but this would not explain why the special class of Akbar's time had become the ordinary class under Shāh Jahān, while Akbar's ordinary class has become special. It is an admissible guess that, in the demoralization of Jahāngīr's reign, the help (whatever it was) which Akbar offered to poor but competent troopers came to be given lavishly and without discrimination, until most troopers were *barāwardī*; this would explain the change in nomenclature between the two periods, but in the absence of evidence it is useless to travel further in the realm of conjecture, and I may close this disquisition by acknowledging the generous help I have received from Sir Richard Burn and Mr. C. N. Seddon in interpreting some highly technical passages in the literature.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

CATTLE THEFT IN THE *ARTHAŚĀSTRA*: ADDENDUM.

In a note on this subject in the *Journal* for January, 1936, pp. 79–83, I explained a crux in the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* by comparison with modern criminal methods; but communications, since received from various quarters, show that the last paragraph of my note requires modification. In the first place, cattle theft and redemption on the lines described by me are, or were till recently, known in many parts of India outside Behar, viz. in the United Provinces (an admirable description in a rare little book, E. J. Kitts, *Serious Crime in an Indian Province*, Bombay, 1889), Sind, Bahawalpur, and parts of the Madras Presidency; further inquiry in India would probably enlarge this list. Secondly, the word *panahā* is used in the form *panhāī* or *panhā* throughout the United Provinces except the Doab and Bundelkhand (Kitts, op. cit., and W. Crooke, *Rural and Agricultural Glossary for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*), and is the standard word therefore in the Eastern Hindi as well as in the Behari dialects. In the Doab the term is *laṅgūrī* “tail money”, and in Bundelkhand *phirāutī* “fee for return”, “ransom”. I have also to plead guilty to misunderstanding the *Hindī Śabdasāgar*’s entry, which does not in fact limit the use of the word in this sense to Behar only. It is open to question, therefore, whether the matter has any probative value as evidence for the place of origin of the *Arthaśāstra*.

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E. H. JOHNSTON.

JUDGE COLEBROOKE’S SUPPOSED TRANSLATION OF THE GOSPELS INTO HINDI

(See *JRAS.*, July, 1936, pp. 491 to 499.)

While examining Hindi Gospels in connection with the article bearing the above title, I found the following entry in

the card-index of the library of the Baptist Missionary Society :—

B. 9, 1. Indian Vernaculars—Bible. High Hindi.

The Gospels (tr. by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, 1765–1837 ?). (1806). No title page.

5360 Darlow-Moule.

If this were to be confirmed, it would mean that Judge Colebrooke did after all translate the Gospels into Hindi, though I was and am convinced that he did not.

The Librarian was good enough to let me look at the volume, and I saw at once that these four Gospels were part of the first ed. of Carey's Hindi New Test., 1811. There was an added interest in the fact that the Baptist Mission in London were not known to possess a copy of the first ed. or any part of it. The earliest they were known to have was the second ed. of 1912.

It was obvious of course that before they could enter this copy in their catalogue as a Carey first ed. they would need something more than my statement that I recognized it. I therefore asked them if they would allow me to take it to the library of the Bible Society, which contains two copies of the first ed., and they very kindly sent someone with me to bring it back.

There on comparing it with a known first ed. I found that the two were exactly alike except at the very end (John xxi), where there were one or two trifling differences of arrangement. In the Baptist Mission copy the page had evidently been reset, probably as a result of the fire in the Serampore College, March, 1812.

It was thus proved that the Baptist Mission did possess part, nearly half, of a Carey first ed., and there was still no evidence that Colebrooke's supposed translation had ever been made.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Archæology

NEW LIGHT ON THE MOST ANCIENT EAST. The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory. By V. GORDON CHILDE. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xx + 327, pls. 32, ills. 102. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1934. 15s. net.

Professor Childe's readable and informing volumes on the progress of Oriental archæological research here receive a welcome addition in the shape of a new edition or, rather, a re-writing of *The Most Ancient East*, which was published in 1928. It includes the more important results since that date and, needless to say, much has happened since 1934, although it is characteristic of the author's energy and thoroughness that he has been able to include some notice of Professor Speiser's first work at Tepe Gawra, a fuller account of which has now appeared.

It is characteristic of Professor Childe's work that he has aimed not only at keeping his readers abreast of what is being done, but has endeavoured to use the various implications of the archæological evidence as a basis for a tentative reconstruction of certain historical phases. His chapter on India (ch. viii) is in this respect noteworthy, since he ventures to embark upon speculations as to the political and economic conditions, pointing out, for example, that Mohenjo-Daro gives the visitor "an impression of a democratic bourgeoisie economy", the absence of effective weapons—to judge from the results of excavation—suggesting a by no means warlike community. Another suggestive chapter discusses the mechanism of diffusion.

In general this stimulating book, well documented and well illustrated, gives the reader a useful account of the course of archæological research in the Near East, of the sort of problems that it brings, and the new picture of the ancient world that is being painted. But archæological evidence

invariably requires interpretation, and repeatedly one has the feeling that by itself it is an unsafe guide to the reconstruction of political, economic, and other conditions. Some strong doses of hard intensive work and the study of historical records where the general historical circumstances are tolerably well known are an indispensable preparation before turning to fields where there has been little or no intensive work and where we have to move in pre- and protohistoric periods.

None the less, Professor Childe is able to awaken and retain the reader's interest, if not to arouse his enthusiasm for the "prelude to European history" and for this he has our grateful thanks. No one knows better than himself that yet another edition or re-writing of his volume may be necessary in a few years' time.

A. 222.

S. A. COOK.

EXCAVATIONS AT TEPE GAWRA. Vol. I. By Professor E. A. SPEISER. Publication of the American School of Oriental Research. 12 x 9, pp. xvi + 220, pls. 86, Frontispiece. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1935. 27s.

This admirable volume contains the first part of a full account of the work undertaken at Tepe Gawra by the joint expedition of the Baghdad School, the University Museum, and Dropsie College. The "great mound", as its name styles it, lies about 15 miles north-north-east from Mosul, and work was carried on there on three occasions (October, 1927; January, 1931; and winter, 1931-2)—a total of eight months. The main part of the volume is by Professor Speiser; a chapter on the pottery is contributed by Dorothy Cross and occasional notes by Paul Beidler and Charles Bache are acknowledged on the title page.

The site is of unique importance for the fact that it provides "a virtually unbroken record which begins far back in the Neolithic period and extends to the middle of the second

millennium B.C." There are some noteworthy points of contact with Mohenjo-Daro on the one side, and, on the other, with Ghassul near the Dead Sea, and more remotely with the Hyksos movement (p. 157 n.). Its culture falls within the sphere of Hurrian influence, and its strategic position at the meeting-place of old trade routes accounts both for the proofs of far-reaching intercourse which the excavators found, and also for the circumstance that "the township is an eloquent witness of the revolutionary changes caused by the rise of copper as a decisive factor in human history".

Among many points of note may be mentioned the animal figurines, a representation of a covered wagon, and unsuspected evidence for the antiquity of the horse.

A. 581.

S. A. Cook.

TEXTES ECONOMIQUES SUMÉRIENS DE LA II^E DYNASTIE D'UR. By RAYMOND JESTIN. 10 × 6½, pp. 277. Paris: Libraire d'Amerique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1935. Frs. 50.

It seems an exaggerated respect for one's source to include in the title of a book a designation ("second dynasty of Ur") which it is necessary at once to explain that one knows to be erroneous: M. Jestin, however, feels bound to translate under this original title the tablets published by Dr. D. W. Myhrman in the third volume of the *Babylonian Expedition* of the University of Pennsylvania. This unimportant point is not the only one in which he handicaps himself. Myhrman having already translated a number of the best preserved tablets, the present edition confines itself to fragmentary specimens out of which little can be made, instead of offering fresh translations of the whole in the light of what has been learned since 1910. Again, the author has seen fit to preface his book with a lengthy *étude grammaticale*, which in reality has to concern itself with the whole of Sumerian grammar, as a basis for which these business documents, with their bare

entries and brief formulae, are about the least satisfactory material that could be found; yet, thus equipped, M. Jestin even devotes several pages to discussing a question so baffling as that of the verbal prefixes. All of this takes the place of any study of the mundane things and situations with which these purely practical records are concerned: indeed, the author displays little interest in these matters, and some of his translations do not suggest that he has understood them to the extent that recent scholarship has made possible. In the lists at the end may be found several examples of the misread or alleged names which seem never to be absent from publications of these texts.

A. 470.

C. J. GADD.

Art

LA SCULPTURE DE BODHGAYĀ. *Ars Asiatica*, Tome XVIII.

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. 13½ × 10½, pp. 72, pls. 60, figs. 15, plans 2, sketch-map. Paris: Les éditions d'art et d'histoire, 1935. Fcs. 200.

In the first chapter Dr. Coomaraswamy begins by drawing attention to the great antiquity—going back to prehistoric times—of the cult of certain trees, and the adoration of the tree deity (*vrkṣa devatā*) in India, referring to passages in the Vedic and other literature, and thus explaining the deep-rooted conceptions that fostered the intense feeling of veneration for the particular fig-tree under which, it is believed, Sakya Muni attained *bodhi*, or enlightenment, and the reason why this tree became the centre round which were constructed the successive monuments at Bodh Gayā. He then proceeds to discuss the debated questions as to the age of the remains at the site, especially the old railings and the great temple. On inspection the component parts of the stone railing clearly fall under two classes: (a) an earlier type (Dr. C.'s "Śuṅga") fashioned from Kaimur sandstone, and (b) a later type (Dr. C.'s "late Gupta") in a rather coarsely grained granite. Not only is the material different, but the character and finish of the

sculpture are distinguishable, the older railings, as T. Bloch pointed out, being carved with *rilievos* depicting scenes from the Jātakas, etc., and the later chiefly with ornamental figures, such as *garuḍas*, *kīrtimukhas*, *stūpas*, etc. As photographic reproductions do not always show the distinctive character of the stone, it would have been well had the class to which each pillar belongs been indicated by symbols on the plan. For example, in the case of pillar 91, on which the name of "King Brahmamitra" occurs, and in that of the coping on the south side, where part of the inscription discussed on p. 59 is engraved, we are not told to which class the stone belongs; the reader will probably assume that it is of the earlier type; and to the best of my recollection this is so. The question, however, is of importance.

The position in which many of the pillars now stand is clearly not their original emplacement; changes had evidently been made after the construction of the great temple, when the circuit of the palisade had to be increased; and many changes have occurred since the temple precincts were cleared of the sand and debris under which the railings and other objects had been completely buried, and since pillars that had been removed elsewhere were recovered and set up round the temple.

As the pillar (No. 22 on the plan) at present standing on the west side of the gap or entrance through the southern railing is not higher than the other pillars of the railing, Dr. C. apparently comes to the conclusion that there had never been gateways (*torāṇa*). A reference to Cunningham's *Bharhut*, plates iii and v, will show that there the railing pillars did not support the *torāṇa*, the architraves of which were supported by separate columns standing close to the corners of the railing pillars at each side of the entrance. If, again, the views of pillar 22 in plate xvii be carefully compared with the corresponding pillar (C) in Cunningham's plan of the gateway at Bharhut (pl. v) a remarkable correspondence will be noticed; there are the same mortise holes in the outer face of the

pillar, indicating that rails projected outwards (at right-angles to the palisade); and there is a similar rabbet down the outer left edge of the pillar. It may be contended that if a railing extended outwards from pillar 22 on the left side of the entrance, as at Bharhut and Sāñcī, we should not expect to find a mortise in the east face of the pillar; but it is obvious that the lower mortise had been cut at a later period, as part of the decorative medallion was cut away in the process, while the upper mortise was never fully incised, and no attempt was made to cut the middle mortise, which would have destroyed the sculpture in the panel (cf. pl. lv). For a similar case of mutilation, cf. pl. xxxvi. That gateways formed part of the original scheme may reasonably be presumed; and we have the evidence of Hsüan-tsang, who refers specifically to southern, eastern, and northern gates; and we have the surviving *torana*, which was set up by Cunningham to the east of the temple.

As regards the age of the older portions of the railings, Cunningham never wavered in his view that they dated from the time of Aśoka. Rājendralāla Mitra failed to find reason for gainsaying this view, which he accepted. Bloch, who took into consideration the inscriptions naming Agnimitra and Brahnamitra, thought they must have been erected in the middle of the second century B.C., i.e. in the Śuṅga period. Chanda, basing his opinion largely perhaps on the form of the Brāhmī characters, suggested the beginning of the first century B.C. Having regard to the sculptural features Sir J. Marshall favoured a similar date. The views of these experts have naturally influenced other writers. Dr. Coomaraswamy proposes a period between 125 and 75 B.C. But if Agnimitra was the Śuṅga king of that name, the first century B.C. would seem to be ruled out, as he must be placed in the middle of the second century (cf. *JBORS.* xx, p. 291, and for Brahnamitra, p. 300). It has often been assumed that Hsüan-tsang's statement that Aśoka had surrounded the tree with a "wall" indicated that a stone railing was not meant; but the railing

must have been in existence in his time, and we might well expect him to make mention of it. In this connection the expression used in the *Che Kia Fan Tche*, vol. ii, sec. 4, quoted by Dr. C. (pp. 13–14), as implying an ornamental palisade of complicated form, and not a wall, deserves further consideration.

As to the nature of the “ temple ” which tradition ascribed to Aśoka, Dr. C. seems to think it had been constructed of wood, with galleries but without any roofing, surrounding both the *vajrāsan* and the *bodhi* tree, of the type shown on several bas-reliefs at Bharhut and Sāñcī (cf. pl. lx). The large temple seen by Hsüan-tsang, which replaced this structure, he would assign to the second century A.D., “ and perhaps, as Cunningham himself proposed, to the reign of Huvishka.” He thinks the possibility of this dating is shown by the inscription in Kharoṣṭhī letters on the plaque found in 1914 by Spooner at Kumhrār, which Sten Konow is inclined to regard as possibly older than Kanishka (*JBORS.* xii, 181). He endorses Spooner’s identification of the temple depicted on the plaque, which was rather hastily controverted by V. A. Smith.

The greater part of the volume is devoted to a more detailed study of the sculptures on the railings, which are classified under (1) architectural features (ch. ii), (2) scenes from the Jātakas and the life of Gautama Buddha (ch. iii), and (3) subjects not exclusively Buddhistic (ch. iv): and here Dr. Coomaraswamy’s artistic bent and close familiarity with all branches of Eastern art find congenial scope, and enhance the value of his interpretations, some of which are new. These chapters will be read with both pleasure and profit. In chapter v some four inscriptions which bear upon points previously dealt with have been discussed. There are many questions connected with other sculptural remains—statues, pillars, votive *stupas*, etc.—still within the temple area or removed to museums, which call for closer study, such as the author has given to the subjects on the railings, and which, if

solved, might throw further light on the history of this most important site.

It would have been well to preserve uniformity in the transcription of Indian words; these have generally been written in the Pāli form, but occasionally in the Sanskrit, e.g. *yakṣa*, *nyagrodha*. *Caurī* (p. 33) and *moṛhā* (p. 51) are Hindī forms (*caurī* and *moṛhā*). *Añjali* (p. 21), *uñhā* (*passim*) and *pārinibbāna* (p. 42) should read *añjali*, *uñhā*, and *parinibbāna* respectively in Pāli. It may be noted that Kumhrār is the name, as pronounced in the locality, of the site excavated by Dr. Spooner, and not Kumrāhār. In the sketch map on p. 2 the site of the village Urel (Uruvilva) has been incorrectly marked: it lies to the south of Bodh Gayā, about a quarter of a mile from the great temple.

The plates, which have been reproduced from the invaluable series of photographs taken many years ago by Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann, of Calcutta, are of outstanding excellence, and renders the task of studying the sculptural details easy, in some cases, owing to the play of light and shade, even easier than by inspection on the spot. An admirable photograph of the Kumhrār plaque (enlarged) has been reproduced in plate lix.

A. 476.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

Buddhism

THE MINOR ANTHOLOGIES OF THE PALI CANON. Part II. Udāna: Verses of Uplift, and Itivuttaka: As it was said. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. VIII. Translated by F. L. WOODWARD, with an Introduction by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. 9 × 6, pp. xiv + 208. London: Oxford University Press, 1935. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Woodward's translations from the Pali Canon are well known to scholars, and this, the latest one, reaches a high standard of excellence, so that, even if space were available, comment would be unnecessary. The notes add much to the value of the book, but might occasionally be improved by

reference to non-Pali sources ; thus on p. 3, the translator quotes from a letter of mine to someone else a suggestion about *huhumkajātika*, which is hardly tenable as it stands, but he omits the more important point made by me there, the parallelism with *Mahāvastu*, III, 325.

A. 520.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

KATAM KARANĪYAM. Lectures, Essays, and Studies. By MASAHARU ANESAKI. 8½ × 6, pp. 11 + 318, photo 1. Tokyo : The Herald Press, 1934.

These miscellaneous minor works, composed during the present century, have been made into a volume presented to this eminent scholar on his sixty-first birthday by a special publication committee, presided over by Professor Tomonobu Ishibashi. The title is just one of the tags in the Pali formulas of arahantship—"done the ought-to-be-done"—applied with modesty by the author to his feelings when closing the thirty-six years of his official academic career, but not as indicating a bar to further growth yet to be made. For the general reader the articles of chief interest will be the middle one of the three sections, dealing with the religious and moral ideals of Japan and the unrest in it of to-day. The first section is a sympathetic and broad-minded comparison of Buddhist and Christian ideals, with some criticism of the two streams of civilization in which these have persisted, separately or in mutual contact. I do not hold that "comparisons are odious" is always a true saying. That which is odious is, when the sweeping generalization on either side of the comparison is not chosen with historic caution and truth. The writer, I need hardly say, is too wise not to be cautious here. Of both terms in his relating the two religions he says : "There is something more in each of them." Yet he is for me not historical enough. He too, as I have said of German writers on Buddhism, has got the maggot of *Erlösung* : "Release from the evil of this world," into his head. This is degenerate monastic Buddhism,

not the original gospel. Nor is he verbally cautious. You can find everything taught in Buddhism if you cite indifferently Pali (early and later) and Sanskrit (early and later) Suttas indifferently. He leans on the former or the latter without a caveat when citing. And I do not find that, in earlier works, the "Buddha was the Way, the Truth (*bodhi*)", as is claimed for Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, or that "love (*pema*) for the Buddha" is, in Pali Suttas, taught as "pouring forth into nirvana". The Majjhima alone uses the term *pema* once, and gives it as the least, not as the greatest stepping stone in growth.

I have to be very brief. The last section is on Buddhist subjects alone. The most generally interesting is on "the textual history of the Buddhist scriptures". Here the writer does not pursue the will-of-the-wisp of Pali as being a mysterious distinct Indian dialect, nor does he see it as purely an outgrowth of Māgadhese. He does recognize the probability that the Kosalese of Sāvattthī, the assigned source of the great majority of Suttas, was an influential dialect not to be overlooked. But he makes too little comparison with the analogous way in which our Tudor-Stuart English evolved as a literary diction from the three or four dialects in which our early and middle English manuscripts were written. Pali, "the row" of the written word (so very long oral), somehow found its shape as a literary diction through the long labours of the churches of South India and Ceylon. The Canon as compiled mostly round about Asoka's date will have been a collection of very dialectical Sayings, not writings. That many of these amounted to the "Q" source, whence emerged both the Hīnayāna scriptures, and also the oral Sayings, taken over to China by "living books", by those first eighteen monks of 217 B.C.—probably some of those dismissed at the Council of Patna for daring to teach "as the Bhagava had said"—is rightly insisted on in this essay.

I note that the adhesion to the mission-myth associated with Asoka, put forth twenty years ago by the author in

E.R.E., is reprinted without revision. My husband's view hereon, and my own expanded one are still not even criticized.

It is regrettable that the editing Committee did not secure the services of an Englishman to correct the many errors in spelling and diction. And *pasādha* for *pasāda* stands twice uncorrected.

A. 536.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

EARLY BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. A Selection translated and edited by EDWARD J. THOMAS. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6, pp. xxv + 231. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1935. 10s. 6d.

The sixty-two excerpts here translated are, it is claimed, "made independently". All, with the exception of a very few, have been made previously by different translators, mainly in the issues of the Pali Text Society, the phrase quoted being the only and implicit recognition. This independence makes the "edited" of the subtitle a little difficult to understand, since the translator hardly exists who does not, in revising his own MS., "edit."

The selection has the drawback of all such, that it gives a "selective", rather than an always faithful point of view. Thus the two sayings recorded as among the very earliest of the Founder, which, more than most, link him with the religion of his day and what was menacing it, are omitted. I refer of course to the second utterance given as leader, and to the first "hedges and highway" utterance given as missionary. In the latter, men are advised in words drawn from the Immanent teaching of his day ; in the former, his co-teachers are warned against the menacing tendency abroad to see the very man in body or mind. These are very precious survivals, and their omission unjustified. However, since, in his own words, the translator seeks to determine what are, not the foundations, but "the superstructure", he is justified in not making "early Buddhist" mean pre-Hīnayānist.

In the renderings which seem excellent—as, indeed, one would expect—I demur here only to “useless”, being, in the First Utterance, made to render *anattasamhita*. It is true that the positive form of this compound, for the Middle Way has been “edited” out—it is to be found in the Suttas—and four later terms inserted in place of *attā*. But we can see from the Piṭakas that *attā* is given a lofty association in very early Buddhism: that of *samparāyiko attā* “other-worldly aim or goal” (the Way also being called *samparāyiko*). Thus, to call what does not belong to this Aim “useless”, is almost as if an English preacher were to call things “not belonging to salvation” as a “foozling your shot”.

A. 427.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

China

SINOLOGISCHE BEITRÄGE II. Übersetzungen aus dem Wêi Hsüan. Von Dr. ERWIN VON ZACH. 12½ × 9½, pp. 207
Batavia: N. U. Drukkerij Lux, 1935.

This is a scholarly and useful translation of a work of very great linguistic interest and importance. The work is an anthology of the sixth century, and its importance lies in the fact that it provides such a large number of the quotations in dictionaries. The purpose of this edition is frankly to provide a “crib”, so that students can compare this rendering with their text and, the author somewhat optimistically hopes, in a few weeks may acquire knowledge which otherwise would require year-long studies with the assistance of many dictionaries and grammars. There is, of course, no short cut to knowledge, but every linguistic student is grateful for the assistance of a clear and simple translation not perhaps so much as a short cut, but to make certain that his interpretation is the one which those of greater experience than himself are likely to approve.

A. 494.

L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON.

AN ESSAY ON LANDSCAPE PAINTING (LIN CH'ÜAN KAO CHIH).

By KUO HSI. Translated by SHIO SAKANISHI. Foreword by L. CRANMER-BYNG. The Wisdom of the East Series. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5$, pp. 64. London: John Murray, 1935. Price 2s. 6d.

It is said that this little essay has had a tremendous influence upon the course of development of Chinese landscape painting ever since the eleventh century. Quotations from it are familiar in the West, but this is the first time it has appeared in separate form in complete and adequate translation. This little volume is, therefore, most welcome to a large and ever increasing circle of friends who are endeavouring to approach closer to the mind of the Chinese in their art.

It is valuable because it is so direct and so lacking in self-consciousness, being made up of Kuo Hsi's remarks and instructions to his son, without thought of publication. After his death the son edited and published them. "When I was a little boy with pigtails," says Kuo Jo-hsü in his preface, "I followed my late father on wanderings among springs and rocks. Each time he put his brush to paper, he used to say: 'There is a method in landscape painting. How dare an artist paint in a careless manner?' Whenever I had listened to one of his opinions, I wrote it down immediately in my notebook."

This was in the middle of the eleventh century, about the time of William the Conqueror, yet nearly nine hundred years later we read these words of wisdom with the feeling that they are thoroughly modern. The author was considered the greatest painter of his time, but his ideas on painting were not in any way revolutionary, they embodied the ideals of the period. Our Boswell reveals his father as a keen observer, a clear thinker, and an inspiring teacher as well as a psychologist of no mean order. It is because of the fundamental truths herein expressed, the mind of a great man of the past revealed, that this essay will appeal to a great many persons who are not interested primarily in art but in people.

Many of the father's statements appear to be direct answers

to the son's questions. With the complete translations before us we are struck anew by the constant emphasis upon certain principles. Never does Kuo Hsi forget that the object and end of painting is to express the *spirit* of a scene. We can almost hear the boy ask: "Papa, why do you paint landscapes?" And the father answer that it is so that those who love landscapes, but are shut into cities, may look upon paintings instead and so imagine themselves in the midst of mountains and forests; that the painter should work with the idea of arousing in the superior man a yearning for forest and stream; but that all this can be accomplished only by catching the spirit of a landscape. How can an artist do that? Only by concentrating his spirit upon the essentials in a scene. "If he fails to get at the essentials he will fail to present the soul of his theme," says Kuo Hsi. His insistence upon certain conditions of mind and surroundings, an unworried state of mind and a quiet spacious place to work, show his understanding of such psychological problems. His remarks upon the immaturity and carelessness of young students might have been made yesterday. "How can they ever hope to understand the landscape of haze and mist or convey the impression of streams and hills?" he asks his son sarcastically. We can profit to-day by what he says about selection, by his observations on landscape as it appears at different seasons, different times of day, or under varying weather conditions. Cézanne would have approved his comment on mountains that "rise from the heart of the earth and not from the surface". Even his technical instructions suggest surprising ideas, such as the directions for representing the "colour of wind". Wind in China would stir up the yellow loess, of course.

A few revelations await us in the newly translated passages. We had thought that the Chinese took no notice of effects of sunshine and shadow, what we call "*chiaroscuro*". But here is evidence that Kuo Hsi recognized it and gave rules for representing it. Another theory of ours is shattered, that the

Chinese painter never "worked over" his lines. Also that the painter made sketches out of doors on the spot is certainly suggested by the first passage quoted above.

The translation of this essay is a far more difficult task than would appear on the surface. It is often almost impossible to get at the real meaning of those balanced phrases which form such a telling literary style in Chinese. This accounts for the varying interpretations given by experts, showing that there is often room for a difference of opinion. The editors are to be congratulated upon their selection of Dr. Sakanishi as translator, for she has weighed carefully all possibilities and maintained a natural and consistent interpretation. Her command of the English language is no less remarkable than her depth of scholarship. The easy rhythmic flow of her clear and beautiful English makes her translation a work of art in itself. Mr. Cranmer-Byng's remarks are always food for thought and serve here to provide the essay with a background.

A. 524.

HELEN E. FERNALD.

GESCHICHTE DER MITTELALTERLICHEN CHINESISCHEN PHILOSOPHIE. Von ALFRED FORKE. Hamburgische Universität: Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Band 41. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii + 410. Hamburg: Friederichsen, De Gruyter and Co., 1934. R.M. 25.

Professor Forke is one of the most industrious of living sinologists, and unlike some of his confrères he does not fight shy of direct translation from the Chinese. This second instalment of his great history of Chinese philosophy is again full of quotations and extracts, taken from some fifty writers of the Middle Ages. It must be understood that this period does not quite coincide with what we are accustomed to call the Middle Ages in Europe, but stretches from the beginning of the Han dynasty to the beginning of the Sung, thus covering

nearly 1,200 years. Moreover, Professor Forke is careful to point out that it does not connote such intellectual degeneration as we associate with the term, although there was naturally some slackening-off after the marvellous efflorescence of creative thought in the Chou dynasty. The philosophers include Confucianists, Eclectics, and a few Buddhists; but the most notable figures of the period, especially under the Six Dynasties, are the Taoists; and among these Ko Hung, who wrote under the name of Pao P'u Tzŭ (the philosopher who cherishes simplicity), stands out as the most original and highly gifted. Not only did he distinguish himself as a thinker, writer, and alchemist, but on occasion he was able to prove himself an excellent soldier and administrator. Professor Forke gives his date as about 253-333, but this is a good deal too early. According to his autobiography, in A.D. 306-7 he was "nearing the age of forty"; and other evidence also makes it fairly certain that he was born in or about 270, and died in 350.

This book is rendered highly attractive by the superlative quality of its printing and the general lay-out of the page. Chinese characters are given in the footnotes for all passages quoted, totalling at a rough computation at least 30,000, yet a careful reading has failed to reveal a single mistake apart from those noted in the Errata. Few books in this country reach such a high standard of production. Two very full indexes, of subjects and of proper names, complete the work.

A. 296.

L. GILES.

Hittite

A HITTITE CHRESTOMATHY. By EDGAR H. STURTEVANT and G. BECHTEL. William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. 10½ x 7, pp. 230. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1935. Price \$4 (20s.).

This book is the third volume of a series, the first of which, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, was published

in 1933, while the second volume, an etymological treatment of the indeclinable words and an essay on syntax, is still outstanding.

Scholars, as well as beginners—and this volume is primarily intended for the latter—will welcome this sound and thorough book, from which there is much to be learnt. English-speaking beginners in particular will be grateful that they have to rely no longer on works in foreign languages. This book has the further great advantage of being astonishingly cheap considering how great are the difficulties in printing cuneiform script. I should say at the beginning that the few suggestions made in this review are in no way meant to detract from the value of the book as a whole.

It consists of two parts, the first being a list containing all the syllabic signs and part of the ideograms used in the Hittite cuneiform with an introduction explaining the special forms and development of the script; the second part contains Hittite texts in cuneiform with transliteration, translation, and commentary.

At first a few general remarks :—

(1) If a sign-list is already given on such a large scale it would be desirable to have a complete one—and if the signs are rare, to have one, perhaps, with reference to the places where they occur; and another list, with the signs arranged according to their shape, would render this part far more useful.

(2) The texts treated in the second part, while carefully chosen to suit a beginner's knowledge and graded according to their difficulty, are at the same time interesting for the study of history, customs, and civilization. But one notices the absence of mythological and *omina* texts and descriptions of festivals.¹ As these form a considerable part of the Hittite "literature" this book will give a somewhat faulty impression of it.

¹ I know well enough that these texts are difficult and partly unintelligible; but parts of KBo iv 9, KUB xxiv, and KUB v 6, could have been included.

(3) Why does Sturtevant not adopt the practice of the German scholars and mark the numbers of the volumes and columns of the texts in Roman type? This would eliminate a great many possibilities of error and make the quotations easier to read and understand.

(4) The cuneiform script, though mostly clear as regards the forms of the signs and the spacing of the words, tends to get extremely minute in the sign-list as well as in the texts themselves (except the "Instructions for Temple Officials" copied by Sturtevant), especially at the end of the "Ritual of Anniwiyani" and part of the "Proclamation of Telipinus".

(5) The numeration of the lines in the translation does not correspond with that of the transliteration. For this reason a beginner might get into difficulties as to which line has actually been translated. It is a little confusing, too, that the actual lines of the texts are not retained in the copies. A learner ought to be able to see distinctly which words may not be put at the end of a line.

(6) But the greatest disadvantage of this book is that it has no index. The consequence is that research workers are in danger of missing some new translations and meanings of words.

As for details: the introduction to the cuneiform system of writing (pp. 15-24), though somewhat elementary, is sound and good, especially the derivation of the particular forms from the material (pp. 15 f.), the "interpretation of the signs" (pp. 18 f.), and the remarks about the transliteration on p. 22. An explanation of the way to read an actual tablet (difference between obverse and reverse, order of the columns on reverse) would have been useful. p. 17: the inner horizontal wedge is slightly shorter in the official *ma*. The form of KÜ "eat" might well have been put in. p. 18: *la* and *at* are not always kept distinct (cf. Sommer Bo-St. vii, 6¹).

The sign-list: some forms are rather uncommon, e.g. the third one of *al*, of *hi*, the second one of *kab*, KIN and GİR (which looks like *gu*) or the last form of MAḪ. Why

EZENXŠE (cf. EZEN in *JAOS*. 54, e.g. p. 368, A.U. p. 391)? In *ik* the value GÁL "to be" is missing. GÚ "neck" usually has the determinative UZU. *mar* has also the value *rat*, at least in the name of *Abiratta*.¹ The reading *-be* for the particle of identity astonishes me. Güterbock (ZANF. viii, pp. 225 ff.) has shown that the reading *-pít* is uncertain and would prefer *-pé*. Reading the two paragraphs dealing with this particle in the Comparative Grammar I found that IH *bh* becomes Hittite *p* and that therefore *-be*, related to Gr. *-η*, Av. *bā*, should be transcribed in this way! DUR also has the value ṬUR in Ass. IŠṬUR. The vertical wedge (*diš*) has also the meaning *ANA*, as well as the horizontal one *INA*. Finally, why not *ia* and *ua* instead of *ya* and *wa* in the German fashion? It would be safer, as it does not so much imply an interpretation of the actual sound and will be more easily understood by scholars of any nationality; besides, *ia* actually is a combination of *i* and *a* (see p. 17).

The first of the texts given is the "Apology of Hattusil". Sturtevant's translation shows several improvements upon that by Götze mentioned on p. 84; but there are two little slips, the first of which is due to an inaccurate translation from the German: *hališšiia-* in ii, 46, means "setting a jewel", not "enclose". Then to say (in a very literal translation (ii, 66 f.), "And these depopulated countries I myself caused to be inhabited again" gives rather a queer twist to a sentence which merely denotes that the king placed there new inhabitants whom he took from other parts of the country. Some details²: The unconnected sentences (see commentary on i, 15; iii, 69) do not only repeat the sense of the previous one, but there are different occasions on which they occur; see A.U. index, p. 453. In iii, 78, I would prefer to take *handān* as an adverb, as this form cannot be that of an Acc. Masc. On iv, 10, the verb *huua-* has only the form *huijami*

¹ NAG has the number 197 (not 179) in Forrer's sign-list.

² In the cuneiform text in iv, 35, *e-ip-up-u-un* is erroneously written for *e-ip-pu-u-un*.

as 1st sing., while in the third person it has forms of both the *-mi* and *-hi* declension.

The "ritual of Anniwiyani" has been newly and well translated. In some parts, as e.g. in i, 8 f., I should prefer to connect the sentences differently, but the difficulty of distinguishing between main and connected clauses has in all such places been pointed out in a proper manner. i, 4 ff., just like iii, 9 f., is a mere enumeration without any verb, so that an acc. form would not be expected. i, 26, *KÁ* "door" is plur. tant. (cf. Güterbock, ZANF. viii, p. 227¹); so it is not necessary to translate "doors". iii, 7, Comm., *ēnā-* seems an impossible derivation, as one would expect *ijannešk-*, like *huttiijannešk-*. In iii, 25, as well as in iv, 8 f., it would be better to translate *piran katta* as "in front of and below (it)", a translation which solves the difficulties of the situation.

The translation of the "Instructions for Temple Officials" has been still further improved since its previous publication in JAOS. (see p. 168).¹ I would prefer Friedrich's translation of ii, 83 f., and Bechtel's (given on p. 230) of iii, 49-53, is obviously correct. If the publication of the text is correct, iv, 39, should read *uškanzi* instead of *šakanzi*; therefore the etymology derived from the latter has not the requisite support, though it remains highly probable.

The historically interesting "Proclamation of Telipinus" has been thoroughly translated and commented on. A few remarks: *arha tarranu-* (17) means according to a suggestion of Sommer's "render powerless". *kuenta* in ii, 11, is not an *imperfectum de conatu*, but depends on *man*. In ii, 51, *utlar* is subject, as *pā(i)-* is never connected with an acc. In iv, 25, *uizzi* is used impersonally, the meaning of the sentence being "and it will come to pass (that) that it will go ill with that very man and his house".

Lastly the Hittite Code is one of the most difficult sections for grammatical interpretation as well as for the actual

¹ In ii, 64, Ebelolf reads *ū* instead of *nuš* <*mas*> which latter does not usually occur in the middle of a sentence.

meaning of the paragraphs. One of the greatest difficulties is to distinguish between subject and object of the sentences ; quite often one must assume that the subject changes, even when it is not stated in the words of the text. Sturtevant has made the best of the parts he has chosen, leaving aside the question arising about jurisdiction and sometimes even the sense of a paragraph. Since a new and thorough translation and commentary by Friedrich has been announced, I refrain from questioning some details which one might doubt. But it is necessary to point out that *dā-* only has the meaning of *take* in i, 55 ; ii, 47, while in ii, 42 *p[i-a]n-zi* should be inserted.

A. 510.

LEONIE ZUNTZ.

India, etc.

Ethnology

THE HILL BHŪIYĀS OF ORISSĀ. By SARAT CHANDRA ROY.
 8 × 5½, pp. iv + 320 + xxxviii, maps 1, ill. 18. Ranchi :
Man in India Office, 1935. Rs. 8.

Those who are acquainted with this author's excellent studies of the Orāons, Birhors, etc., will be prepared to welcome a further venture in Indian ethnographical research by Sarat Chandra Roy. The result will repay careful study of his pages. According to Russell, the Bhuiyās are identical with the Bhumigars and are also known as Baigas. They are undoubtedly a very early tribe, and may be classed as aboriginal. No doubt certain sections of the tribe have risen somewhat in the social scale, and even go so far as to claim Rajput descent ; but there is a consensus of expert opinion regarding the primitive origin of the tribe.

The author deals in this volume with the Hill Bhuiyās, while promising us a further volume on the Bhuiyās of the plains.

In his very careful study of the former section we recognize many well-known primitive customs and superstitions. The naming of children after a supposed re-embodied ancestor,

their exposure on a dung-heap to drive away evil-spirits, the behaviour of the spirits of men killed by wild animals are all reminiscent of numerous existing records. The description of the *phul-mitras* or engaged couples (p. 153) whom the writer describes as "flower-friends" is perhaps an original feature in much very familiar ground. The practice of marrying a mango (p. 174) when a man with one or more childless wives is about to marry again constitutes a fertility-rite of rather unusual interest. The writer does not make it clear whether the "*Khila*" which is commonly worshipped was in origin, as would seem probable, a totem. A good description of trial by ordeal is furnished on p. 89.

There are many misprints, and the botanical equivalents should have been supplied, for purpose of comparison, in the case of all trees or plants mentioned. The illustrations might have been more clearly reproduced.

Apart from these small blemishes the work is thoroughly well done and should receive the careful attention of students of Indian caste and tribe.

A. 439.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE CHOLAS. By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI. Madras University Historical Series, No. 9. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 719, maps 5, pls. 3. Madras : University of Madras, 1935. Price Rs. 8.

Of the three Tamil Kingdoms, whose history Vincent Smith in his pioneer epitome of 1904 condensed into twenty-five pages, the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas have each been dealt with in book form. The far-flung empire of the Chōlas, with its exuberance of inscriptions, is a far bigger undertaking. Professor Nilakanta Sastri plans to cover the ground in three volumes. In the first he carries the story from the days of Aśoka to A.D. 1070, when the heirs of Vijayālaya, of the first imperial dynasty, gave place to their Chālukyan cross-cousins of Vēṅgī. In a second volume he will complete the tale and discuss the

social and administrative aspects of the empire. Chōḷa art he reserves for a separate monograph.

In this opening volume the Professor, after the usual reference to sources, devotes two chapters to the political and social life of the Sangam Age, and a chapter each to the great warrior-statesmen, Parāntaka I, Rājarāja I, and Rājēndra I, and deals faithfully with the periods that intervene. His narrative is good reading, never prolix or dull. Controversy he handles firmly and with tact, though he seems to be of two minds as to whether the Tamil Epics should be treated as Sangam literature or not. His accounts of Vēngī politics, and of Chōḷa activities in Ceylon and in Malayan waters is full and lucid; that of the Chōḷa march to the Ganges is less sure; there are gaps in the evidence, the map (p. 248) is inaccurate and the route he indicates does not fit the terrain. Otherwise his maps and plates are really illustrative. His footnotes are just what is needed, and, along with a well-arranged list of over 2,000 selected inscriptions (pp. 363-624), will put his readers in easy touch with first-hand sources. A concise index of ninety-three double-columned pages is a fair measure of the quantity of facts and theories which the Professor has summarized so neatly.

A. 417.

F. J. RICHARDS.

Geography

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISTRICT OF SHAHABAD IN 1809-10.

By FRANCIS BUCHANAN. Printed from the Buchanan MSS. in the India Office Library. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$, pp. iv + 444, table 1. Patna : Patna Law Press, 1934. Rs. 9.

Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Hamilton) was one of the greatest of many great Scotsmen who served the East India Company at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Joining the Bengal establishment in 1794 as an Assistant Surgeon, his exceptional aptitude for botanical, zoological, and other scientific research led to his employment on important missions to Burma, Mysore, and

Nepāl; and when, in 1807, the Court of Directors decided to have a "statistical survey" of the then Bengal Presidency carried out, this gigantic task was assigned to him. For eight years he toiled incessantly, completing the survey of the northernmost Bengal districts (including part of Lower Assam) and the districts that now form the Bhāgalpur and Patnā divisions in Bihār and Orissā, as well as Gorakhpur district now in the United Provinces, covering in all an area nearly as large as that of England. For the acumen, method, and accuracy with which this pioneer record was prepared no praise can be too high; but the physical and mental strain so impaired his health that Buchanan had to leave for Europe in 1815, and the survey remained unfinished. Some extracts from the voluminous MSS. were printed from time to time in various journals, but it is most regrettable that no steps were taken by the Company to publish the whole under Buchanan's own supervision while he was still alive. In 1838, nine years after his death, Mr. Montgomery Martin, who had been permitted by the Directors to "collate" the MSS., published such portions of Buchanan's records as appeared to him to be of interest under the title *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, with his own name on the title-page!

At the suggestion of officers who had examined and appreciated the importance of the material discarded by Martin, the Bihār and Orissā Research Society undertook, with the approval and support of the Local Government, to publish in full those portions of Buchanan's records which dealt with areas now within that province, namely, the areas that in his time constituted the districts of (1) Purneā, (2) Bhāgalpur, (3) Bihār and Patnā, and (4) Shāhābād. The statistical account of (1) has already been published; that of (4) is now before us; those of (2) and (3) have yet to be printed. In addition to the *Statistical Accounts*, there are among the MSS. three *Journals* in Buchanan's own handwriting, kept day by day while touring throughout the Bhāgalpur,

Bihār and Patnā, and Shāhābād districts ; these have been separately printed, with explanatory notes. The Society is to be congratulated on making these valuable records available to students and on securing the help of public-spirited gentlemen like Rāi Bahādur Rādhā Kṛishna Jalan, which has enabled this to be done.

The absence of an index to the present volume is a serious defect.

A. 454.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

ŚRĀVASTĪ IN INDIAN LITERATURE. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 50. By Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW. 13 × 10, pp. 39. Delhi : Manager of Publications, 1935. 2s.

As in the case of other ancient sites in India, we owe to Alexander Cunningham the identification of the site of the city so famous in the Buddhist literature as Sāvattthī, with the present Saheth-Maheth lying on the boundary between the Gonda and Bahraich districts. This identification was disputed for some time, but it has been fully corroborated by subsequent research. In his introductory chapter Dr. Law describes briefly the results of the excavations carried out at the site from the time of Cunningham onwards. The following five sections deal with (1) the origin of the name and topography ; (2) Kosala and Śrāvastī ; (3) the Jetavana and Purvārāma ; (4) Śrāvastī in religious tradition ; and (5) the decline of Śrāvastī, carrying on the story, in which there are wide gaps, down to the twelfth century A.D. As the author points out, the prosperity and importance of the town rose and fell with the vicissitudes of the old kingdom of Kosala, which probably attained the zenith of its greatness about the time of the Buddha. When Fa-hian went there (early fifth century) the place seems to have been largely in ruin ; and Hsüan-tsang, who visited it about A.D. 636, describes the place as “ mostly a ruinous waste ”.

The value of this useful monograph lies chiefly in the labour and care bestowed by Dr. Law on the collection and citation of references to the old site and its monuments, as well as to other places in the same region, from the Buddhist texts and from the Brāhmaṇical and Jaina literature.

A. 592.

C. E. A. W. OLDEHAM.

History

TŪZAK-I-WĀLĀJĀHĪ OF BURHĀN IBN ḤASAN. Part I. From the early days to the Battle of Ambur (A.H. 1162). Translated into English by S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A. 10½ × 6½, pp. 147 + xxxii, pls. 2. Madras : University of Madras, 1934. Rs. 5.

Accurate translations of Oriental manuscripts facilitate the task of the historian and it can be safely stated that the translator of this work has placed all serious students of Indian history under a debt of gratitude.

The chief Persian sources for the history of the Carnatic in the eighteenth century are the *Anwār-nāma* of Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Abjadī; the *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* of Burhān Ibn Ḥasan; the *Sawānihāt-i-Mumtāz* of Muḥammad Karīm Dāmin; and the *Bahār-i-A'zam* of Ghulam 'Abdu'l Qādir Nāzir. This volume is the first of a series of five in which Professor Nainar proposes to complete the translation of the above sources, with the exception of the *Anwār-nāma*. Since this will by no means complete the Persian sources dealing with the Carnatic, it is to be hoped that Professor Nainar will at some future date provide us with translations of the *Sa'id-nāma* (Ethé, 2843) and the *Wakā'ī-i-Sa'adat* (Ethé, 2844).

A. 515.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE FIRST TWO NAWABS OF OUDH. By ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA. pp. vi, vi, 301. 9 × 5½. Lucknow, 1933.

This is an excellent account of Sa'adat Khān, Burhān-ul-mulk, and his nephew, Safdar Jang. The author has not only

worked over the well-known material, but has also discovered new sources, such as the *Mansūr-ul-maktūbāt*, a letter book of the two Nawābs, and has been permitted to use unpublished works belonging to Sir Jadunāth Sarkār. He has thus been able to correct many details in the accounts by earlier writers, and to explain more fully the motives of the principal actors in the tangled struggles for supremacy in India from 1720 to 1754. His analysis of Safdar Jang's action in calling the Marāthās to aid him against the Bangash Pathāns in 1751 is particularly acute. To the account of political movements is added a description of administrative measures and the condition of the people. A critical bibliography adds to the value of the book.

While there are few errors of fact, the proof-reading has, however, been very lax, and misprints are numerous. The book also deserves a much better index than that which it contains.

A. 544.

R. BURN.

Language and Literature

CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE. Volume II :
Brahmanical and Jaina Manuscripts. By A. BERRIEDALE
KERTH. With a Supplement, Buddhist Manuscripts, by
F. W. THOMAS. Part I, Nos. 4204 to 6627 ; Part II,
Nos. 6628 to 8820. 11 × 9, pp. x + 1851. Oxford :
Clarendon Press, 1935. £12 12s. (£6 6s. each part).

With the issue of these two weighty tomes a great undertaking, and one whose importance to Sanskrit scholars can hardly be over-estimated, is brought to a worthy close. Having already had occasion to deal with a number of entries in them, I can testify that they do not fall short in any way of the well-known first volume by Eggeling with respect to the qualities that are to be desired in a catalogue raisonné ; and the delay in publication has had the advantage of enabling fuller information to be given about many of the works described.

The labour involved in such work is great, and the apparent reward small ; it is therefore a pleasure to be able to voice the gratitude towards the authors that will be felt by all who in the future turn to these volumes for help.

A. 409.

E. H. JOHNSTON.

THE MEGHADŪTA OF KĀLIDĀSA. Translated from the Sanskrit, together with transliterated text, extracts from Mallinātha's Commentary, map, and explanatory notes. By G. H. ROOKE. 8½ × 5½, pp. x + 82, map 1. London : Oxford University Press, 1935. 10s. 6d.

The *Meghadūta* was first translated into English verse by H. H. Wilson in 1813, from a text collated by H. T. Colebrooke with six commentaries, including Mallinātha's. A revised edition, with a glossary by Johnson, intended for a class-book for the East India College, was published in 1843. Wilson's verse rendering was admittedly anything but a literal translation, his object being more to "render thoughts than words" ; but his notes have proved a mine of information for subsequent writers.

Mr. Rooke has now prepared a practically literal translation, based on the text used by Mallinātha, omitting certain stanzas treated by that commentator as spurious. Consequently we find some differences from the text used by Wilson, and we miss Wilson's stanza 19, with its reference to Citrakūṭa, and his final stanza in which Kubera's relentment was described. Of the accuracy of the text and the English rendering, which has been well done, we are assured by the fact that the author has had the good fortune of having his work checked by that eminent Sanskritist, Dr. Berriedale Keith. There are a few points in the notes, however, that may be noticed.

Two special features of Kālidāsa's poem are the topographical details given in describing the cloud's route, and the many allusions to trees and plants—his appreciation, in

fact, of nature and scenery. The geographical puzzles rest much where Wilson left them more than a century ago. Ptolemy's Dōsara, which was a town of the Kokkonagai in the east, and his Dōsarōn river, which fell into the Bay of Bengal, can have no connection with K's Daśārṇaḥ (p. 22), which must have been in Central India, somewhere in the region of the present States of Gwalior and Bhopal. The authority for locating Rāmagiri in the Maikala range (v. map) should have been quoted ; if K's Āmrakūṭa be the modern Amarkantak (Amarakaṇṭaka) it will be apparent that Rāmagiri must have been to the southward of these hills. Vidiśā is more correctly, we think, identified with Besnagar. Mālakṣetra has yet to be identified ; Wilson's suggestion of Malda near Ratanpur was not a happy one : the name possibly preserves a Dravidian root for " hill " or " hill people ". The Nirvindhya and Gandhavatī rivers and Devagiri have also yet to be satisfactorily identified. K's Gambhīra is the modern Gambhīr river.

Some of the botanical names given are now not in current use, or else have been revised. For instance, *nīpa* is now known as *Anthocephalus Cadamba*, *śirīṣa* as *Albizzia Lebbek*, *aśoka* as *Saraca indica*, and *mādhavī* as *Hiptage Madablota* ; *kuṭaja* is a *Holarrhena*, not a *Wrightia* ; *nicula* is *Barringtonia acutangula*, a tree, not land-reed, as stated by Mallinātha ; *bimba* is *Cephalandra indica*, a cucurbitaceous plant ; and *mālatī* is *Aganosma caryophyllata*. Many lexicographers have made the mistake of confounding the *mālatī* with the *camelī* or other jasmine, whereas it belongs to a different order of plants.

It may be noted, further, that the *cakravākī* is not a crane (p. 56), (the " Brahmini duck ", or ruddy sheldrake, is a true duck), and that the Bo tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment was not at Gayā (p. 16), but at Bodh Gayā (6 miles from Gayā).

THE PRAVACANA-SĀRA OF KUNDA-KUNDA ĀCĀRYA. Together with the commentary, *Tattva-dīpikā*, by AMṚTACANDRA SŪRI. English translation by BAREND FADDEGON. Edited with an Introduction by F. W. THOMAS. Jain Literature Society Series, Vol. I. 8½ × 5½, pp. xxiv + 227. Cambridge: University Press, 1935. 15s.

This new series has commenced with a volume which at once ranks it with the considerable benefactions in this kind conferred on scholarship by enlightened liberality. It is dedicated to the memory of Rai Bahadur Jagmanderlal Jaini, author of the well-known *Outlines of Jainism*, whose testamentary provision has made the publication possible. It is not the first occasion on which the public spirit of the Jaina community has endowed learning in this way.

Professor Thomas's introduction provides a valuable conspectus of our present knowledge of Kundakunda (whose personal name was probably Padmanandin), of his writings, and of his relation to the Jaina canon. Professor Thomas would assign to him an early date, "rather in the third or fourth century of the Christian era than in the fifth." Of the eight works attributed to Kundakunda seven have been printed; and Brahmacārī Śītalaprasāda, to whom the author and editor of the present translation state that they are much indebted for suggestions and corrections, has published Hindi translations not only of the Niyama-sāra and Samaya-sāra (as noted in the Introduction, p. xx), but also of the Pravacana-sāra with Jayasena's vṛtti (*Pravacana-sāra ṭīkā*: in three parts, Surat, 1923, etc.). Amṛtacandra's ṭīkā, on the other hand, has never before been completely translated, either into Hindi or into English, and Professor Faddegon's work is a pioneer translation. His apparatus seems to have been confined to the printed edition of the gāthās with both commentaries and Hindi exegesis (Bombay, 1912; revised edition, 1935), and indications that the text presents some difficulties are to be found in the footnotes drawing attention to emendations which the sense has seemed to demand. The commentary

which he has translated is, besides, in Professor Thomas's words, "work of a severe, almost painful, precision . . . which not unfrequently gives an impression of an enjoyment of sonorous circumlocution and complicated sentences rather than of a simple striving for exactitude." But Professor Faddegon's equipment is very adequate for dealing with a "remorselessness of style" in which the editor recognizes "the outcome of an inflexible religious faith", and the Jain Literature Society's judgment in selecting him for this onerous task is fully justified by the result. Both translator and editor can claim a *plaudite amici* on the completion of a labour for which students of Digambara Jaina literature will have good reason to be grateful.

Gāthās which are given only in Jayasena's Tātparya-vṛtti have been translated at pp. 199–203, and include an interesting section teaching that there is no *nirvāṇa* for women—an attitude consonant with the casual observation of gāthā, i, 44 (common to both commentators), to the effect that actions are as effortless in arhats as deceit in a woman.

Readers will be grateful for the use of clarendon type to distinguish not only the gāthās but also the phrases cited therefrom in the body of the commentary.

A. 404.

H. N. RANDLE.

THE BURUSHASKI LANGUAGE. By D. L. R. LORIMER. Vol. I: Introduction and Grammar; pp. lxiii + 464, pls. 9, map 1. Vol. II: Texts and Translations; pp. vii + 418, pl. 1, 9 × 7½. Oslo: Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Series B xxix, 1-2. Price 20 Norwegian kroner per volume (bound, 23·75). 1935.

In the first volume of this large work Colonel Lorimer gives a descriptive grammar of Burushaski and in the second a number of Burushaski texts with English translation. The work will shortly be completed by a third volume, containing a vocabulary.

The book is an important one. Apart from its use as a practical handbook of the language, and its value to the general Indianist, it has another and wider appeal: it will be of the greatest interest to students of general linguistics, who are here presented, for the first time, with an adequate and highly scientific treatment of a *restsprache* with many unusual features. It is impossible for a reviewer with no personal knowledge of the language to appraise the work at its true value. Colonel Lorimer has studied the people in their native land; he has obviously made the most minute study of the language—and that by the best possible means, the help of native speakers; and he has written an extremely lucid exposition of this very difficult language which fills over 450 large pages. This speaks for itself and little remains to be said except to congratulate Colonel Lorimer upon the successful completion of a great and difficult task.

In externals the book maintains the high traditions of the Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. It is excellently printed¹ and well bound. Lorimer has expressed the sounds of Burushaski in a simple but adequate notation which compares most favourably with the notations, almost unreadable by reason of the number of diacritics, which are so much in vogue to-day.

In a valuable introduction Lorimer gives an account of "The Land and the People". The Burushaski language is spoken in the states of Hunza and Nagir (74° 10'—75° 40' E. by 36°—37° 10' N.), which "in elevation and ruggedness . . . may compare with any other portion of the earth's surface" (I. xxxi). Of this almost inaccessible territory the Burushaski area occupies a central position. Shinā (a Dardic

¹ The general excellence of the printing is unfortunately somewhat marred by a number of misprints in the English text, e.g. (uncorrected in the corrigenda), I. viii, 4 f. b. identified; I. xlix, note 1. 2 equated; I. xlix, note 1. 3 people; I. 4. 11 f. b. futher; I. 14, 4 f. b. inanimate; I. 445, heading, op (= up); the last error is particularly unfortunate as it is in clarendon. Even the most careful proof-reading can hardly eliminate all the errors of this type, many of which are obviously due to the compositor's native language being Norwegian and not English.

language) and Wakhi (an Iranian language) are also spoken in these two states. The total number of Burushaski speakers is about 20,000 (as against c. 4,500 Shinā speakers and c. 2,500 Wakhi speakers in Hunza and Nagir). Lorimer suggests (I. xxxiii) that the Burushaski area was once larger. After some ethnological discussion (in which he decides that the Wakhis at least are markedly different in race from the Burushos), he describes the social organization, character, agriculture, arts, crafts, sports, and religion of the Burushos. This section is concluded by a brief account of the Wershik, who, some 7,500 in number, live to the West of Hunza and Nagir, and speak Werchikwār, a dialect related to Burushaski ; in this area are also found Shinā and Khowar (Dardic). In the next section the mutual relations of Burushaski (to some extent also Werchikwār) and the neighbouring languages are discussed. The influence of Qirgiz (a Turkish language) and Balti (a Tibetan language) and also, surprisingly, of Wakhi on Burushaski has been very slight. On the other hand, there has been much mutual borrowing, in all the philological spheres, between Burushaski and Shinā. In Werchikwār a slight Khowar influence is perceptible. The next section deals with the work already done on Burushaski and Werchikwār, which comprises only that of Biddulph (1880 and 1884) and Leitner (1889) on Burushaski, and that of Zarubin (1927) on Werchikwār. The introduction is concluded by an account of Lorimer's own method of work.

The grammar proper (which is based on the Burushaski of Hunza) begins with a descriptive phonology of the language, which includes a discussion of a curious consonantal ablaut (using the term in the strict synchronic sense) whereby a voiced consonant becomes unvoiced when medial as in *girminas* "to write" : *akirmin* "don't write" (i, 308).

Most of the rest of the book is taken up by an extremely detailed exposition of the morphology of the language. On p. 313 of vol. i, Lorimer says : "the grammatical terms ordinarily in use in Europe are not in all cases applicable with

any exactitude to the phenomena of Burushaski grammar . . . Another terminology is required, but until our knowledge of the conceptions underlying the mode of expression is more precise it is impossible to invent terms which will describe them." In fact, Burushaski is a language most ill-suited to discussion in Indo-European terms, but, in the present state of our general linguistic knowledge, these are the only terms in which any satisfactory presentation can be made. The morphology appears in the usual sections: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, and conjunctions; it is concluded by valuable sections on clauses and word-order. It would be impracticable and, indeed, impossible to comment on these sections in detail, and here it will suffice if a few interesting points are noted.

Much of Burushaski grammar is based on a system of nominal classes, simple indeed compared with some of those that are known, but, nevertheless, sufficiently difficult. The categories present are: "1. Nouns representing human beings, subdivided into masculine and feminine. 2. The names of non-human animate beings and certain inanimate objects. 3. The names of all other inanimate objects" (i, 14). The distinction of the last two categories is the chief difficulty here. Lorimer concludes (i, 23) "that no single factor emerges clearly as governing the inclusion of nouns in the one category or the other". Problems connected with nominal-classification are often insoluble, usually by reason of the lack of a sufficiently long linguistic history (thus even in the case of Indo-European problems such as why is *Fuss* "masculine" in German but *Hand* "feminine", no conclusion can be reached).

The "plural" category of Burushaski is of interest: "the plural appears to be used sometimes to express the idea of relatively large quantity" (i, 52)—cf. Indo-European plurals such as Latin *fumi* "smoke". This appears very clearly in what Lorimer has called "super-plurals". Thus *ge* "snow" is "plural in force" but "singular in form" (i, 42), but *gečiy* (with plural suffix) means "a lot of snow" (i, 45).

In Burushaski there is a "conjugation" of nouns with prefixed pronouns (i, 127 ff.)—in contradistinction to the suffixal type (as in Finno-Ugrian), which is perhaps the more usual.

The numeration-system is clearly decimal-vigesimal (i, 178 ff.).

The most difficult part of the accidence is apparently the verb. It occupies 175 pages of the grammar (i, 192–366). To understand it at all it would be necessary to learn the language. Here it will be sufficient to call attention to one point—the very complex objective conjugation (rather reminiscent of that of Basque and Mordvin).

The volume is concluded by two interesting appendices. The first deals with Nagiri Burushaski. It is Mrs. Lorimer who has collected the materials for this section and she has clearly made a detailed study of the language. The main differences between the Burushaski of Hunza and Nagir are here presented. They appear to be slight—hardly sufficient to justify our speaking of different dialects. The second appendix is devoted to some notes of Lorimer's on Werchikwār.

Volume i also includes a preface by Professor Georg Morgenstierne. This deals concisely and clearly with six subjects. (1) Features in Burushaski of interest to students of general linguistics (such as the nominal classes). (2) Relationships suggested for Burushaski. Morgenstierne concludes that at present there is no evidence for relationship with any language; in particular his dismissal of the Japhetic view, of Bleichsteiner (a pupil of Marr's) will be of interest. For the present, therefore, it appears that Burushaski must be accounted a true *restsprache* (like Basque, Andamanese, La-ti, Yenisei-Ostyak, and Hottentot). (3) The difficulties of reconstructing the Burushaski-Werchikwār protoforms. (4) The interrelations of Burushaski, Shinā, Khowar, and Wakhi. (5) The phonological system of Burushaski. (6) A comparison of Morgenstierne's own notes on Burushaski and

Werchikwār (collected in 1929 at Chitral), with Lorimer's forms; it is of interest to note that there is a remarkably close agreement.

Vol. ii contains texts with an English translation on the opposite page. They comprise tales of foreign origin, local tales and legends, proverbs, verse, translations into Burushaski and texts on local history, personalities, and customs. Three Werchikwār texts are added. Besides being of the greatest value to the student of Burushaski, these texts possess a considerable folk-lore value of their own.

I cannot conclude this review without mentioning the excellent plates at the end of vol. i, which give the reader an idea of the Burushaski speaker and of the magnificent terrain in which he lives. The idea of including such photographs in a work of this nature is a new one to me; future writers of philological works might do well to copy it.

A. 562.

ALAN S. C. ROSS.

Religious and Social Life

POPULAR HINDUISM. *The Religion of the Masses.* By L. S. S. O'MALLEY. 7½ × 5, pp. viii + 246. Cambridge: University Press, 1935. 2s. 6d.

This small work aims, as the author explains in his preface, at giving an outline of the great variations of belief and practice which are typical of modern Hinduism. It may be said at once that in his self-appointed task Mr. O'Malley has scored a signal success. In simple language and with a restrained use of quotation and reference the writer deals with beliefs, ideals, moral influences, worships, and ceremonies, godlings and evil spirits, modern deifications, priests, and sectarianism. Naturally there is considerable overlapping in these headings; but the picture presented is on the whole clear and concise.

In the event of a larger edition of this handbook being under contemplation (and it would certainly be welcome), the following suggestions and criticisms are offered in a friendly spirit.

Under the heading of sects the Lingāyats, an important community of Western and Southern India, might be accorded fuller notice. As a casteless reformation developing into a caste system, the Lingāyats are of special importance. Their present-day organization is complex but illuminating. Chapter v, which deals with godlings and evil spirits, makes up for its deficiencies by referring his readers to several well-known works on this topic, such as Crooke and Thurston. The clever summary of progressive evolution of ideas from spirit-scaring to spirit-squaring, quoted by the author on p. 133, should have been attributed to Sir James Campbell, among whose "Notes on the Spirit Bases of Belief and Custom" it will be found recorded.

In the chapter devoted to sect some reference to the famous case of the Mahārājas in Gujarat might have been included. It is of special significance. On pp. 7, 8, dealing with Karma, the writer shows how the effects of this doctrine though pessimistic, contain elements of optimism. It might have been added that at least it tends to eliminate the class jealousy which is provocative of so much unrest in the West. Karma should eliminate any sense of unfairness in the distribution of worldly advantages. It may be said in conclusion that in this useful handbook the writer maintains the level of careful scholarship set in his previous production on caste in Northern India.

A. 506.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE SADHS. By W. L. ALLISON. The Religious Life of India Series. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, pp. 127. London: Oxford University Press; Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1935. 3s. 6d.

This little book is one of a series known as the "Religious Life of India" publications. The missionary author was elected in 1920 to the Bernardine Orme Smith Fellowship

of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Chicago, and proceeded to India, where he interested himself in the little known religious community of the Sadhs, in the United Provinces of Agra and Ough. The Imperial Gazetteer of India (vol. xii, p. 67) accords a brief mention to this Hindu sect, who differ from their more orthodox brethren in rejecting the worship of idols and all reverence for Brahmans. It is difficult to arrive at any accurate estimate of their numbers as, for census purposes, the members usually appear as Hindus under a caste name. The late Dr. Crooke (disguised throughout this little work as "Sir William") has in *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces* provided much material for the present study. Over a century ago the Rev. Henry Fisher professed to have discovered a community of native Christians near Delhi. These appear to have been Sadhs.

The founders of the movement were Uda Das, Jogi Das, and Birbhau, who are placed in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. There seems to be a probability of the movement having been influenced in its early days by Kabir and Christian missionaries.

These people are weavers and printers of cotton cloth. In rejecting the hierarchy of the Brahmans and confining their worship to one god they have cut themselves off from orthodox Hinduism and must be classed with the numerous communities who from time to time since Buddha's great crusade have found the tyranny of the Brahman and the multiplicity of Hindu deities inimical to true spiritual development.

At one time it seems the Sadhs used to expose the bodies of the dead in the forest; somewhat after the practice of Zoroastrians.

This work merits inclusion in the library of all who are interested in the study of Indian ethnology, as a useful summary of existing references to this curious community.

A. 543.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

THE INDIAN PEASANT AND HIS ENVIRONMENT. By N. GANGULEE. (The Linlithgow Commission and After.) $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$, pp. xxvi + 230, ill. 15. London: Oxford University Press, 1935. 10s. 6d.

In this book, by a prominent member of the recent Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, we are not provided with any complete and orderly scheme for dealing with the Indian peasant, but we get what is probably more valuable, namely a series of disconnected descriptions and observations, recorded from time to time during recent years in the writer's private journal or in letters to the Press or to his friends. One rises from their perusal with a profound sense of the complexity and seriousness of the issues discussed and a grateful recognition of the high sincerity with which Mr. Gangulee has approached them.

A. 472.

E. D. MACLAGAN.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THE VIJAYANAGAR EMPIRE. By B. A. SALETORÉ. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Vol. I, pp. lv + 470. Vol. II, pp. iii + 525. With 10 plates. Madras: B. G. Paul and Co., 1934.

To criticize a thesis is easy; the student has so much to read, so little time for digestion. It is not enough to interpret innumerable quotations from the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and travellers' tales in terms of the Hindu *Śāstras*; Vijayanagar is much closer in time and space to the South India of to-day than to the India of Kauṭilya and Manu, a fact of which Dr. Saletore seems unaware. A little knowledge of the caste system of Dravidian India would have saved him from confusing "ordeal" with "punishment" (1, 387) and "bride-price" with "dowry" (2, 189; a bad blunder which entirely vitiates his argument); he would know that the Kshatriyas are "ignored" because there are none in South India (2, 31-3); he would discover quite a lot "which cannot be found out"

about Bēḍara, Kurubas, and other important folk named in the inscriptions (2, 54). A little map-study would enable him to spot with ease place-names which "elude all identification" (1, 78), and to "ascertain" that the term *valanāḍu* is commoner in the Kāveri delta than in Tonḍaimaṇḍalam (1, 295), and that Ma'bar is not the West Coast (1, 4); and to define with accuracy the administrative units, *rājya*, *nāḍu*, *śime*, etc., which are the bed-rock of Vijayanagar administration. Of sects and *maṭhas* (even of Srīngēri, Jains, Lingāyats), his account is meagre; of the many cults and temples enumerated and of temple management he says barely a word; festivals he discusses without reference to the calendar. Similarly, land revenue, village administration, and the army require knowledge in which he is apparently unversed. His criticism of European travellers is severe, but not unreasonable; with indigenous sources he is less cautious; the "Taylor MSS" he accepts without demur, and although 9,876,543,210,000 bulls could not find standing room in all India, "we do not know whether this figure is trustworthy" (1, 429); and (*pace* Hultzsch) could the Chōḷas so far forget their sanity as to split the 6½ acre *vēḷi* into 52,428,800,000 parts and assess each part separately (1, 164)?

But these and other defects do not impair the usefulness of this book. Vijayanagar history is something more than a tissue of dates and pedigrees and a three-century fight with Islam. Dr. Saletore is the first to dig down into the solid strata of good government and human loyalties which made that fight possible. In many passages he writes with skill and clarity, his footnotes and index are ample and accurate, his glossary, though incomplete, is a useful nucleus for future work, his well-chosen plates show how valuable the evidence of monuments can be, and his scissors-and-paste technique presents in handy form the raw material for many important monographs.

Islam

ELENCO DEI MANOSCRITTI ARABI ISLAMICI DELLA BIBLIOTECA VATICANA. By GIORGIO LEVI DELLA VIDA. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xxix + 347 + 41 *. Citta del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935.

The book contains a hand-list of the Islamic Arabic MSS. in the Vatican, which comprise in all 1,494 MSS., made up as follows: 1,292 from the Vatican proper, 57 from the Barberinian collection, 118 from the Borgia collection, 16 from the Rossian collection, and 11 from the MSS. of mixed contents, Christian and Islamic, of the Vatican. The majority of the Islamic MSS. contained in the Vatican collection were acquired in recent years, through the zeal and foresight of the present Proprefect, Mgr. Tisserant. The titles of the works are transliterated in Roman characters, and only occasionally the beginning of an Arabic text of a work is quoted. The hand-list is not classified under subject matter, but a good classification of this kind is found at the end, in what is called *Sommario Sistematico* (pp. 283–310), followed by a full index of authors (pp. 311–347). An Arabic index of titles is found at the end of the hand-list, bearing a fresh pagination.

Levi della Vida has accomplished his difficult task well and conscientiously, and his references to the Arabic catalogues of other libraries and to modern authors are very useful. I have noticed a few misprints, such as قلا for قلال (p. 103), الفته for الفقه (p. 213), *fi't-taḍāfu'* for *fi't-taḍādud* (p. 218), etc., and I am sorry to report that my own name is wrongly given on p. xxiv as H. Mingana!

Although the collection does not contain any MS. of outstanding importance either in point of age or of contents, the hand-list exhibits many fresh texts indispensable to an orientalist and theologian.

A. 582.

A. MINGANA.

THE MAWÁQIF AND MUKHÁṬABÁT OF MUḤAMMAD IBN 'ABDI 'L-JABBÁR AL-NIFFARÍ, WITH OTHER FRAGMENTS. Edited for the first time by ARTHUR JOHN ARBERRY. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, New Series, Vol. IX. 10 x 6, pp. xvii + 276 + 268. London: Luzac and Co., 1935.

The Arabic text printed in this volume consists of a large number of mystical revelations which, as we may suppose, were written down (perhaps automatically) at the time when they were received. Apart from a few passages of "Divine dialogue", God is the sole speaker throughout. Concerning the author hardly anything is known except that he lived in 'Irâq during the first half of the fourth century A.H. It has been disputed whether "Niffarí" or "Nafzî" is the correct form of his *nisbah*; but the evidence adduced by Mr. Arberry leaves no doubt that this obscure Ṣúfî was a native of, or at least connected with, Niffar (the Babylonian Nippur). Certainly he himself was not responsible for the collection of his writings and their division into two series, entitled *Mawáqif* and *Mukhâṭabât* respectively. The editor thinks that while the former "bear clear traces of literary redaction and workmanship, the *Mukhâṭabât* have the unmistakable appearance of authority and primitiveness". This judgment seems to be well founded, and in neither case is there any reason to suspect wholesale fabrication. The Spanish mystic, Ibn al-'Arîf (early sixth century) quotes Niffarí without acknowledgment, but in several passages of Ibn al-'Arabî's *Futûḥât* he is cited by name and his *Mawáqif* is described as "a noble work". I believe most readers of the present volume will endorse that verdict, though it must be admitted that the Divine oracles are cryptic and that the only key to their meaning lies in patient study of their technical and stylistic peculiarities. Mr. Arberry is not one of those who *ardua dum metuunt amittunt vera viai*. His interpretation of the text rests safely on a minute analysis which has been performed with skill and insight deserving the highest praise. The remarks on *waqfah*, *wâqif*, and other key-words of the author's mystical

theology are supported by full references and are valuable for the light they throw upon his modes of thought. In preparing this edition seven MSS. have been collated, of which the oldest and best (Gotha, 880) is said to be a copy of Niffarí's autograph. Two other MSS. contain the commentary on the *Mawáqif* by 'Afifu'ddín al-Tilimsání, a mystic belonging to the school of Ibn al-'Arabí; and a third (Bodleian 554) includes a short anonymous commentary which the editor is inclined, I think on rather questionable grounds, to attribute to Ibn al-'Arabí himself. The English commentary is excellent both in form and matter; it avoids the mistake of trying to explain too much, gives help just at the right points, and supplies many interesting parallels from Oriental and Western mysticism. Three indices, among which the exhaustive index of technical terms occurring in the text is specially important, complete a work of great learning and originality. It is seldom one can so unreservedly congratulate a young scholar on his first major publication and so confidently look forward to even larger results from his future researches in the same field.

A. 402.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

SUDAN ARABIC TEXTS. By S. HILLELSON. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. i + xxiv + 1-219. Cambridge: University Press, 1935. 12s. 6d.

This work, following upon the author's practical *English-Arabic Vocabulary* and composed of texts mainly collected at first hand, is based upon many years of philological observation by one who, as an official of the Sudan Civil Service, has had the advantage of close and prolonged acquaintanceship with his raw material. It is not for beginners, but by those equipped with some knowledge of classical Arabic as well as of the ordinary "common language" of to-day, it will be found a valuable and interesting guide to the Sudan dialects. In the author's opinion, these rich local forms of speech are likely to resist for a considerable time the inroads

made by education and improved ways of communication. Apart, therefore, from the interest of recording the present state of the dialects, the texts seem likely to be of great use to those who wish to obtain a really close insight into the forms of native life, thought, and speech. They are arranged under various headings such as Riddles, Folk Tales, Anecdotes, Sketches, etc., and further enriched by extracts from a local play, *Al-Murīd Al-Sudānī*, and from the *Ṭabaqāt* of *Wad Dayfallāh*. All are conveniently set out with a translation and either a transliteration or the Arabic text, sometimes both.

The introduction contains ten pages on the Phonology of Sudan-Arabic and observations on the dialectic forms of various parts of speech. There is also a selected glossary of words not found in the ordinary dictionaries and a short bibliography.

A. 570.

J. McG. DAWKINS.

THE SECRET OF ANA 'L-HAQQ. Second edition. By KHAJA KHĀN. 7 × 5, pp. xxxiv + 238, chart 1. Madras: Hogarth Press, 1935.

This book is an abridged translation from the Persian of the *Irshādāt al-'Arifīn* of Ibrāhīm Gazur-i-Ilāhī of Shararkote, whose sayings were collected some time after the days of the ill-fated Prince Dārā Shukūh, one of whose books is mentioned in the collection. This is the second edition of the book, the first being published in 1926 by the translator, Khaja Khān, author of *Studies in Taṣawwuf* and other works.

The book, as its title indicates, sets out to expound the doctrine taught by Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, the famous mystic of Baghdad, who was put to death in A.D. 922, and the translator has arranged the sayings under suitable headings, including Oneness (وحدانية), Necessary and Potential Existence, the worlds of Spirit, of Imagination, and of material things, the preparation for following the mystic Way, and the practice

of the religious life. There is much in the book which is reminiscent of Ibn al-‘Arabī and Rūmī, as well as of earlier Ṣūfī writers, including Hujwīrī, while the writer has also been influenced by Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists.

The translator contributes an introduction, including a short sketch of al-Ḥallāj’s life, and a commentary on the subject of the text, with many parallels from other writers, both Muslim and Christian. He also includes a glossary of mystical terms, of which his interpretation is somewhat arbitrary and limited.

The book contains much which is of great interest to students of Ṣūfism, who will find it a treasure-house of mystical doctrine, containing many jewels to reward those who search for them. The search, however, has not been facilitated by the lack of method which the book displays, and the regrettable absence of any index or even a detailed table of contents. Misprints, also, of a serious type, are numerous.

A. 584.

MARGARET SMITH.

A CREED OF THE FATIMIDS. A summary of the *Tāju’l-‘aqā’-id*, by Sayyid-na ‘Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walid, ob. 612/1215. By W. IVANOW. 7½ × 5, pp. viii + 82. Bombay : Qayyimah Press, 1936.

The division of Isma‘īlī doctrine into esoteric and exoteric makes the study of their faith hard. Believing that the time has not yet come to publish in full their theological texts, Mr. Ivanow has summarized a book which may be called a creed. It is a queer jumble. The doctrine of the prophet is orthodox from the Sunni point of view, that of the imām is largely orthodox from the standpoint of the Shi‘a, and that of man’s responsibility is Mu‘tazilī. The teaching about the soul and its relation to God is almost Ṣūfī. Like the theologians of the Shi‘a, the creed says nothing about the creation of the Koran. From the philosophers come the creation of the world by the First Reason and the composition of the world from the

four elements. That there is no reward in this world was taught by al-Nazzām. That the imām is never entirely absent from the world and the rejection of the "agreement of the Muslim community" are peculiar to the Ima'liis.

The introduction is short and to the point; there is also an index.

A. 623.

A. S. TARTTON.

Mongolia

THE MONGOLS OF MANCHURIA. By OWEN LATTIMORE.
8 × 5½, pp. 312 and 3 maps. London: George Allen
and Unwin, Ltd., 1934.

It is one of the most peculiar and engaging characteristics of men of Anglo-Saxon race to constitute themselves the champions and interpreters to the rest of the world of non-European peoples. To Mr. Owen Lattimore the Mongols are what the Arabs were to Colonel Lawrence, the Kurds to E. B. Soane, the Japanese to Lafcadio Hearn, and so on. An inevitable feature of this attitude of mind is that the champion is prone to attribute to his protégés a more important position in the scheme of things than is really justified, and Mr. Lattimore is no exception. It is difficult to believe that the Mongols, however glorious their past, really hold a key position in Eastern Asia to-day, though there is no doubt that their geographical situation at the meeting-point of Russia, China, and Japan gives them a greater importance than their relatively small numbers and political importance would otherwise justify. Subject to this reservation, the present book is an extraordinary interesting and valuable description of the present political conditions in a part of the world which may before long be the scene of a major clash between two, or perhaps three, great Asiatic Powers. Its contents are adequately summarized in the sub-title, "Their tribal divisions; geographical distribution; historical

relations with Manchus and Chinese, and present political problems." The first half of the book gives a general account of the history during the last two or three hundred years and the present condition of the Mongols who live within the present political frontiers of Manchukuo ; the remainder contains a detailed account of the individual tribes and sections. There are some indications that the author is better acquainted with the modern spoken dialects of Mongol than with the classical written language and the system of spelling which he adopts is decidedly "colloquial". Having regard to the wide variations between the modern dialects, this is perhaps somewhat to be regretted.

A. 595.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

Persia

THE JOURNAL OF ROBERT STODART. Being an account of his experiences as a member of Sir Dodmore Cotton's Mission in Persia in 1628-9, published from the unique manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library. With an Introduction and Notes by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. 7½ × 5, pp. 128, map 1. London : Luzac and Co., 1935. 5s.

We possess so few records of travel by Englishmen in Persia during the seventeenth century that Sir Denison Ross has rendered good service by publishing this hitherto overlooked manuscript, if only as a supplement to the record of Sir T. Herbert. Of Robert Stodart himself apparently nothing is known except that he accompanied Sir Dodmore Cotton's ill-fated mission to Shāh 'Abbās ; in what capacity he went has not been suggested, but from the entry under date 24th July, 1628, about the ambassador having bequeathed his wearing linen to him and his "adopted brother" (p. 99), James Emery, it looks as if he had been a personal attendant. Save for the few entries in April, 1626, when the mission made an ineffectual start from Deal, only to put back and wait

till the following year, the journal begins with the start of the mission from Ispāhān on 30th April, 1628, for Ashraf on the shore of the Caspian Sea, where the Shāh had a winter resort, returning by another route via Tehrān to Qasvīn, where both Sir Robert Sherley and Sir Dodmore Cotton died. From Qasvīn the party, now under the lead of Dr. Gooch, the chaplain, proceeded to Ispāhān through Qum, and thence by the usual route to Shīrāz, and on via Lār to Gombroon (now Bandar 'Abbās), which was reached on the 19th December of the same year. From this port Stodart sailed to Surat, where he seems (there is a lacuna in the diary) to have stayed for about a month, sailing for home on the 12th April, 1629, and reaching Gravesend on the 12th January, 1630.

Stodart, though evidently a man of some education, was a dull diarist. The value of the journal lies chiefly in the care with which the dates and length of each day's journey are recorded, thus making it easy to trace the route followed. The most helpful map for this purpose is Rennell's *Map of Western Asia*, on which nearly all the sites are marked. Otherwise Stodart gives us disappointingly little information of value. Of the progress, or failure, of the mission's real object he was possibly not cognizant : it is only from the " Relation " of Dr. Gooch, which has appropriately been reprinted in the Introduction, that we learn of the behaviour of the Shāh's ministers and of the hardships and indignities suffered by the mission, the only charitable explanation of which is that 'Abbās, who was nearing his end, had lost the vigour of body and mind for which he was previously celebrated.

Sir Denison's acquaintance with the country and its language has enabled him to interpret many puzzling words and identify many names that would otherwise have been incomprehensible to the general reader.

Science

- 1) EN NAWÂDIR ET ṬIBBÎYA. By IBN MÂSAWAIH. 10 × 7. pp. 34 + vii. Cairo, 1934. (2) KITÂB EL AZMINA. By IBN MÂSAWAIH. 10 × 7. Extract from the Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte, t. xv, pp. 235–260. (3) ED DASTÛR EL BÎMÂRISTÂNÎ. By IBN ABÎ BAYÂN. 10 × 7, 80. Cairo, 1933. Three texts in Arabic edited and annotated by the R. P. PAUL SBATH, with introductions in French by the editor.

It appears that none of these texts has been published before, though a translation of the *Nawâdir* was brought out at Bonn as long ago as 1489. Ibn Mâsawaih was the son of an apothecary at Jundaisâbûr, he was in the service of the Khalifs for some fifty years, was employed by them as a translator of Greek books and died in 243 (A.D. 857). His *Nawâdir* consists of a series of medical aphorisms of which "whoever consults a large number of doctors when he is ill exposes himself to the error of every one of them" may serve as an example. His *Azmina* is a calendar taking the year first by seasons and then month by month, and giving the signs of the zodiac and a few other astronomical details and also what is done at different times in the way of agriculture, medical treatment, and so forth. Thus, for instance, "the 22nd Day and night are equal," "in this month bleeding may be practised" will be found among the items. The *Dastûr* of Ibn Abî Bayân, who was a Jewish doctor employed at Cairo in the twelfth century, consists of systematically arranged directions for making up electuaries, pills, lotions, and the various other medicaments in use at the time of the author. All three books have some value for the history of medicine, but the *Dastûr* is far the most important in this respect. Moreover, its contents as pointed out by M. Sbath have some bearing on the state of Eastern science in general when it was written. Mr. Sbath has been at much pains in correcting the text of the *Dastûr* and it might be worth translating into some European language, so as to be accessible to a wider circle of students.

A. 547, A. 548, A. 549.

R. GUEST.

DAS BUCH DER ALAUNE UND SALZE : EIN GRUNDWERK DER SPÄTLATEINISCHEN ALCHEMIE. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von JULIUS RUSKA, Abteilungsvorstand am Institut für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften, Berlin. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 127. Berlin: Verlag Chemie, G.m.b.H., 1935. RM. 15.

The Latin treatise *De Aluminibus et Salibus* ascribed to Rāzī is well known to all students of the history of chemistry as a practical handbook free from the usual alchemical theorizing. It was translated into English by Mr. Robert Steele in 1929 (*Isis*, xii, pp. 12 ff.), but Professor Ruska has been fortunate enough to discover the Arabic original, or at least the greater part of it. The Arabic text is contained in eleven leaves of the Berlin MS. SPRENGER 1908, and Professor Ruska has edited it, with a critical apparatus and a thorough examination of the whole subject, in the present book. Professor Ruska concludes that the treatise is of Spanish origin, and that its ascription to Rāzī is false; the author was probably a practising alchemist of about the eleventh century. The Latin translation was used by Roger Bacon and Vincent of Beauvais in the first half of the thirteenth century, and its influence upon later alchemical literature became very great. It is a pity that the present scholarly edition is unprovided with an index; but Professor Ruska is to be congratulated on having added yet another contribution of prime importance to the history of early chemistry.

A. 499.

E. J. HOLMYARD.

Semitic

ABŪ'L-MAḤĀSIN IBN TAGHRĪ BIRDĪ'S ANNALS. Ed. WILLIAM POPPER. Vol. V, Part 3, A.H. 792-800. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 517 to 644. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1931.

This part completes the text of vol. v, a final part containing the index and glossaries being still under preparation. It

covers the second period of rule of Barqûq, from his restoration until his death, a somewhat dismal chapter of Egyptian history, full of internecine warfare and cruel bloodshed, with Timur threatening an invasion of Syria, a peril that was averted for the time. The text continues to be produced in the same thorough way as that of the previous parts.

A. 443.

R. GUEST.

STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR DES NAHEN UND FERNEN OSTENS. Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern aus dem Kreise des orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn. Herausgegeben von W. HEFFENING und W. KIRFEL. 10 × 6½, pp. viii + 231, photo 1, figs. 60. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1935. Guilden 9.

The number, the variety, and the excellence of the papers forming the *Festschrift* dedicated to Professor Kahle furnish eloquent testimony to his services as teacher, author, and director of the Oriental Seminary at Bonn. As the title of the book indicates, the range which it covers is very wide, including Biblical theology, Islamic history, jurisprudence, and belles-lettres, Indian medicine, religion, and mythology, Chinese porcelain, and Japanese and Chinese literature. The authors are chiefly German, but some hail from Egypt, Japan, and China. Professor Kahle's interests extend to all the countries mentioned, though he is probably best known as an authority on Hebrew and Arabic literature, with which, indeed, the larger number of the papers deal. Of these I should be inclined to bestow special commendation on that by Curt Peters "Beitrag zur textgeschichtlichen Überlieferung von Exodus, xxxii, 18," which is both admirable in method and convincing in its results. The paper entitled "Lehrer und Schüler im Kairener Ordensleben des 16. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.", by Ernst Ludwig Dietrich, is an interesting sketch drawn from Sha'rani's *Latā'if al-Minan*, a work which bears some resemblance to

the introspection of Marcus Aurelius. Students of Islamic law will find the essay "Zum Aufbau der islamischen Rechtswerke" highly instructive. Of the Indian studies perhaps that by Hans Losch in which tales of resurrection are collected is likely to attract widest attention. One can only congratulate Professor Kahle on this monument to his efficiency as a teacher and organizer, and wish him many more years of successful activity.

A. 514.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

In No. 5072, vol. 189 of 4th July, there appears a description of a newly revealed ebony statuette of an Egyptian official carved some thirty-four centuries ago. It has been lying at Cairo in its glued linen wrappings since 1899, and now proves to be a beautiful example of carving which depicts Thay, an eighteenth-dynasty Master of the Horse, with an expression full of life and feeling. Hieroglyphics on the dark wooden pedestal recount his career and faithful services.

Excavations carried out last winter at Armant, the site of Hermonthis in Upper Egypt, under the Sir Robert Mond Expedition, are described. See the same journal of 12th August, 1933. The history of the site is verified as far back as 4000 B.C. Proto-Dynastic pottery, limestone blocks of the eleventh and twelfth dynasties are described in the present number, together with the evidence of the walls of defence at different ages of Armant's varying fortune. Later Pharaohs have left many relics of their wealth of buildings. It was also a home of Buchis, the Bull god, and the site of an interesting and attractive little temple built by Cleopatra to celebrate the birth of her son, Cæsarion. Unhappily this has been destroyed to make way for a sugar factory.

The thanks of the Society are also due for the following volumes :—

CHINESE CALLIGRAPHY. By LUCY DRISCOLL and KENJI TODA. London : Cambridge University Press, 1935. 9s.

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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE SEVENTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, BARODA, DECEMBER, 1933. Government of Baroda. Baroda : Oriental Institute, 1935.

IS CHRISTIANITY UNIQUE ? By NICOL MACNICOL. London : Student Christian Movement Press, 1936. 6s.

SRI BHAGAVADGITA-RAHASYA. By B. G. TILAK. Poona : R. B. Tilak, 1935. Rs. 6.



NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Lantern Slides of Assyriological and Babylonian Subjects

PINCHES BEQUEST

The late Dr. T. G. Pinches, a Member of the Society for upwards of fifty years, left directions that a collection of his Assyriological and Babylonian Lantern Slides should be held in trust by the Royal Asiatic Society for the use of Students.

Dr. Pinches bequeathed them in the hope that they may promote an interest in such subjects among Students in this country. The Society has accepted the trust and will hold the slides available for the use of bona fide Students, Lecturers, or Educational Institutions such as the Victoria Institute. There are nearly 400 slides, which have been catalogued by Prof. S. H. Langdon. Requests from Orientalists should be sent to the Secretary, with necessary references for the consideration of the Council.

Dr. Pinches also left nine simple Babylonian Seals, together with the copy, transcription, and translation of each, prepared by himself, for the same purpose. These are available for loan under the same conditions as the slides.

Mutanabbi Celebrations in London

The following celebrations will be held to commemorate the 1000th anniversary of the Arab Poet Mutanabbi.

Oct. 14. Reception at Royal Egyptian Legation.

Oct. 15. The Royal Asiatic Society At Home, at the London Museum.

Oct. 16. Lecture at the Royal Egyptian Club.

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T'oung Pao. Vol. xxxii, Livr. 4, 1936.

Bonnerjea, B. Phonology of some Tibeto-Burman dialects of the Himalayan region.

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Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.

Deel lxxvi, Afl. 3, 1936.

Fischer, H. T. Het asymmetrisch cross-cousinhuwelijk in Nederlandsch Indië.

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April-June, 1936.

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